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MEMOIR

RESPECTING THE KAFFERS, HOTTENTOTS,

AND

BOSJEMANS.

MEMOIR

RESPECTING

THE KAFFERS, HOTTENTOTS, AND BOSJEMANS,

OF

SOUTH AFRICA.

BY

LIEUT.-COL. SUTHERLAND,
2ND REGIMENT BOMBAY LIGHT CAVALRY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

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MEMOIR, &c.

THE HOTTENTOTS.*

CONTINUATION OF PART II.

The Hottentots. "The Record" 1652, April 7.

Some horses were imported, and placed under charge of the Ottentoo, who speaks English. Two savages, one of them speaking English, were got on board ship, and although their bellies were filled with meat and drink, no cattle were to be had from them; they said, in broken English, they were only fishers,

* Since my return to Cape Town I have read the first Article in the CXV. No. of *The Quarterly Review*, and other works relating to South Africa. But it is now too late to alter what I might find to be wrong or useless in my speculations; if, indeed, those speculations had not already extended to an unreasonable length.

If I had before seen what follows I should have been saved the painful reflection that I have inflicted on my readers and the purchasers of my Memoir, much unnecessary matter—

Page 20 of the Review.—"The silly appellation of Kaffers was given to them by the early Portuguese voyagers, from the word Kaffer—an infidel. On the same authority has the tribe of Hottentots received a name that never belonged to them, and the derivation of which has not been discovered to this day."

It appears that the term Hottentot is either an original native appellation

The Hottentots. 1652, April 7.

and that the cattle were always kept by those of Saldania. One cow and one sheep were procured, and great numbers were seen inland, but the wild, unreasonable men (Saldaniers?) would bring no more. Nine or ten savages of Saldania approached, against these the strandloopers (frequenters of the sea-shore) opposed themselves, running towards them with assagais, bows and arrows, a truce followed, and they remained together all day, close to the tents of the Dutch. The Saldania people said, in broken Dutch and English, that in a few days they would bring cattle and sheep in exchange for copper and tobacco.

April 8.

Captain Koninк met at the Salt River nine savages of Saldania, who treated him in a very amiable and handsome manner, so as to excite wonder; when they heard that he commanded one of the ships, they clasped him round the neck with great joy, intimating that for copper and tobacco they would bring cattle enough. They were handsome, active men, of particularly good stature, dressed in ox hides, tolerably prepared, and carried gracefully on one arm, with an air as courageous as any bravo in Holland can carry his cloak on arm or shoulder. The captain brought home four sacks of mustard, cloves, and sorrel; 750

belonging to some tribe farther North, or North East, (which tribe is apparently lost,) and applied to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of the Cape by the early Portuguese settlers on the coast—but the meaning of the term, it would seem almost impossible to trace, as hitherto its roots have not been found either in the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Hottentot, the Arabic, or the Sichuana languages, although sought for by some learned persons who have taken much interest in the research. Yet the Arabic word oote, to strike with a club, and again the word toote, a missile or projectile of any kind, referring to the well known weapon of the Hottentot, as well as of the Kaffer, may favour the idea of its Arabic origin—to which the Dutch might have added the Hollond, for it is sometimes found Hollon*d*ootes—hence, perhaps, the corruption Hottentootes. Hollondootes would thus mean, of course, a people struck down—conquered by Hollond!

fine steenbrassen, and four other delicate fish, better in flavor than any fish in the mother country, one resembling haddock, but larger, and of a fat taste. The Hottentots. 1652, April 8.

Ordered that since the wild tribes are bold and thievish, and not to be trusted, every one must take care of his property, for it is by no means desirable that on account of theft any savage should, without authority, be pursued, beaten, or even looked upon with anger. The penalty of having arms or tools stolen is, repayment of amount lost, fifty lashes at the whipping post, and forfeiture of eight days' rations. Assistance required from guards and sentries in these matters. April 9.

Every friendship and kindness to be shown to the natives; no one to go far among them lest they be massacred or carried off; no traffic or barter permitted with the natives or savages without authority, lest they become proud, and dear with their cattle, and the Company's wares be brought into disesteem; penalty of doing so, mulct of wages and rank; deportation to Holland, and confiscation of bartered property, such being essential to the Company's interests.

Bartered for a cow and a calf four pieces of flat copper and three pieces of copper wire, half fathom long. April 13.

It were well that some Chinese came with seeds and plants; the ground being much richer in marshy spots, better fruit may be expected than at Formosa. April 14.

No natives seen, except four or five strandloopers, who brought nothing; gave them some pearl barley and bread, and some wine; we should have more rice and arrack for those inland to attach them; saw in some parts steenbuck and other game, also civet cats; the strandloopers carry token of the last about their necks, and if the Saldania men would come with their April 29. May 6.

The Hottentots. 1652, May 6. cattle more might be found; the natives catch them by snares; no natives from the interior, and the strandloopers are provided with nothing but lean hungry stomachs.

May 11. A wounded Ottentoo was brought, they had been fighting with those of Saldania, and had two killed.

June 3. Out of 116, only sixty, from sickness, fit for labour; dysentery and severe fevers. Only one cow and calf yet obtained from the natives; vegetables, radish, lettuce, and cress, begin to grow from the Dutch seed; life very miserable, sitting still in very close tents; no one can thatch with the reeds which have been found; asparagus and Dutch sorrel found; but cattle and sheep are wanted, which the Saldania people will not bring; when they come the strandloopers all flee, except one who speaks a little broken English, and promises to interpret; 10,000 fish caught, of which 2,000 were given to the Ottentoos. If the net could have been drawn whole on shore, 20,000 would have been caught at a single cast. It were to be wished that cows, sheep, and other cattle, were to be had in

July 14. equal abundance. Whales seen; and, beyond the Zoute River, harts and elands, too wild to be shot; frost and ice during the night; six of the snares broken by elands, harts, or steenbucks; and although their strength was doubled, they were found broken as before. All the vegetables, and also wheat, grow delightfully close to the fort, but all drowned and destroyed by heavy rain; weather such as hardly to admit of a dog being driven out, and the mountains in several places

September. covered with snow, increasing the sickness. A hundred cormorants, and a thousand of their eggs, brought from Robben Island, where six men were left, but all the eggs were eaten by seagulls; 600 penguins were driven like sheep to the boats from the island. Table Mountain ascended, and a fire lit there; the people

The Hottentots. 1652, October.

being accompanied by HARRY, the Ottentoo, who speaks a little English.

Resolved, in order that there may be no smell of oil at the fort, to erect a small redoubt at Salt River, armed with two four-pounders, for the whale-fishers. This was the first extension of territory; and children, Mr. MOODIE says, are still taught in Cape Town, from elementary books, that the first settlement was at Salt River. From this advanced station, the five men left for its protection were, however, chased on the second day of occupation by seven or eight natives, of whom a great number were seen; two men who could not swim, and the boat, were left behind; the rescue party, however, discovered that the pursuants were the wives of the Ottentoos, who lived at the station, they had been scraping for roots, and on seeing the people ran dancing towards them to show their friendship, and to ask for "tobacco" and bread. Three deser- September. ters who had dreamt of a mountain of gold, of which they had gone in search, also returned; they freely confessed that they meant to have gone by land to Mozambique, and thence to Holland; they were the first Cape travellers; and their first exploit was to endeavour to catch two ostriches, to whose rescue two friendly rhinoceroses came; their first food was, near Kaap Aguillas, four young birds who lay in the nest, and three eggs with some limpets; some of these they dried, strung on a line and went forward; their calabashes full of water; individuals gradually tailed off, and at last, on the sixth day, the strongest of the party not being able "to make a dance of it alone, resolved to return to the fort, in hopes of mercy and grace in God's name."

Some Saldania Ottentoos gave some alarm to the sentries by coming to the fort one evening; they were admitted, treated with wine and tobacco, went away

The Hottentots. 1652, September.

much elated, promising that in a few days their companions would come with abundance of cattle, they seemed eager for copper, which they called brass, and were much bolder and livelier than the strandloopers, but speaking the same language, and having the same clothing; wearing on their arms rings of ivory, bits of horn were plaited into their hair, and copper rings and plates were worn round their necks; they had nothing else except ostrich egg-shells, and a sort of wild leek or onion; these things, with the wild asparagus, sorrel, and mustard, it was the intention to cultivate near the fort.

October.

Proclamation by Van Riebeeck.

As some Saldania people are now beginning to appear, and are somewhat bold, thievish, covetous of iron and copper, and not to be trusted, every one is warned to keep watch over his arms and tools, for if lost, they will be charged to his account, in addition to the corporal punishment of a hundred lashes; no harm is for any consideration in the world to be done to any of these people; if they steal or carry away any thing, they are not to be punished, or looked angrily upon, but through friendly behaviour to be rendered familiar and well inclined; any one, officer or soldier, belonging to the land or the sea service, offending against these people, shall be punished in their presence. And no one without authority purchasing or bartering any thing, be it musk, civet, ivory, cattle, sheep, shall forfeit the article, and be arbitrarily punished; dealing in such things being the prerogative of the Company.

Commentary.

But "hell is paved with good intentions;" and here, as in other infant colonies, a stricter discipline is necessary to protect the aborigines in their persons

and property, than generally belongs, or perhaps can belong, to officers employed to control selfish and avaricious colonists, unless they have at their disposal soldiers and sailors, distinct in interests and occupation from the colonists; and they are constantly relieved; for otherwise there must always be the danger of their following the colonists rather than their officers. The Hottentots. 1652, October.

The captain of a yacht dispatched to the Bays of St. Helena and Saldana, was instructed to be on his guard against surprise from the savages, other enemies, or pretended friends, for intelligence of the declaration of war against the Dutch by the "New Republic of England" was expected at, and reached the Cape on the 18th January, 1653, therefore he was reinforced by two brave soldiers, over whom and his other people he was to maintain a strict discipline, that the savages might sustain no injury or annoyance, and that every thing should be done to make them more accustomed and attached to our nation, and thus to ascertain what may be found among them "for the service and profit of our nation." He was cautioned not to be too free and liberal, but to notice what was most agreeable to them, for that they frequently most prized and esteemed the worst merchandize. The price of a cow at the Cape, was one large or two small plates of copper, or a like proportion of copper wire; that of a sheep as much tobacco or thin copper wire as went from head to tail's-end of the sheep; that of elephants' teeth about one or one and a half span of tobacco, or according to size. A mode of testing the quality of musk was sent to the captain; it might be had for tobacco, but if they would have copper it might be given; copper might also be given for ambergris, if not to be had for worse merchandize. It was possible that gold might be found amongst them, but an over covetousness must not be displayed,

The Hottentots. 1652, October.

for they might deem copper of equal value. Ostrich feathers, with very fine points, it was supposed were to be had for bits of bread or tobacco. Merchandize to be displayed to them to see what they most desire. Marks of possession and property, on account of the Company, to be placed wherever the yacht touched.

Twelve or fourteen Saldaniers came to the fort, and were entertained with wine and tobacco. They said they would in a few days bring plenty of cattle, and that their friends would bring ivory, musk, or civet, to barter for tobacco and copper. "Sickness again impedes work at the fort, which we hope, if we procure cattle, will then, through God's mercy, be removed—Amen."

Saldaniers came, and on their usual beggarly request a bit of tobacco was given; so much copper and tobacco was shown that they could not sufficiently express their surprise—saying, we should presently see such a quantity of sheep, cattle, &c. as all our copper and tobacco would not suffice to buy—but their coming is doubtful—food is however needed in the last degree, on account of daily increasing sickness; fine white salt was brought from the pans, when 40 or 50 Saldaniers, with fully 1,000 cattle and sheep,

November.

were seen. Abundance of cow-dung was found about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mylen from, and brought to, the fort; those bringing it were accompanied by a Saldania captain who had a great quantity of cattle and sheep about the Versch River; they brought also a "delicaat" sheep sent as a present by a Saldania captain, who had been to the fort the day before, under charge of one of his people—"they brought with them their own food, milk in large leathern bags, which they sucked up with a small swab or brush, made of a species of hemp, very strange to see." The Saldaniers brought 3 sheep, 2 of which were purchased for 1 lb. of thin wire and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of tobacco, 12 stivers for the two; for

the third, which was larger, they wanted double their price, which was not given, lest they should acquire bad habits. Two assistants, with 4 or 5 men, were sent to the Saldania captain, carrying a good wooden box full of tobacco, with some pipes, and each man a piece of thick copper wire, by way of a walking stick, to observe their eagerness for such wire, but without exhibiting any eagerness for cattle-barter. They found the captain about 2½ mylen off, where the mustard seed stands. He was very polite, welcomed, and led them to see his riches—15 huts, 1,500 or 1,600 cattle and sheep. He let them come and sit in his mat house, very handsomely made, and rather large; he desired some women to milk, and entertained them in a kind and friendly manner; tobacco and clean pipes were liberally given in return. The captain and his wives were very eager to see a little tin drinking can, which being presented they deemed a great honor; they were eager for the 4 lbs. thick wire walking sticks, offering a fine fat calf for each. They were told that if they came to the fort they would find plenty with the Dutch commander, who was disposed to trade with them in the most friendly manner; this the chief promised to do on the morrow, bringing his cattle. He was much respected by his people, and much ado made about him; they were, including women and children, about 250; the children sucked the sheeps' udders, which the mothers gave them between the hind legs, very pleasing and curious to behold; the huts stood nearly in a circle, encircling the cattle; they were to remain there until the grass was eaten up, when they would bring their cattle and their houses to the fort, and remain there as long as there was any grass. The captain understood very well how to maintain his dignity.

The Hottentots. 1652, November.

The Hottentots. 1652, November.

They pointed out many fires in the interior, saying, they were the fires of many people coming, with quantities of cattle, who would be disposed to trade. Many fires were seen from the fort, on the hills, in the evening; they were on the opposite side of the bay; and the Hottentoo HARRY said they were Saldaniers, with such abundance of cattle that our copper would soon fall short, which God grant. "Amen". The Saldania captain came to the fort, according to promise, with his wife and 6 or 7 of his chief people; much friendship was shown to them, and they were well entertained, to incline them the more to us, and allure them with all their cattle to the fort; in the evening they went away well contented. The Saldania captain sent a party of his people with a sheep, which they bartered for a small copper plate and ¼ of an ell of tobacco; also a fine large young ox, for the value of about 2½ guilders in flat copper wire and tobacco.

Commentary.

Such was the happy state of life and manners in November, 1652, within 2½ mylen of Cape Town—so soon to be overthrown by the hand of the rude Dutchman! or vitiated by his grog and tobacco!!

HELM and VERBURG, with 15 or 16 well armed men, went again with tobacco and pipes to the captain, to induce them to come with their cattle to the fort, that a better opportunity might be procured for barter. Only 11 or 12 cattle and sheep had been brought, the sick require more, and they have abundance; they were received as before, milk was presented, but as the pots were very filthy, it was civilly declined; tobacco and pipes were given in courtesy, the more to induce them to come with their cattle to the fort. It was however understood that they were not inclined to come, but to move 7 mylen off to the great thicket; pieces of copper were shown, but they would none of it, and looked at it with as much

coolness as if they had never seen copper before. Surprised to find them quite indisposed to barter, as they had on the evening promised, after being well treated, (with wine and tobacco) to come with all their cattle to trade. Half suspect that HARRY is the cause; he is now good friends with the Saldaniers, whom he before called enemies. It were not amiss, VAN RIEBEECK says, to contrive to coax him, with wife, children, and all the water people, to Robben Island, and leave them there; then to trade more securely and contentedly with the Saldaniers, who appear a good sort of people. The Saldaniers were busy in preparing to decamp to the thicket behind Table Mountain. HARRY was observed to teach some Saldaniers, who were bartering an old and a young sheep, to demand more copper. He was told of the dissatisfaction he had given. He did not dare to refuse to accompany a party to the Saldaniers; but, on reaching the spot where they had lain, it was found that they had with their huts and cattle removed to the great thicket. HARRY is firmly believed to have known of their departure. HARRY dared not go towards the Saldaniers, for fear of being beaten, but turned back and waited at the Salt River for the people. It is now beyond suspicion that he does mischief, and, in order to preserve the favor of the Saldaniers, tries to incite them to ask more copper for their cattle. New Saldaniers came with 27 sheep, and 17 were bought for copper wire and tobacco, costing 6 and 7 stivers each; the trade went on briskly as long as HARRY kept away. His instructions so far prevailed with others that they would not come to any decent barter, but pretending to hold back, 9 sheep were purchased at former prices, wire only was given, though they wanted flat copper, which was reserved for cow-barter. The old Saldania captain came again, pro-

The Hottentots. 1652, November.

The Hottentots. 1652, November.

mising to bring cattle. The more to allure him he was well entertained. It seems they will not part with their cows, but 4 sheep were obtained for ½ lb. of copper wire and 1 lb. tobacco each. Saldaniers came from the opposite side of the Bay with a fine flock of sheep; of these 17 were procured for copper wire, tobacco, and pipes, averaging 7 stivers for each sheep—all their cry was for flat copper, and they would hardly sell their sheep for wire; they were told that they would get flat copper for cows—if it were given for sheep they would bring no cows. The Dutchman prides himself on driving a hard bargain, showing the copper occasionally and calling out cow!

October.

Saldaniers continue to visit the Dutch at the fort in small parties, and a few cattle are occasionally obtained from them; they were generally very desirous for bread; but they were supposed to become attached to the Dutch, chiefly through tobacco and arrack, and rice; and said that the English gave them whole bags of bread, much tobacco, and whole bottles of wine. It was therefore necessary to get the better of the English in this—and to become more popular with the natives, attracting them from the interior, otherwise not a head of cattle will be procurable; 12 Saldaniers came before the rest with 3 cows and 4 sheep, showing some ostrich feathers and 3 elephants' tusks, which they were to barter on the morrow for copper and tobacco, asking some tobacco mean time for the news that in four or five days Saldaniers would come with their wives and children and thousands of cattle; 3 cows cost 9 pieces of flat copper, about 3 lbs. weight each, and 1 lb. of tobacco, each thus costing 21 stivers and 12 penningen—the old sheep 2 pieces of copper and ½ lb. of tobacco, or each 10 stivers and 1½ penningen; 2 delicate lambs ½ lb. copper wire and ⅛ lb. of tobacco, together 11

stivers and 4 penningen; elephants' tusks cost ½ lb. of tobacco, or 2 stivers and 8 penningen for 3—but cattle and ivory will be had cheaper in time; 2 young ostriches cost ½ lb. of tobacco. Some suspicions are entertained of combination or collusion between the Strandloopers and the Saldaniers through HARRY's instrumentality, he himself requiring brokerage;—therefore the guards are doubled; and to get the walls somewhat higher, (now only seven feet high,) every one who can handle a spoon is set to work with the wheelbarrows. Two elands' heads brought, ornamented with large handsome horns; they had been killed and eaten by the Saldaniers. A ditch, eight feet wide and four deep, formed round the cattle kraal; the ground in the ditch as hard as bricks. The people could not stand on the walls with their barrows without being blown over by the S. E. wind, which blew down the peas, beans, and barley in the ear; we must therefore do our best with the turnips and carrots. Thought the whole dwelling house would be blown over. The new Corps de Guarde, which is thatched, twelve feet high, and two feet below the breast works, blown on one side; 24 persons confined to bed, with severe pains in the limbs, which felt as if they had been severely beaten, (zinkens first discovered by the Dutchman.) Fires seen on the hills on the opposite side of the bay—and HARRY says, "the Saldanaman with all his cattle, wife and children, is coming hither—which God grant. Amen." The Hottentots. 1652, October.

In the evening the whole country is covered with fires, from which, and from what HARRY says, it is learnt that there are thousands of people hereabouts; good watch must therefore be kept, although the inhabitants display towards us, and we towards them, nothing but kindness and friendship. Bartered 12 ducks and 42 other fine birds, for about 1 lb. of tobacco December.

The Hottentots. 1652, December.

—as they could not be tamed they were cooked, and were well tasted. After a little cattle-barter with the inhabitants they departed early.

Commentary.

It will be seen that the term inhabitants is hereafter generally used only to designate the European, and never the natives, who are generally called savages, and treated as if they had no rights in land or other property.

A provost marshal is appointed, for the Saldaniers are coming daily nearer, and many of our people sleep on their night watch, and commit great thefts on each other, and even on the company's goods and implements, and on the young fruit.

A good many Saldaniers came with young cattle, which were bought, also 21 sheep and lambs, for copper and tobacco, which must always be part of the price. The price of a whole cow often depends on a finger length of tobacco or a pipe, therefore 1000lbs. should annually be supplied, which must be of good quality; if at all unsound, they immediately taste, and reject it, exclaiming "stinking tabak." Amongst those called Saldaniers, were two new captains, who requested to see our house; they were entertained with three or four glasses of wine and tobacco. On Table Mountain the pasture was everywhere covered with cattle and sheep, like grass on the fields. The captains said they were theirs; that they would bring their houses close by and reside here; and that on the morrow they would bring their wives, that they might see our houses and wives. We would rather they should not live so close to us, for their numbers are countless, and we are not yet very secure. We will hope that the Almighty may protect us, and that the Saldaniers may be at least as friendly as they appear outwardly; one thing is certain, if an animal escapes from us they will instantly fetch it back for a finger's

length of tobacco, but when they can get hold of a piece of copper they do not fail to do so, which was proved to us to-day also; at the same time, if, after having bought a beast, it escapes from us, they restore the copper until they have brought the same beast back to our pasture, but they require to be treated in a manner at once civil, friendly, resolute, and uncomplying, which may easily be accomplished without expense. The Saldaniers lay in 1000 about the Salt River, with their cattle in countless numbers; they grazed 2000 sheep and cattle within half cannon shot of the fort; 24 head, one cow, two heifers, and 18 sheep, were bought for copper and tobacco; they are still very reluctant to part with their horned cattle, preferring to sell sheep. Bought three sheep, each for an old marking iron and a bit of tobacco; the irons they use as cold chisels, and are eager for them. A young ox escaped from the grazing ground and went among the Saldaniers' cattle quite out of sight; often it was sought for in vain and almost forgotten, their captain brought it back; a royal entertainment of food, drink, and—their most pleasing banquet—tobacco, was given to him, in order the more to attach them. They set fire to the grass all round, and as it approached near on our side, and we requested them not to come so near with their fires, they instantly set to work with all hands and quickly put out the fires. To appearance they endeavour to do us no injury, but to show every friendship when they have it in their power, as we do in reciprocity to them, keeping, however, not the less on our guard, and holding a good watch over every thing. They were to-day with thousands of cattle and sheep, close to and about the fort, avoiding only the pasture which we occupied; they appear to have great confidence in us; we got two fine partridges for a finger's length of tobacco, they are deli-

The Hottentots. 1652, December.

The Hottentots. 1652, December.

eate eating, and it were to be wished that we could get more. The Saldaniers came quite freely with cattle, and barter commenced; a very fine cow cost 35 to 36 stivers, and sheep six stivers each. Few Saldaniers came on account of wet weather; they lay in great force at Salt River; it was, therefore, necessary to take the soldiers off the works, to mount guard day and night, and to let the sailors work under protection of the soldiers. The whole force amounts to only 125 men in pay, some are constantly sick in bed, many are lazy skulkers, working little, and these it is better to discharge. The Saldaniers came so close that the cattle almost mixed, yet there was little trade, for they brought to market, only now and then, a lean bad beast and a sheep or two; so that only twenty sheep, two cows, and five calves were to be had; for they are no longer at all willing to part with their cattle. It is very vexatious to see such fine herds, and to be unable to purchase out of them any thing to speak of; to allure them, and excite their cupidity, one-half more than formerly was offered, and they were treated besides with all possible kindness, yet they were not to be prevailed on. It is impossible to guess whether their wants in copper are already supplied, whether it arises from dislike, or mischievous instigation, but it would be a pity to witness the departure of these herds without being able to purchase more of them. Were it permitted, there was this day an opportunity of taking 10,000 head; this may, on orders, be done at any time, and better hereafter than now, as they will trust us more; we could then always keep up a sufficient stock by breeding, and should not then have to apprehend that the English, by touching here, would destroy this cattle trade with the inhabitants. Their people give us daily sufficient cause for this course, by stealing and carrying away the

property of our people, and thus, having cause enough for revenge, to indemnify ourselves upon them or their cattle; and if we cannot, by any friendly trade, get the cattle from them, why should we suffer their stealing and carrying away without taking revenge, which would be necessary only once, and with 150 men, 10,000 or 11,000 cattle are to be had without danger of losing a single man; and we might make prisoners, without a blow, of many savages, in order to send them as slaves to India, as they still constantly come to us without weapons; upon this point, however, are required more consultation, and wiser consideration than ours, the idea only offering itself cursorily at present, and hereafter to be further thought of and deliberated upon by greater experience, awaiting, moreover, orders from higher authority. The Hottentots. 1652, December.

There was, of course, no doubt on any one's mind that slaves were brought by the Dutch government from India, from the Eastern Archipelago, and from the Straits of Malacca, for sale to the Cape colonists, and that even Mahommedan Malays, their creases, and the danger of their running aihmuk, notwithstanding were, at the Cape, reduced to this deplorable condition. How infinitely lower than formerly does this fact reduce the character of those piratical denizens of the seas, and of the forests, of the beautiful Straits of Malacca. I should have thought, and almost have hoped, that rather than submit to this, they would, with one accord, have "run aihmuk"—sacrificing every man who held them in slavery, and who came in their way; themselves always regardless of death. I did not know until I read Van Riebeeck's Journal of December, 1652, in Mr. Moodie's Record, that the first governor of the Cape had ventured to make to his government in Holland, the infamous proposition of treacherously seizing the aborigines of Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1652, December.

South Africa who came unarmed to his quarters on a friendly visit, sending them as slaves to India, in the teeth, too, of the Dutch law of 1636. Comment on the character of the man who made it, or on the character of the administration to which it was made, is needless.

The Saldaniers came again with their cattle, grazing in great numbers near to the fort; we procured however no more than 15 cows and calves, and 31 sheep, notwithstanding that we gave more copper and tobacco than before, the cattle averaging six skillings, and the sheep seven stivers, which we were previously in the habit of buying at 5 and 5½ stivers for the sheep, and 26, 28, to 30 stivers for the cattle, which leads us to presume that they are overstocked with copper, or at least consume little of that article; how this may be time will disclose, it is always so; the more we offer the more they try to get; towards evening they returned to the Salt River with their cattle. The Ottentoos of Saldana continued to demand more, the more the Dutch offered, so that the latter were obliged to hold back; fearing, however, that at last they would be obliged to give more, to get a tolerable stock to breed from, they had left, after supplying their wants in food, 88 cattle and 269 sheep, young and old, in the pastures. A soldier seized by the neck a Saldanier, who had stolen a piece of copper, which caused a great commotion, and all fled. Harry called them back, and they said, that as it had not happened with his consent, they were not alarmed on account of the violence; they still, however, appeared somewhat scared; they very soon drove away all their cattle, but some returning, and the Dutch fearing these their own, sent three or four men for them, who trying to intercept them close to the great assemblage of the Saldaniers with their cattle, all fled to the bush, or up the hill, leaving their

cattle; they were re-assured, and a new friendship instantly commeneed, and some of them eame to the fort with sheep in the evening. If the four men, Van Riebeeck observes, who had only on their side-arms, had been so disposed, they could have driven 40 or 50 cattle to the fort without hindranee. The Saldaniers were evidently, from running away and leaving their cattle, somewhat timid. It was explained to a certain captain, or prineipal person, who eame somewhat alarmed, that no harm, but all possible friendship was intended; that as much copper and tobaeco would be given for their cattle as they would agree to reeeive in reason. The governor entertained them with food, drink, a bit of tobaeeo, and humorous conversation; showing them more copper, saying that more was coming by the ships, and calling out cow, still they would not be assured.* The Saldaniers brought some sheep, a cow, and a calf, of which one could scarcely be bought, for although more was constantly given, they always, on selling one, drove away the rest; what can all this mean? for although their chiefs were treated with food and drink, no more cattle were brought. They are a wonderful people; when we fancy we have gained them over, and that the trade will go on, they hold stupidly off; driving away their cattle, as if they were frightened for something. We do all in our power to satisfy them, but to-day we got only one cow, one calf, and 11 sheep, for more copper and tobaceo than we had before given. In the evening we saw between 9 and 10, E. S. E. to the S. of the head of the Giant, and about 80° above the horizon, a strange star with a tail, which stretched Northwards, right to the knee of the Giant.

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* Whether their friend Harry had not circumvented Van Riebeeck, and detected that his professions of friendship cloaked the intention of seizing all their cattle, and sending themselves slaves to India?

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The Ottentoos of Saldania came again with thousands of cattle close to the fort; it was almost impossible to keep them out of the gate or the garden, still unwilling to trade, and only 2 cows and 7 sheep were to be had. Their eagerness for copper has entirely ceased, and HARRY told us we would only get now and then a cow or a sheep or two; that they had plenty of copper, and were busy making rings, chains, and ornaments of it. If no further trade is to be had, what would it matter, asks the governor, if we took at one fell swoop 6,000 or 8,000 cattle; they come only 2 or 3 men driving 1,000 cattle under our guns, and might be easily intercepted; are very timorous, not very strong in number, place every confidence in us, coming with their cattle, undauntedly to graze close to the fort; we encourage them, with friendly looks and treatment, to make them still bolder, as well to see whether something good in the way of trade may not some time be done for the profit of the Company, as also, through their full confidence, the better, on receiving orders, to deprive them of their cattle easily, without a blow, for the good of the Company. It is vexatious to see such an immense quantity of cattle, so necessary to us, for the refreshment of the ships, and of which so few are to be had for merchandize and friendly treatment. (It is a wonder that our holy religion was not referred to in this, as in so many other cases, here, and in other colonies, to justify such iniquity.) Saw the star with the tail in the same place as yesterday. Copper fallen, tobacco rising—without it not a cow or sheep could be had; wish expressed for more tobacco—for the length, in the weed, or about $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of the value of 11 duyts, a fine milch ewe was got, which is

December 21. cheaper for the Company than copper. This being our first year every thing sown thrives wonderfully;

if cattle were to be had from the natives we might keep milch cows; showed more copper and called out cattle! but they would not come. The natives ask daily for the English; HARRY has been to Bantam in one of their ships, and we half suspect him from his greater liking for them, than for us, of holding the natives off. We may have some trouble if they come here to establish themselves, but hope to find means of preventing this; orders wanted whether or not to prevent their trading with the natives; not a Saldanier to be seen—but the people at the salt redoubt saw them with thousands of sheep and cattle, moving for the interior. HARRY says that when the grass, which they have every where burnt, springs up, they will return again. Here we stand with 89 cattle and 284 sheep, the Dutch provisions nearly gone, the fish will not be caught, but we live in daily hope of the Almighty sending us a better supply. The sergeant and 9 musketeers returned from the place where the Saldaniers lay, where they were sent with some tobacco and pipes to trade with them; they brought only a cow and 5 sheep; many of the natives had gone with their flocks, and they saw only 17 huts, inhabited by 70 or 80 souls; they were at first much alarmed, but composed by a pipe and tobacco to each; they are more inclined to trade there than to come close to the fort with all their stock; why, we cannot imagine; they might see that we want nothing but friendly trade—HARRY suspected of advising them to reserve their cattle for the English—for they are more afraid of us than formerly. The Saldaniers too, always ask for the ships, and mostly for the English.—HARRY knows pretty well when they may be expected from India—so we have told him that their copper will be given to us, and that we will supply them with cattle; we doubt whether he interprets this

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truly. If the English come we shall know better what to make of it. Seven or eight wild beasts came over the eight feet by four ditch into the kraal among the cattle; churned our first butter; the Saldaniers told us they had been fighting with their enemies, the Vischmen, had beaten 4 to death, and taken their cattle; 18 sheep missing, lost some days ago through neglect on the part of the herds; 6 soldiers sent over the kloof between the Lion and Table Hills, to seek the sheep, and observe the strength of the Saldaniers; they stayed out all night; saw nothing of our sheep; but, at Hout Bay, numbers of Saldaniers' sheep and cattle, and at the great thicket, 4 or 5 mylen off, 6 encampments, the largest 20 huts and about 100 inhabitants —the others 7, 8, or 9 huts each, showed their friendship, chiefly to earn a bit of tobacco; the natives guided them a good part of their way back. Bought 12 sheep, and some new Saldaniers sold a milch cow pretty cheap; they said they would bring from the salt pan, 4 mylen off, cattle daily to barter; encouraged them by kindness and good entertainment, saying, we had plenty of copper and tobacco for them. The new comers are treated liberally, to attach them to us; we hope we may procure a good many from them. May the Almighty contribute his blessing.—Amen!

1653, January 1.

New Year's-day.—Got 8 sheep from the Saldaniers. But Dutch pigs do not seem to thrive in South Africa —and one died. The natives more disposed still to barter at a distance than under the guns of the fort; got at a distance 9 cattle and 24 sheep from them. It is easier to buy cattle for tobacco without brass, than for brass without tobacco—the former commodity running very short, and but little pig tail left. It is a pity the cows give so little milk here, 28 of them only half an anker, and only 2 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of

butter in the week, very fine and yellow, though hardly enough to butter our bread. The Saldaniers moving still farther off; our people only amounted to 20, 10 of them musketeers; they had about 80 fighting men, and it was to be perceived that if they thought they could get the better of our people they would willingly have done so, all for the brass. We must send stronger parties on barter-duty, for where people are alone, or only 2 or 3 together, they take from them their knives and tobacco boxes. We must make the most of our time, for the Saldaniers are not here all the year round, and we shall have to seek them, as they wish us to do; they are a very lazy people, it being sometimes too much for them to move; they are not likely to bring their cattle to us, but it matters little, if we can only get them without difficulty and with fair words; cut the first red cabbage, fine and hard hearted as in Fatherland; the Saldaniers moved Eastward towards the Bay of Sombras, their annual course, then cross the country to the West, and then round hither again by Saldanha Bay; 1 cow, 2 calves, and 3 sheep procured from the captain who was here first of all—he is now 7 or 8 mylen off almost on the coast; he has 16 huts and about 80 men capable of bearing arms, with 5,000 or 6,000 extraordinarily fine cattle, the best of all the Saldaniers, and 2,000 pretty good sheep, with which, neither now nor formerly, were they disposed to part. The people suffered much annoyance, but bore it. The corporal being close beset, drew a pistol, and fired it over their heads; they fled, leaving their cattle, which might have been taken and brought hither; they were driven towards the natives, and they were told that it was all for fun, so that after all they parted from our people on good terms, getting some tobacco. Harry said that the migrations of the Saldaniers

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would bring them next year, and that the fame of the brass and tobacco, would bring more people with them from the interior. When they had, in travelling from one range of good pasture to another, got to some distance, the Vischmen, called by them Soaqua, would come hither.

Two sheep killed in the kraal by wild animals, apparently lions. The natives gave the people wild figs, from eating which, their health suffered. The fires of the natives were seen very far to the Eastward; so long as they remained there they will, they said, probably bring something. The first wheat grown at the Cape reaped, tolerably large and full. But for the South-east wind all kinds of grain and fruit could be reared. Salt River is still more exposed. But behind Table Mountain the ground is level and very rich, watered by many streams, and by free colonists could be easily cultivated. The natives were said to make the copper into bracelets and chains, and to barter these for cattle with certain other tribes in the interior; then to return to get more copper from the Dutch and English ships. They had, however, sold more cattle this year than usual. If they could dispose of their copper in the interior they would return next year to get more in exchange for cattle. The cattle are large and fat; salt enough is to be had for nothing; the country is covered with fine rich pasture, and in sight of the fort there is ground for thousands of cattle and sheep, besides what is required for gardens and corn fields. It may positively be maintained that there is plenty of pasture land for sheep and cattle, for the Saldaniers have, since November, brought about 20,000 to pasture within a space of seven or eight mylen of this Table Valley. They part with their sheep reluctantly, and hold their cattle, which are finer and fatter than those of the other Saldaniers, in great estimation, not readily

disposing of them. Fourteen cattle lost. The people take their duty very little to heart, and appear to care nothing for punishment or promises. When the governor fancies that he has a careful man in charge of the cattle he finds himself constantly deceived, so that he should really himself attend to the cattle both night and day. Although a corporal and some men were sent to seek for the missing cattle, neither horn nor hoof could be found. The doors of the kraal were twice found open in the night, and the cattle were outside, so that the governor could presume nothing else than they had been taken by the Hottentots. HARRY said they had been driven away by the strandloopers, and instantly went to look for them. The *Goede Hoop* returned from Saldanha Bay with 1,500 seal skins; they saw no people with cattle or merchandize, and only a few naked and lean strandloopers; many fires were seen in the interior, but found no means of trading with the people there; some strandloopers came, they wished for seal flesh to eat, but would take no trouble to get it; got from them 25 sea-cow teeth, of various sizes, each for two finger breadths of tobacco; asked for elephants' tusks, which they call quabsabi, but they shook their heads, signifying that the elephant was too large and strong to be attacked by the few people they had. Got only a bull and a cow from the Saldaniers. Meanwhile intelligence was received that war had broken out between our States and England, credit was therefore given to the people for a month's wages to encourage them, the sooner to get into a condition for defence, so set to work with the courage of lions on the fortifications. It appeared as if the lions would in the night take the fort by storm, that they might get at the sheep (not apparently meant by VAN RIEBEECK, as allegorical of an attack by the English on the

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Dutch); they made a fearful noise as if they would destroy all within, but in vain, for they could not climb the walls; worked busily at raising them higher, that we may care as little for the English. Repairing the seines. If it may please the Almighty to bless us with fish! they will be better for the people in the hard work than penguins and seals. A wolf seized a sheep, and the herd could not scare him away until he had torn off and carried away a quarter. Treated the Saldaniers, seven or eight mylen off, more liberally with copper; and got eight fine sheep; sparing of the tobacco, as it will be soon out. Got 1,400 or 1,500 fine harders—a good haul. Dutch bread will hardly last three or four weeks, but rice is hoped for by the return fleet. Nine sheep lost by the herds; fined the chief of them ten guilders in place of five, and treated him to a hundred blows with the butt of the musket. Two hours beyond Table Mountain, the air was full of locusts, like a fall of snow; should they come to the fort, for they eat the grass bare to the ground, they will destroy every thing—but our hope is in the Lord! The people made a general complaint of severity of work and scarcity of food. Bought early in the morning ten sheep and six cattle from the Saldaniers, who came to the fort. The people becoming daily more sickly, much barter about this time copper and tobacco for sheep and cattle. The Saldaniers are coming!—they expect the ships, for which they frequently ask, hoping perhaps to get more from them than from us for their cattle. To preserve the character of the barter, and keep it on a good footing, it will therefore be necessary to oblige all the ships to deliver their copper here. The natives already get 4 or 5 lbs. of copper for each beast, instead of 3 or 4 lbs. as formerly; for that price they are more willing to sell. Put Jan Blanck and

others in irons, for slaughtering and eating the Company's cattle in the field. An ox and a sheep missing, taken apparently by the Hottentots, for several savages have been concealed near the cattle—they are most afraid of fire-arms—and it would impress them with some fear if our herds had some pocket-pistols for their defence against such as would try to steal. Jan Blanck and others detected in their design to run off with one of the galliots. The Hottentots said that five ships were seen behind Table Mountain, and they were soon after seen from the Lion's Hill. God be thanked, for this day our last ration of bread was issued. The Hottentots. 1653, January.

The commander and captains of the fleet took leave, having received into their charge our dispatches for our honorable masters. April 15.

Van Riebeeck *to the Chamber XVII.* April 14.

You have been already briefly apprized of our fortunate arrival here on the 6th of April last year. The fort has, according to orders, been named "The Goede Hoop." Directly in the middle there should be built a square stone and clay house, flat on the top, like a redoubt. This will be our chief strong-hold against attempts of these savages, for the sod walls, constructed, as they must be, with a slope, could, from the extraordinary agility of the natives, be easily got over; from this house they could be easily driven out of the fort again, for it will have a stone breast work seven feet higher than the wall. With God's help we hope they may never get into the fort; still such a stone house is deemed highly necessary. They are not, from their inexperience in the European modes of warfare, so much to be feared as the English. On receiving from your Honors intimation of the war

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with England, we left all other works and set to work on the fort, so that, with God's help, we are now in a tolerable state of defence. Salt is procurable in considerable quantity, but hands are required to prepare the pans, and keep them in repair. If profit might be calculated upon, slaves might be employed, but they would be still more useful in killing seals on the island, where they could not desert; for slaves will maroon to the great injury and insecurity of the Company. The accompanying plan will show your Honors the superabundance of fine pasture and arable lands of this Cape, also the situation of the fort, the cannon of which command all the gardens, and pasture lands, as well as the principal rivers. We have already begun to enclose our fields and pastures with a ditch; to aid in this work, several things are required; also six scythes to cut the long grass. Brass, tobacco, and pipes, are wanted, with sundry kinds of beads for the Saldaniers and their wives. The brass must be thick and stiff, and not in wire, but if wire, above all, it must be sound wire; *i. e.*, not notched or rough, for they will not look at brass if it be so thin that it can be bent; or at wire, unless it is very sound, smooth, and even. Wanted also a thousand or more pounds of Carib tobacco, not too thin in the twist; good, smooth, and pure, and not rotten, like two of the six rolls we brought with us, which these people will not touch, calling it sigin, that is to say, stinking tobacco; though some of this was, now and then, passed off—says His Honor, the Dutch Governor—covered up with good; therefore the stronger the tobacco the better, for if it is so strong as to make the tears stream from their eyes, they esteem it good. Without such tobacco we can get little trade. We could do better with tobacco without brass, than with brass without tobacco. It is most fortunate that these

people are so anxious for consumable articles, for they would soon have all they require of durable brass. For a little tobacco the strandloopers will always fetch firewood for the cooks, keeping our own people upon other work. (Symptoms already of the natives becoming to the Dutch, hewers of wood and drawers of water.) Twenty or thirty gross of pipes are also necessary; for the purchase of a beast often depends on this article, and they would go through fire for tobacco and pipes. Bread is also necessary, for in treating the Hottentots, almost as much is necessary as for our own people; they are by bread, wine, and brandy, much attracted. Common, but gaily colored beads for presents to their wives, which they wear in their ears for ornaments, like the sample now sent, lead to friendship. These people do not require any other merchandize, as they use for clothing the skins of cows and deer, and for caps lamb skins. Of knives and razors, sharp on both sides, they have enough, and care not for ours in particular, using them for skinning seals, &c. But they are very desirous for cold chisels and hatchets, giving us for an old cooper's driver perhaps a sheep or a calf; therefore your Honors may send us 50 to 60 old drivers, with thick broad heads, and cold chisels, which would be eagerly caught at for sheep; also some axes, that our present supply, now worn out, may also be exchanged for cattle; also some thin square bar iron, an inch or finger thick, and some small brass chains, like the sample. These are much prized by the Hottentots. All to barter for cattle—the only commodity to be had from them. There has not been a single ship here since May last, except the galliot, the *Vos*, and the yacht, the *Haes;* should this happen again, we may one day be in great distress from want of food, and if besieged by Europeans, compelled by hunger to sur-

The Hottentots. 1653, May 14.

The Hottentots. 1653, April 14.

render. The notes and annexed papers, addressed to the six Chambers respectively, according to the practice at Batavia, will be found circumstantially to detail every thing. I hope to be transferred to India, to some better and higher employment; that, for better services than I can render here, I may, in due time, earn promotion; for among these dull, stupid, (botte, plombe) lazy, stinking people, little address (subtylteyt) is required, as among the Japanese, Tonquinese, and other precise nations thereabouts, who give enough to do to the brains of the cleverest Dutchman, as I have sufficiently experienced in my ten years service. I shall have ascertained before I receive your Honors' answer, whether there is any thing to be done in ostrich feathers, musk, or any thing else. In the barter of a few sheep and cattle but little address is required. If I see my successor, I can give him such good instructions from my own experience, that he will be as well qualified to take charge as myself. As you have done me the honor to entitle me commander in your letters, I request that you will honor me with that rank, and with the usual emolument of 150 guilders per mensem, under a written instrument, in debita forma, that I may produce it on my arrival in India; the title would otherwise lead to nothing but contempt; now commander, hereafter, on arriving in India, being looked on only as a merchant, I would gladly bind myself with that quality and pay, to remain in India for three years beyond my first engagement. Awaiting the pleasing intelligence of my removal to India, where I hope to render you somewhat more important service than I have a field for here. I have, &c.

J. VAN RIEBEECK.

In the Fort of Goede Hoop,
April 14, 1653.

Some new people, clothed like the former, but residing more in the interior, came to the governor, in consequence, they said, of hearing from the others that strangers were residing at the Cape, who had brass, of which they wished to get some, having brought cattle, of which twelve were procured by barter. Other people living still farther off would, they said, also come. Thirty very fine cattle got for brass, tobacco, and pipes. It appears that there is some consumption of brass amongst these people. The Hottentots. 1653, April.

Some new people came again from the interior with 14 fine cattle, which were bought for copper, tobacco, and pipes; they got each a glass or two of arrack on going away. The governor went with some Hottentots to a place behind Table Mountain, where the people were cutting posts and beams. The Hottentots were well regaled with food, drink, and tobacco, and 6 of them took a tolerable beam on their shoulders and towards evening brought it to the fort; after again filling their bellies, gave each a drink of arrack and a span of tobacco, the more to encourage the natives. Our people brought two more beams on a carpenter's two-wheeled wagon, meanwhile we are preparing apparatus for spanning oxen before the wagon, (so commence the labours for the Dutch of African men and oxen,) got the Hottentots to the wood, but there was no work to be got from them; they said they were too much fatigued by their yesterday's burthen. Made a trial with the oxen; they drew pretty well going out, and before dark had dragged 11 beams out of the wood; 5 Hottentots went to the wood, and got a bowl of beans and a drink of arrack; but, as before, there was very little to be done with them; it is better to work with our own people, who brought three fine beams, drawn upon the wagon by three oxen. We have now a stock of 80 May.

The Hottentots. 1653, July.

eattle and 130 sheep for the ships. It is now eold and wet; the trade with the natives has therefore ceased, for they have removed with their cattle and other substanee, but we have good hopes of them in the season. The governor went out very early in the morning with 12 armed soldiers to the Houtbaai, found the finest forest in the world, trees lofty, thick, and straight as can be desired; pastures every where the finest in the world, very suitable for eultivation; full of game, harts, hinds, roes, elands, mountain dueks, and geese, partridges, pheasants, &c., but all so wild that it was impossible to eatch them. No letters from our masters, only verbal intelligence of April 11th, that war with the new government of England continues. For several nights back five or six sheep have been taken by wild animals out of the tent, within the kraal, in which the people were

September.

sleeping. Resolved to send the galliot *Roode Vos* to Saldanha Bay, with fifteen men, and provisions for 25, for three months, to trade with the Saldaniers, if found there, and to induee them to come here with ivory, and other merchandize and cattle, so that we

October.

may have two places of trade instead of one. Some Saldaniers eame, but had nothing except a few ostrieh eggs; others, they said, were following with their houses and cattle. Heard that a large ship had arrived in Saldanha Bay, bringing sheep, and killing seals to eat. She proved to be a Frenehman, they had been there six months, and had killed 38,000 or 39,000 seals to eat. Desired two Saldaniers to carry a letter, by land, to the galliot, which they said had joined the large ship in Saldanha Bay, but neither food, eopper, nor tobacco, would induce them to undertake the duty; they said it was too dangerous, from the number of wild animals. Two soldiers arrived from a party of 8, who, under a junior mer-

chant, left Saldanha Bay on Wednesday morning; the junior merchant reported that many of the Frenchmen were unwilling to return to France, having no other food than penguins, seals' flesh, and such other things as they could catch; they offered to serve the Company, and to show how to kill seals, and preserve the skins. Resolved to write to the officers of the galliot, to accept the services of such as offered, and to allure them as much as possible, to distress the Frenchman on his homeward voyage, and thus destroy the inclination of his masters to come here again, gaining, at the same time, information of the mode of preparing skins, and any thing else done or procured hereabouts by the Frenchman. Sent by a corporal and three, a letter to be dispatched to our masters by the French captain. "The attempt," says Mr. Moodie in a note, "on the French ship was reported to have been actually made; it failed. The sentiments contained in the Journal of December, 1652, were not made the subject of a direct proposal or reference to the Directors; nor do they appear to have, in any way, influenced the conduct pursued towards the natives." Trade at the fort, with the Saldaniers, recommenced; the thin wire not so current as the thick bars, now all expended; stronger, thicker, and better spun tobacco required; also one or two dozen good sure firelocks, for journeys through the country, for which they would suit well, and flints, for our fire-arms are without flints, and consequently cannot be used. Eight sheep procured from the Saldaniers, who were treated, &c. on their departure with a dram of arrack, and a bit of tobacco to each. Just as sermon was over, discovered that Harry, who lived within pistol shot of the fort, had gone off with wife, children, cattle, and all his property, while we were at prayers; cannot conceive what this

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may mean, for he said nothing of such intention, although in the fort just before prayers; except, that yesterday he said he had a mind to go to the Saldaniers, as he did last year, and had frequently done before. While sitting at table, we heard that the cattle were all away, and afterwards, that their boy, who always herds them, with HARRY WILDERS, and whom he left to go to cook his food, lay murdered at the tail of the Lion Mountain. The cattle, which an hour before were within sight of the sentinel, and which WILDERS had, an hour before, as on former occasions, left with the boy in fine green pasture, being driven away. After evening prayers, the sergeant reported that the cattle had been driven round behind Table Mountain, along the shore, over stones and rocks, and that he had left the corporal with three men to pursue them, for he could not go farther with the horses. Ascertained afterwards that the Hottentots had driven our cattle, 42 in number. Sent four men to apprise those in the wood of this, so that these ten men might try to intercept the savages, and to meet and assist those already in pursuit. (The Dutchman taken by surprise by the Hottentot whilst at morning prayers; his ally and interpreter HARRY, doubtless, a party to this descent.) A corporal and five returned through the kloof, sent back to say that the other corporal and thirteen would pursue the Hottentots and cattle to Hout Bay; they wanted food; ten men were instantly sent, well armed and in good order, directed to be well on their guard. It is to be hoped that the 33, when united, will be able to oppose 200 or 300 Hottentots, should they fall in with them. In the evening a corporal and 23 returned, also the party sent out yesterday; he missed the cattle in the dark, along the rocky coast behind Table Mountain; he had followed them to Hout Bay, but

they were already driven round the point towards Cape False. He had missed ten men sent out with provisions, and was without food, or would have gone farther. In short, we have suffered this loss somewhat suddenly, and that through the Strandloopers, called Watermans, who, ever since our arrival, have lived with us, been protected by us, and received such unusual kindness from us, always getting their bellies filled, and the skins of the cattle for their clothing, &c., in particular HARRY, whom we have always maintained as the chief of the little community with us, who has been fed from our table, in the house, as a great friend, and dressed in Dutch clothing, besides being frequently supplied, upon the arrival of every ship, with sacks of bread, rice, wine, &c., by way of recompense for his services as interpreter. All this difficulty is to be surmounted, unless the Saldaniers should fear to come to us, lest we should revenge the loss upon them, but we most hope not, and for the best. The great loss is the milch cows and the fine breeding stock, for from these we were procuring milk, butter, and cheese, as if in Fatherland. Of these, the oxen to draw wood and stone, and of the manure necessary for the land, we are deprived by one fell swoop. Our hope is in the Saldaniers, who, after selling us eight sheep, and went away well pleased, by good entertainment, promising to bring cattle and sheep in abundance; which God grant; for we were deprived of all except 60 or 70 sheep, one milch cow, one ox, and four newly-dropped calves; all most thievishly and faithlessly stolen by these Strandloopers, as we sat at sermon. God mend it! (Amen not added this time.) Council resolved, that our people, who are much embittered against the Hottentots, be expressly prohibited from doing the natives the least injury in the world where-

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ever they may meet them; should they even fall in with the thieves—aye, with HARRY himself, the chief cause—that it may be shown that we are disposed to treat all with friendship; to forget and forgive the injury done to us, and never to think of it again; also that the Saldaniers may show the less fear, and the more inclination to communicate with us, and to come to us again with their cattle; for the chief time for the barter is close at hand. A proclamation was accordingly hastily promulgated to the people, so that we may not by their animosity (hittigheid) and revenge against the inhabitants, be brought into any further embarrassment or hostility, but avoid the same as much as possible. (Here again, hell is paved with good intentions.) Orders were also given for the stationing of men upon the walls, and at the guns, so that upon an alarm each should take his appointed post, as from this piece of roguery we can see that

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this tribe is by no means to be trusted. All this is very good on Mr. VAN RIEBEECK's part, except a certain confounding, apparently, of the Strandloopers and Saldaniers—by calling the former Hottentots—and supposing that his people were embittered against the latter tribe, they had always, up to this time, been called Saldaniers or Ottentoos, the other Strand-

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loopers or Watermans. This night our remaining ox perished in the cold rain, also a young calf and a sheep, for want of stabling, which has not yet been prepared for want of timber. The stock is thus daily perishing of cold and exposure, or dragged away by night, before the sentinels, and devoured by wild animals.

Resolution in Council.

Having, to our great sorrow, and most unexpectedly —God mend it!—suffered the misfortune that all the

Company's cattle, 44 in number, were carried off during the sermon on Sunday last, by the Strandloopers (called Watermans), notwithstanding that they have always had their lean hungry stomachs filled, in particular the Hottentot HARRY, has been fed at our table like a friend, been clad in Dutch clothing, received presents of brass chains, rods, and bars, in consequence of which they had become so active in fetching wood and water, in milking the cows, and herding the young calves, that it seemed they were attached to us like countrymen; goes on to notice the irritation produced by the outrage amongst the colonists, but prohibits them from doing the least injury to the natives who may appear at the fort, or be met with on the roads, whether Saldaniers or Strandloopers, who steal our cattle, as this would produce irritation, and for ever deprive us of the trade. We are not so much interested in taking vengeance on a parcel of thievish Strandloopers, as thereby to suffer in our needful traffic with the Saldaniers, which is of great importance to the Honorable Company, and we might, besides, in that case, injure the innocent as well as the guilty, when the last error would be worse than the first. The ten men in the wood, and the six wood-cutters, with the wagon, shall always be armed; the garrison be divided into four parties, the guards be doubled within and without the fort, also men be stationed at the cannon; all proceeding to their respective posts upon alarm. The Hottentots. 1653, October.

As no Saldaniers appeared at that bay, and only a party of lean Strandloopers, with six or eight ostrich egg-shells, and a young rhebok, and as even they have not been seen for fourteen days, the officers of the *Roode Vos*, resolve to sail, and to do their best to touch at Dassen Island, and to get as many rabbits and eggs as possible. Horses are put to drag the

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wood wagons, instead of our lost oxen. Two sheep died to-day. It really seems as if they were poisoned, for some die every day or night, although not sick. A Hottentot was seen in the bushes, close to the fort, and a corporal and two, with pistols concealed, went out as if for pastime, but the Hottentots would not show themselves, although the armed walked as if they were seeking flowers and plants. The people in the wood saw seven natives, armed with assagais, going over the open country; they did not approach our men, nor our men them, each party going their own way. Five or six Saldaniers, among them a captain, from whom many cattle had been bought, brought news that HARRY, our interpreter, was lying at Cape False with all our cattle, and that he had asked the Saldaniers to let him live with them; they would have nothing to do with him, but would gladly show us where he lay. They wanted people with fire-arms to accompany them thither. A corporal and sixteen were named to set out before day, with or without the Saldanha captain, as might seem best. "The resolution referred to," says Mr. MOODIE, "after recapitulating the details above given, thus lays down the grounds for the first hostile expedition against the natives." The injury done to our people has always been by the Strandloopers—HARRY's companions. We have met with nothing but friendship from the Saldaniers, who only desire to trade with us, without rather than with HARRY's interposition. He never dared to trust himself with them, except under our protection; excepting also one horde, who seem to be, in some degree, his friends; but neither he, and still less his companions, dare confidently to mix with them; they always fled when the Saldaniers came near, except HARRY, who lived close to the fort. All this tends to show that the Saldaniers and Watermans are always at

war, and this is confirmed by the opinion of every one who ever visited the Cape, and of those who escaped from the wreck of the ships *Mauritius* and *Haerlem*, some of whom are now living with us. Our trade with the Saldaniers is frequently stopped by the Watermans, so that it is not unlikely that our pursuit of HARRY and his companions, would be agreeable to them; for they daily intimate, that if we would kill HARRY and Watermans, the trade would be more secure; their captain also signified that he would not do this merely to please them, for that the others had now given us cause enough for revenge. Resolved to send out, in that direction, this very night, under a corporal, 17 active soldiers, provisioned for four or five days; they will halt in the wood till towards day-break, then set out towards Cape False, or wherever HARRY may be with our cattle, and either with, or without the Saldanha captain, retake the cattle, bringing, either by fair means or by force, HARRY and his people here; taking care that they are not deceived or destroyed by the one or the other party. HARRY's camp, consisting of four huts, was seen near Cape False, but they were on the alert and fled, leaving the huts and other things; they were pursued, and the cattle kept in sight all day; one milch cow knocked up and was taken. The Saldaniers did not dare to join in the pursuit. HARRY, with the cattle, kept dodging along and across the very high sand hills towards False Bay. One of his people was at one time within shot, but it was thought better to take him alive, and he escaped. HARRY always kept among the sand hills, avoiding the flat and the beach; also the road by which the Saldaniers drive their cattle; as much afraid of them as of us. Hoped that they may either join in the pursuit, or, for reward, to deliver HARRY and his people into our hands. The pursuit

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was given up. Three men returned with a letter from the officers of the *Roode Vos*, at Saldanha Bay. They met, four days from this, a party of Saldaniers, who received them well, and got in return, bread, tobacco, and arrack; parting good friends. One of them accompanied the three men for a day and a night, to show the direct road. They met many elephants, rhinoceroses, elands, harts, hinds, and other game; in one herd seven, and in another eight elephants, of which they were somewhat afraid, as they, like the rhinoceros stood firm before them, and the men were obliged to give away to those animals. The Frenchman would not allow his boat to land, or go anywhere without trustworthy people, with fire-arms, to prevent desertion. The people returning from the wood with a cart load of beams, met an old Hottentot, and brought him hand in hand to the fort, between two of them. Perceiving that he was a Saldanier, whom we had last year seen among them, he was immediately released, his belly and knapsack were well filled with bread and tobacco, and he remained, of his own accord, to sleep in the fort. But we can see that they are all afraid of injury, on account of HARRY'S robbery. We encourage them to come again with their cattle, of which we hope to experience success—which may God grant, Amen! In the forenoon we dismissed him, his sack full of bread and tobacco, and his stomach also, with a drink of wine. The galliot returned from Saldanha Bay by the Island Elizabeth, with seven sacks of salted harders, and five sacks of eggs, from the island. The four Frenchmen stated that they had been landed on the island because they asked for more food, for they got nothing to eat but seals' flesh and penguins, which they had to kill and salt for the voyage, with toilsome and dirty work; so different from the promises made to them in France.

They were engaged as sailors in the serviee of the Company, out of pure christian commiseration and compassion. Abundanee of vegetables in the garden, enough for the return fleet, but no cattle or sheep for them. The Saldaniers, apprehensive of our taking revenge for the murder of the boy, and HARRY's villainy, we fear may not eome, but we hope the Lord will induee their hearts this way. Resolved to send the galliot to Saldanha Bay, to kill seals, and see whether that people would enter into trade there. In the afternoon, on eoming out of eouncil, we saw the first fires of the season rising eight or ten mylen to the East. We will hope that it may be the Saldaniers, with their cattle, and that they may eome soon, whieh may God grant, Amen! Five Saldaniers met at Salt River, gave an ostrieh egg for the eommander, got some tobaeco and pipes as a present; they said HARRY's proeeedings were known and disapproved of, that a Hottentoo to whom they had given the name of LUBBERT, HARRY's eompanion, murdered the boy—that they were unknown to them or to any of the Watermans—they were assured of our favor, and 4 or 5 ostrieh eggs were bartered for with them. We have, through practiee, acquired a few words of their language. Some Hottentoos eame to the earpenters' tent, when the people were deep in the wood, eutting palisades, and took all their tools; a corporal and 4 to be sent to the wood to take eare of the earpenters and their tools; many fires seen to the East, two mylen off, but no people have as yet eome to the fort; nor any seen except 6 Hottentots, who said they had 2 eows beyond the river. The domine was sent to them with some eopper, tobaceo, pipes, and bread; also two corporals with pistols hid; they instantly fled to a valley ½ a myl out of sight of the fort—seeing no muskets they remained there; they were people

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with whom HARRY appeared to be allied last year, and 2 of them were with him when he stole our cattle; they asked our men sitting by them, trembling and shaking, if they had fire-arms—but would not accompany the chaplain to the fort; they got copper, tobacco, pipes, and bread, and a present for the captain, one of them was present when the cattle were stolen, and to him the present for the captain was entrusted, the better to allay their fears; they sent a full ostrich egg for the commander, and said they utterly detested old HARRY and his works. What will become of it, God knows. They asked the domine to go to their captain to barter there. They are not to be trusted, so ten muskets are sent with the fifty men who go for wood 2½ mylen off. They cannot, from their naturally thievish dispositions, help taking away anything they can lay their hands on; so property requires to be well guarded; if there are two or three muskets no hundred natives dare advance against them. In spite of all the kindness in the world shown them, they cannot refrain, if our people are unarmed, from taking their tools and property by force. That they are blood-thirsty, has not been proved, for the murder of the boy was to prevent his giving notice of the theft of the cattle. If they were cannibals, or blood-thirsty, they might kill our people, who, forbid it as you may, will go out in the fields for figs, and other trash. They do not keep their engagements to meet our people, for barter, at named places. The Saldaniers, with their fires, are retreating quite away towards the interior. VAN RIEBEECK, with about twenty men, soldiers, and others, the least of them armed with pistols, went forth, and saw several groups in the flat, about half a mile off; the drummer was sent forward to say that the governor himself was there; seeing that the

musketeers were left behind, and that he advanced with only six or seven men without any visible arms, they remained sitting with the drummer, awaiting us; as we got nearer, our party following slowly, some of them got up and ran away in great fear, from the drummer; then returned; this happened ten or twelve times, and when our party, by leaving others behind, was reduced to three, they remained, still they could not fully trust us; at last, eight or ten of them, in great fear and trembling, stood still, the rest remaining at a little distance to see how it would go; on recognizing the commander himself in person, they came up to him, extending their hands, as a welcome, and as a further mark of friendship, clasping us round the neck, and we then, in return, over and over again, with many friendly gestures, calling our provision carriers, and opening our bags of bread, arrack, wine, tobacco, and pipes, entertained them sumptuously, royally. They said they were much displeased with HARRY's conduct, and that they had beaten him severely for it; how much of this is to be believed, time will show. Mutual assurances of good intentions passed, and at length we got them to the fort, with one cow. They halted, however, fifty times, doubtful whether they should go or no; always, as we were urging them to go on, wishing us to bring our copper to them in the fields; they at last consented, we took them by the hands, and thus dancing, leaping, and singing, they entered the fort; there we kindly entertained them with tobacco, arrack, and food, as well as all kinds of monkey tricks, so that a formal renewal of alliance was concluded with them, and they were fairly talked out of their fears; bartering, by way of beginning, a cow at more than double price, the more to excite them. The Hottentots. 1653, November.

To-day the Saldaniers came again to the fort with December.

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their wives, which is a good sign, also a worthless sheep, which we would not buy; they were, however, liberally treated, the more to allure them, and we bought from them two good elephants' tusks. Thank God the ships *Breda* and *Lam* arrived from Texel, the 9th September; many of the crews suffering from scurvy. Some Saldaniers came to the fort quite fearlessly with two cows, which were bought at twice the usual price, (pour encourager les autres.) They requested, and were allowed to go on board, so that the captains could fill their bellies and their sacks with bread, make them drunk, or anything else that might serve to entice them. In the evening, says the governor, when trying to milk (whether by his Honor himself, does not appear) the two newly-bartered cows, they sprung over the wall of the kraal, and ran away; although half a myl off, they were instantly brought back by the Saldaniers for a bit of tobacco and a bowl of bread. The power of the Kaffer in whistling back his cattle, is well known. The Saldaniers had, apparently, the same power over theirs, and so, perhaps, would any people, in their degree of civilization, living much amongst their cattle. The power of the Arab over, and his affection for, his horse, is well known. On purchasing them in India, we often find, to our cost, that we have not the same power over even the gentle and docile Arabian steed. So with the Dutchman and his newly-purchased milch cow. The galliot returned from Saldanha Bay, they had not seen the Frenchman there, or the least vestige of skins or implements; he had removed every thing. (The governor was probably anticipated here by "the savages.") They bartered seven sheep, and put them upon Saldanha's Robben Island. There were, indeed, many Saldaniers at the fort, but they brought only one cow. We have now seven, of which three were given

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to the ships, that they might have a little fresh meat. Scarce a pair of shoes left on any one's feet, but divided among the garrison the shoes brought by the *Breda*. The three ships sailed for Batavia. In spite of all the kindness within and without the fort, the Hottentoos are much bolder than before in stealing and carrying off all they can; on finding people unarmed, close to the fort, they take all their things by force, aye, even laying hold of children and boys for the brass buttons on their clothes.—There are about 50 armed Hottentoos too, daily harboured in the wood, who will not come hither—so that, with one thing and another, we scarce know what to think of it, or what we are to trust to,—Resolved, therefore, to strengthen all our guards outside of the fort, to prevent any rupture with these tribes. When they have taken any thing, which, indeed, they cannot abstain from, they become instantly timid and shy of coming to the fort—they are absolutely necessary, were it only to fetch wood for the cooks, but especially for the cattle-trade not yet fully renewed. The governor, therefore, means to go in person once more to their hordes, to see and bring them to us more readily. HARRY, it is to be feared, causes much mischief with the Saldaniers, and may one day work treacherously against us—but we will trust in God's protection. Many Saldaniers came with their wives to the fort, and some Strandloopers who had assisted HARRY in stealing our cattle—but they were entertained with bread, arrack, tobacco, and pipes, that they might not see that we knew of their guilt. They said HARRY had gone far inland with our cattle, and caused much alarm by telling others that if they came hither we would kill them, and take their cattle in revenge; they saw, however, that we treated them as before, and were therefore

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disposed to come as before with their houses and cattle. The worst of it is that some captains of ships, discreet in other respects, threaten that, if they do not get beef, they will go into the interior with hundreds of men to shoot cattle; or, if the Hottentoos will not barter, take the cattle. Got 2 bulls to-day, but cows are not to be had without brass bars. Almost all our cattle were recognized among 1,100 or 1,200 cattle and sheep, which the Saldaniers had brought within a myl of the fort; also the men who had committed the theft, except HARRY alone. They wanted some of our men to come with brass and buy cattle, and it is not impossible that at the instigation of old HARRY, they had some treachery in contemplation—at all events, if they could get the better of us, they would, for the sake of the brass, think little of killing some of our men; brass much wanted. The domine was sent with 19 well-armed soldiers with our last bar of brass, bread, wine, tobacco, and pipes, to treat them, but they will not, with their cattle, come so near the fort as last year. (It seems more than ever probable that old HARRY ferreted out the intention of his honor the governor, last year, to seize all their cattle, and send themselves slaves to India.) The domine brought 2 cattle, the same which had been stolen from us. It is now as clear as day that HARRY is allied with the captain of this party of Saldaniers, and they are not at all disposed to barter; the domine saw there neither HARRY nor the captain, but only the captain's father, a very old and remarkably corpulent man, who now appears to be chief of this whole horde and their cattle, among which are all our stolen cattle. (Mr. MOODIE says, in a note, this tribe was afterwards called the Caepmans; the old fat gentleman in his ox coat covering, GOGOSA, is frequently styled chief of the tribe, and father of SCHA-

CHER, from whom the Cape territory, to a certain extent, and on certain conditions, was formally purchased on the 19th of April, 1672.) The domine also found with the tribe all the Waterman or Strandloopers, with HARRY's deaf wife and all his children, among them a girl who lived in our house, and who was named EVA. The old man came to the fort with the two cattle, we wanted news out of him, and he got brass, tobacco, with as much bread and wine as we could spare, the more to gratify him. He said HARRY was far inland, but our belief is that he and the captain were hidden behind some bushes, for fear that we should seize them. This we told them we would not do; but our temper has been tried as far as it will bear, and it is hard to see that all our cattle are to be stolen, to suffer injury, affront, and the spilling of christian blood; to have the thieves before our eyes, and besides to treat them like friends instead of taking righteous vengeance, which we could easily do upon this guilty horde with their 1,200 or 1,300 cattle and 500 or 600 sheep, for they are not above 50 strong—it would be a pleasure, and once for all we would have breeding-cattle enough to supply the Company's ships and the garrison; we could, without a blow, get 14 or 15 men of which they were rather afraid when they saw our 20 men among them, asking a hundred times if we meant to take them or their cattle. We replied by showing them brass and tobacco, with which they wished to trade as before, giving them also bread and wine. We have resolved, as they now come freely, apparently to trade as before, to do them no more injury, although we suffer daily from this set of people, for they never meet any one incapable of defending himself, but they plunder him bare, threatening those who resist with murder, by placing their assagais against their breasts. This is hardly to be

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borne any longer, and these guilty hordes once paid, it would be somewhat cheaper to take their cattle for ourselves for food and refreshment; and as for their persons using them for work, as slaves, in chains, to the relief of our Netherlanders, who suffer considerably from these rogues; and to this we are daily urged by our people. In proposing this, we should, to a certainty, be outvoted in council; but it would not be amiss, giving us at once so many cattle; and as for barter of ivory or musk, we observe that these people are too lazy to take any trouble to get these things; they tell us themselves that all the teeth they get are picked up on the roads. Their musk and civet, which some of them wear round their necks, they get from cats, which they find dead, and whose flesh they eat, catching them sometimes in snares, but having no skill in keeping cats—and taking no trouble about cats. As for ostrich feathers, we are, in short, daily more convinced that in hundreds of years no quantity of ostrich feathers, worth mentioning, will be procured. As for taking our rightful revenge on this horde, the others, knowing the reason, would not once think of it. Our opportunities of taking our rightful revenge and indemnity, will not be less next year than now; our masters should, therefore, deliberate on this point; for the present we shall forbear, though we have much to do to keep the hands of our people off this horde. The general despatch of 22d of April, acknowledged. Respecting Harry and his allies, the person guilty of the murder of the boy may, we are of opinion, be punished with death, when apprehended; unless Harry was accessory to the murder, he should be banished to Batavia, and there employed in chains on the public works. If you cannot recover the cattle taken from you, you will take as many, and no more, from those who stole yours.

Amsterdam, October 6, 1654.

We must, at first, employ lenient measures, showing that there is no intention to do wrong in any respect. If the purpose is not thus to be attained, and if they continue their violence, you may adopt more rigid measures, and try whether these will check and keep them to their duty; wisdom and discretion are, however, necessary in this course. We have spoken to Captain Chaes, who has been frequently at the Cape, about the capabilities of the country. Among other matters, he states, that at Hout Bay there is very secure anchorage in all winds, and that, from that bay, a valley extends to behind Table Mountain, fit for rice, wheat, and other grain, also for cattle breeding. He thinks a few families from this country would be very useful, but we suspend our decision, awaiting your report thereon. The Hottentots. 1654, January.

It would be curious, and highly interesting, to see the reply of the Chamber to Van Riebeeck's proposition to seize bodily the cattle of the natives, and treacherously to make prisoners of those who come to him in full confidence, and unarmed. It is quite obvious that the proposition was not sent to Holland, and that its entry in his Journal must have escaped observation; else the man, by whom this despatch was written, would not have been permitted to remain an hour in office. Commentary.

Went in the evening to the mountain, and found large quantities of glittering ore. Began to fortify the redoubt at Salt River, with branches, for the defence of the bay, like wicker works on the Rhine. In the afternoon sent our said chaplain again to the Saldaniers, to try and barter some cattle, as well as pots, if possible, to try to smelt the ore, which appears to contain gold and silver. God grant it may turn out well for the relief of the Company's expences here. Amen! He returned, bringing two cows. The Sal- January.

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daniers would not admit his party within the circle of their huts, because they were not admitted into the fort. They are too faithless, the rogues! to be admitted. They would barter but little, pointing to the mountains, and saying that many people lay there with cattle, and that they would come down in a few days. Sent a party out for salt. Some Saldaniers came to the fort with two cattle, but we had no bar brass, or thick wire, to their fancy; could not come to terms, so they drove their cattle away, coming back with one cow, which was got, after much trouble, for thin wire.

February.

The inhabitants, and their cattle in hundreds, within half a myl of the fort, but they know we have no brass bars or thick wire, and will not bring their cattle to market. This band have but few sheep, and do not readily part with them. Brass! brass! or we shall not have a beast for the homeward fleet. The vegetables too, are so burnt up by the long drought, that they will fall short. The Hottentoos were at the redoubt last night, to steal the iron from the gate; they thought no one was there, but on the sentry and soldiers showing themselves, they ran away. These are all HARRY's allies, and have our cattle, and his band are all among them. It would not be amiss to dispose of this gang. Not to kill them, but to take their cattle, and employ them as slaves on the islands to kill seals. Until this is done, we cannot have any intercourse with the other inhabitants, who are very simple. These came to steal, and not to sell to us even a single sheep or cow, of which they have the finest of all. The galliot returned with 5,373 seal skins. Placed two 12-pounders on the Salt River redoubt. HARRY's allies have gone a myl farther off with their cattle. We will hope, that now, when they are gone, others will come, as they did last year. They will sell cattle. These only do us all the harm they can. Four other

inhabitants, very simple, and easily to be dealt with, The Hottentots. 1654, February. came to the fort, their saeks were filled with bread, and they got a drink of wine for greater allurement. The pinnace, *'t Kalf* arrived; eight dead, and twenty sick in bed. She sailed in eompany with the *Draak*, *Haerden*, and *'t Lam*. The *Draak*, which they left on the 6th instant, had then twenty dead, and most of the rest sick in bed. May God help them to this place of refreshment. When the ships' guns fired, many of HARRY's friends came to the fort, they wished to go on board to get their bellies filled; they were told to bring sheep and cattle, they answered that others were coming with eattle, they would not sell theirs; we rejoined that only those who brought sheep and eattle should go on board. We laughed, played, and banded words with one another. If we had only flat eopper we should not want for cattle, as is now the ease. They brought one eow, but on HARRY's friends coming, much trouble arose before we got it. Small wire got it for us, and rather more of that than usual. The *Draak* arrived full of siek and seorbutie patients, hardly able to manage the sails; they got some penguins and eggs from Robben (Saldaniers Robben Island?) Island, and reported that the six sheep left there last year had inereased to eleven; all so fat that they could hardly walk. Sinee there they thrive so well, and here rather die off than inerease, the island must be made a proper sheep walk. The crew of the *Kalf* caught half a boat full of fine herrings, of whieh 1,000 were salted; the finest pickled herrings in the world! What a relish for the eaptains of the homeward-bound fleet!! A dead March. whale washed up on the sand; like a Greenlander in size and shape. We eould have some oil from the whale but for want of casks, and that the Hottentoos are eager for the blubber, and buried several pieces of

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it in the sand. HARRY's people again returned to the mustard leaves, about a myl from the fort. The chaplain again went to them with copper and tobacco, also bread and wine, that they might have something to eat and drink, and to know whether they would barter, but he found they had very little live stock, only 200 horned cattle and 150 sheep. They said the Vishmans, called by them Soaqua, had robbed them of all their cattle. They showed their wounds, and told of the battle. They could not, therefore, spare any cattle. If we had shown flat copper we should have had cattle. They had thin wire enough, and so had we. They would not sell even sheep for thin wire, so we got only one calf for that commodity. The Hottentoos were busy melting oil from the blubber of the dead whale, and preserving it in dried trombas; (alga marina, which is driven on the beach about the Cape?) they grease themselves with the oil, and if they get bread from us, dip it in, and thus eat.

The chaplain is again sent forth unsuccessfully. The surgeon of one of the ships undertook to cure the crooked leg of a Hottentot chief, that they might become more attached, and well-affectioned towards us. A young ram, under a twelve month old, was brought from Robben Island, as large as a year old calf, and so fat, as to excite our wonder, with a tail fully 30lbs. weight; the whole sheep 170lbs. The sheep there grow as large as a stout calf. In Table Valley they die off from the moisture from the rivers, and are daily taken off by lions, tigers, and jackals. By breeding on the island, we shall have abundance of mutton for the ships, even if we do not get another head of cattle from the natives. Not enough of husked barley or peas to feed a tenth of our people, they must, therefore, have vegetables, and twice a day a little pork, and salt beef. The daily ration of

meat and bread is not enough under hard work. The seines are old, and hardly a fish can be taken; new ones are wanted. And rice would fill the men's stomachs much cheaper than bread; and with Hollanders, to get work out of them, the stomach must be filled. We could carry on the agriculture, the seal killing, and all other needful works, much cheaper with slaves, and upon the most common food of rice, fish, seal, or penguin flesh, without wages. Slaves, as well as rice, could be cheaply procured by a single trip to Madagascar. The Netherlanders would then be reserved for guards, and taking charge on journeys. The Hottentots. 1654, March.

The boat returned from Robben Island, having landed the sheep and rabbits. Some of the Hottentoos, sent there for the purpose, cut the sheeps' tails off, of which we make good fat for our bread instead of butter. They brought also some penguins' and seals' flesh to try to feed the pigs with. We send the galliot and decked boat to Saldanha Bay, to bring some birds, penguins, and fish, to salt as food for our people, who begin to get very hungry, for they cannot live upon the allowance of bread and meat, and we are therefore obliged to give them to fill their stomachs, and these things under better circumstances they would hardly put in their mouths. This is the second anniversary of our arrival to establish the fort and colony; we have hitherto experienced, through God's pleasure, so many blessings and so much success, that we have resolved to set this day, the 6th of April, aside as a day of thanksgiving and prayer to the glory of God, that our posterity may never forget the benefits we have received, but always bear them in grateful recollection to the glory of God. Went out in person, and about 1½ myl from the fort, behind the mountain, saw herds of sheep and cattle, then a whole encampment with women and children, about April.

The Hottentots. 1654, April.

100; they saw us too with our musketeers,* and ran on boldly with their assagais and bows and arrows to cut off our approach to their camp, 16 tolerably large dwellings, neatly disposed in a circle, fastened together with brushwood, as a breastwork, to protect them from wild animals, (Dutchmen?) having two passages for the cattle to get in and out; coming a little nearer we found the passage occupied by 30 active fellows, the skins thrown off, entirely naked, without the least encumbrance in the world, and well provided with assagais, bows, and arrows; on approaching nearer we held out our hands in token of friendship—they knew us, kissed their hands, and came on, joined hands, and embraced like the greatest friends in the world; they were so besmeared with oil, particularly the greatest among them, that we had another suit of clothes spoiled; as a mark of distinction the fat trickled down from their heads and along their whole bodies; they shone like looking glasses in the sun. We entered the circle formed by their houses, embraced and shook hands with equal fervour; they seemed afraid, and asked whether we wanted to take their cattle, and said that old HARRY, with whom they had nothing to do, had been, on account of his guilt, driven far into the interior; they offered to barter sheep and cattle for brass and tobacco, more from fear, we suspect, than good will. We saw among them the wife and children of HARRY, and some of our cattle; yet we feigned belief, and the alliance was ratified on our part by giving two or three glasses of wine to every man, woman, and child—on theirs by giving milk and honey.

Commentary.

This is the first time honey is mentioned—may they not, some of these, have been Bosjemans, for

* I saw the Devil, the Devil saw me.

their dexterity in following the honey bird, and finding the bees' bike, is well known? The Hottentots. 1654, April.

The chaplain was sent to them with 10 or 12 musketeers to barter—but when they saw so few people with the brass and tobacco, instead of trading, they mocked and pushed them, and would suffer no approach to their houses; although treated with entire civility, their affronts increased; they pushed the chaplain violently on the breast, and gave the bookkeeper a violent thump (flonk) on the head—and had our people not been very patient, a new rupture might have taken place—our people instantly retired without giving them even a bit of tobacco. We can see that this gang is not to be won by kindness, and at a fitting time fair revenge must be taken. Our surgeon has charge of two of their wounded—but the kinder we are the more insolent are they; close to the fort, when most of the garrison were inside, they seized by the throat the boy-herd of 4 Dutch sheep, to murder him and make off with the sheep; seeing a person coming they released the boy and made as if they were were playing with him; the guards were therefore strengthened. When at prayers a party of Hottentoos approached the cattle; a party of men showed themselves from their place of ambush—they pretended, as usual, to beg for tobacco, but only waited an opportunity to play their own part. These allies of Harry are a treacherous set, and 5 musketeers, at the least, must herd the only 12 cattle we have got; there is pasture enough for them close to the fort. When they have collected 1,000 sheep and cattle we may seize them all—they have now only 300, and these are not sufficient for revenge and indemnity both. The men we could seize in lieu of slaves. Sooner or later this must be done, for they already begin to fancy that we fear them. No other

The Hottentots. 1654, April.

native, as we found last year, dare come here as long as this horde remains. If we go with copper and tobacco to trade, they make fools of us, as may be read under date the 8th instant. Our boat returned from Robben Island with four sacks of salted, and 400 or 500 live penguins. Half a penguin will be given to each man, until God sends us relief. Some of the men say to the officers, you can easily bid us work, but you should see that we get more food—put them both legs in irons. The boat returned with a cask of nice salted birds, better than penguins. The galliot had twenty casks full, and a thousand of these birds loose in the hold. This will give us food for two months. Had we only thick wire, brass, and tobacco, to give the Saldaniers, with a drink of wine or arrack, which they like better, we should in time get as many cattle as we require. As for ivory, musk, ostrich feathers, and other merchandize, little is to be done in these things, for the natives bring only such as they pick up without trouble, and they are too indolent to use any exertion. Whenever other tribes come, all the Strandloopers join them, but for these people the other tribes would be easily, cheaply, and safely traded with, for they are simple. The Strandloopers are a set of thievish vagabonds. No other tribe plunder and threaten to murder those whom they find alone as they do; we shall presently have an opportunity of seizing their 1,100 or 1,200 cattle and 600 sheep, the best in the whole country; we should then have breeding cattle enough almost for ever, and we could derive good service from the people in chains, in killing seals, and in the silver mines, which we trust will be found here. Considering the execrable murder of the boy, and the stealing of our cattle, they well deserve this. They also, these allies of old Harry's, always help themselves to a span of the brass and tobacco, given

to others, to their great displeasure. On seeing these rogues about the fort, they always retire with their cattle, fearing annoyance from these audacious rogues. Others too, might come from the remote interior were these disposed of. No other tribes lie close to the fort; among the others we have found much simplicity —among these boldness and cunning; but they are far from being sharp enough to secure themselves against us. Before your Honors had an establishment or fortification here, it often happened that the cattle of the natives were shot, or taken by your servants, but they do not cease coming to us on that account, chiefly owing to their covetousness for brass and tobacco. We are also of opinion, that this Cape could be converted into an island; we shall hereafter examine and report to your Honors thereon; whether this be advisable is doubtful, on several accounts; for in that case, the inhabitants would be cut off from us, unless it were thought proper to keep them on this side, and by means of insulating them here, to bring and to keep them with their cattle in subjection to us. Found on the mountain a dead Bosmannicken, called in Batavia ouranghoutang, as large as a small calf, legs and arms long, very hairy, and of a dark-grey colour, hands and feet like those of a man. Our people ate him from very hunger, for there is little nourishment in these pot herbs. The Hottentoos, Harry's allies, came close, but will not barter. They have stolen our cattle, which are still among them, and murdered our boy. Our people have little to eat, and we have enough to do in these hard times, to keep our people from setting upon them and taking their cattle, rather than suffer hunger any longer; thus taking just revenge on that treacherous gang. They were, however, encouraged to hope for relief from St. Helena, and their mouths were filled with

The Hottentots. 1654, April.

The Hottentots. 1654, April.

cabbage, other vegetables, and penguins; although not kept from murmuring, they were thus kept at work, and in tolerable discipline. The galliot saw 7 or 8 Hottentoos at Saldanha Bay, but no cattle whatever; so resolved to send her for rice to Madagascar.

May.

Harry's allies begin to move off to the interior with their cattle, they plunder, rob, and affront us in every way, without having sold a single head. Others may now soon come, who will be more easily dealt with, which God grant, Amen. Yesterday a Hottentoo's wife was delivered of a child by the side of the river, under some branches, thrown on each other, without help of man or woman, like a brute beast; she smeared it over with cow-dung instantly, and made it black, it was otherwise, like the mother, about as white as a dark-coloured young Jew; she immediately put it at the breast; both father and mother were begging of us, and got some bread, tobacco, and a glass of wine; they went away to their hut in the country, in high spirits, and at a good pace,

June.

in no way protected from wind or rain. The *Tulip* returned from St. Helena, bringing from the fleet $2\frac{1}{2}$ ton of rice, 2 chests of white sugar, 2 buckets of wheat, 28lbs. of wax, and some spices. Thank God for what we have got, but we had hoped for more rice; what we have received is only enough for $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 months.

July.

We heard from people who came to the fort, mostly, however, Harry's allies, and they seldom speak the truth, that some natives from a distant island were on their way hither with sheep and cattle; time will show. The said Hottentoos stole yesterday all the graplings and the tackle from the *Chianpan*. She was lying in the river with a cargo of reeds—they go on with their roguish practices in spite of all the kindness shown to them. But we must let this pass, the more to impress them with a belief of the good nature of the Dutch,

taking at the same time better eare of our property, thus avoiding disputes with them, for should we treat them ill they would never again venture to eome to the fort with eattle or other merehandize. We may some time or other get a better opportunity onee for all to take revenge and indemnity, and then we need not eare about bartering eattle from them. We are more and more eonvineed that it must eome to this at last, for yesterday they were almost by hundreds, well armed, on the hill side near the eattle—but there were 7 or 8 musketeers with the eattle. The English vessel *Coopman* arrived, taken by the *Goutsbloem*—very little provisions reeeived from her, so that we are but sorrily provided. Some of HARRY's allies eame to-day with some lean eows, but there was no dealing with them; they wanted to go on board to fileh their saeks and bellies full of bread and wine—but they have before gone on board ship, got bread, wine and tobaeeo to their eontentment, and then driven their eattle away. The rogues! they shall not serve us this trick again; we wanted them first to sell us their eattle, but they drove them away; we will, however, display before them the eopper, tobaeeo, and beads, just reeeived, and see whether they may thus be entieed. Some of our people went out to eut wood, and gather and earry grass, but were forbidden by the Hottentoos to do so. In short, they beeome more and more insolent, but we ought to wait to feed their eonfidenee in us, until they are hereabouts with 1,000 eattle, and then we will show our teeth, not only for proper revenge for ehristian blood, but for a full indemnity for our stolen eattle. The *Haes* arrived from Batavia, Mareh 7th, with riee and other provisions—God be thanked for this relief; we have fasted for it for a good while. Bartered to-day with HARRY's allies 5 eattle, rather dear; to entiee them

The Hottentots. 1654, July.

The Hottentots. 1654, July. the more, allowed some of them to go on board, and recommended the captains to fill their bellies with bread, rice, arrack, or wine, to incline them the more —gave a full beast to the *Goutsbloem*, ½ to the *Haes*, and ¼ to the *Caep Vogel*, late the *Coopman*—English prize. A day of thanksgiving to the Lord for the special mercy in the supplies from Holland, but in partieular for those so unexpeetedly reeeived from India in our utmost need; for the benefits conferred on us from time to time, espeeially for the suecessful

August. eondition of our affairs here. HARPY'S allies were again on this side of the Salt River; they brought an elephant's tusk which we bought. Went with the 3 ship captains and fully 30 men to the encampment of the Hottentoos, 1½ myl; they had 300 or 400 cattle, and as many sheep; they were HARRY'S allies, who lay here all last year, without barter-ing any thing; others from the interior who are to be dealt with at a eheap rate, are always kept away by them. These schelms give us nothing but sueh affronts as they eau or may, but seeing so large a party they evineed only friendship. We only proeured 1 ox, 1 eow, 1 calf, and 1 sheep, and these at a very dear rate; we gave them tobaeeo, arraek, &e., return-

August 14. ing soon after. The *Angelier*, with dispateh es from the Direetors, to the 15th April, arrived; she had a good many sick and seorbutie, her short voyage not-

August 15. withstanding. The *Vlieland* arrived from the Texel the 19th of May; peace had been proelaimed on the 18th with the Republie of England—for whieh the Lord be praised. We went to the Hottentoos' camp, and with much trouble proeured 1 eow. Proclama-

August 22. tion.—The barter for ostrich eggs and tortoiseshell with individuals, for such trifles as brass and tobacco, injures the Company's trade with the natives, who bring us no eattle;—therefore persons of all ranks are

prohibited from bartering with, or giving presents to these natives, or from offering them affront, pain, or injury; the penalty of doing these things is laid down, and a provost marshal and party of soldiers are ordered to watch, detect, and apprehend all contraveners of this proclamation—in order that they may be punished according to the circumstances of the case, and the quality of the offender. The chaplain again went to the Hottentoos, and got from them, about 3 mylen from the fort, 2 sheep, 1 cow and calf, also 1 fine calf. The chaplain again went to try to get one or more cattle for the 100 sick of the *Henriette Louisse;* he returned in the evening with 2 cattle, which were sent to the ship; she lost 25 or 26 men, and would, probably, never have reached her destination had she not put in here. The galliot returned from Saldanha Bay, but neither saw inhabitants nor any appearance of them. The Hottentoos went on board the galliot to Dassen Island; the captain reports that much could not be made of them, as they wish to have every thing their own way; but if they were under discipline, like our own Netherlanders, something might be made of them, for they are like flax *(want 't is als vlas)* and do much mischief in scaring the seals on the shore, so that we must keep one man constantly employed in watching them; we shall, however, keep one of them here, and try if he will learn Dutch, and use him kindly, for he already understands it pretty well. Proclamation.—No one desists from purchasing from the natives elephant and sea cow teeth, rhinoceros' horns, ostrich eggs, and tortoise-shells, and that, for as much, aye! for more tobacco or brass than we pay for a whole sheep on account of the Company—so that the Company's cattle-trade is thereby brought to nought; if the natives can procure brass and tobacco for such rub-

The Hottentots. 1654, August 22.

September.

October.

The Hottentots. 1654, October.

bish, they will never bring a single sheep or head of eattle; prescribes the penalty of continuing this illicit traffic. The sick were brought on shore from the *Swarte Bull*, many of them died in the boat on the way, they could not be looked on without pity; another ship arrived with 100 siek in bed from scurvy.

November.

Sacrament was performed to the siek of the ship *Bull* by the domine; 2 cows and 3 sheep bought from HARRY's allies; our gamekeeper shot, with one shot, a lion as big as a tolerably sized cow; he got among their eattle, concealed among some bushes, and severely wounded a Hottentoo with his claws; they surrounded him with all their eattle, but could not dispatch so furious an animal with their assagais; they were greatly astonished, and this will cause no diminution in their fear of our fire-arms; bartered an ox with HARRY's allies, no appearance of any other hordes; these fellows lie with their cattle about a myl off, up the Salt River; although they have plenty of fine sheep and cattle they will hardly part with any of them; sent our boat to Robben Island to bring a ram and 126 penguins, with some goose eggs for the sick, of whom about 60 remain here. The people of the galliot saw no natives or signs of them at Saldanha Bay, although they fired several guns to give notice that a ship was there. It were to be wished that we had more than our present stoek of two horses, for we could then easily fetch timber and firewood; some new Hottentoos came from the interior to the fort with 3 cows, accompanied by some of HARRY's allies; they rendered the new comers difficult to deal with; we got from them, however, 3 cattle for 20 lbs. of bar copper, 1½ lb. of tobaceo, and 4 or 5 mingelen of arrack, and they went away in high spirits, well eontented; bought 2 more cattle from them, but in

presence of HARRY's allies, who, very little to our advantage, seem to act the part of brokers. The Hottentots. 1654, December.

The horde of Hottentoos, allied with HARRY, have removed with all their cattle to Cape False. The *Tulip* arrived from Madagascar. The king of Autongel agreed, if we would establish a factory there, to accommodate us with enough rice, slaves, &c. In consequence of the high winds and surf, could not touch at any harbour on the whole coast, except for three days at Mossel Bay, in bad weather, and saw no natives or signs of trade. The English East India ship *Merchant*, arrived; they had been five months at sea, and were affected with scurvy. Hostilities having ceased, they were received as friends. We gave them vegetables enough, but had no oxen to give; and they promised that the port regulations should not be infringed, that their crew should not barter with the inhabitants, or go inland to shoot or hunt. The officers were entertained at dinner—they sent us a present of a hogshead of beer, with a keg of distilled spirits, a good cheese, and six smoked tongues; so as not to remain in their debt, but if possible to leave the obligation upon their side, we sent for the crew and the cabin some cabbages, carrots, salad, &c.—they went on board highly elated, dancing, jumping, and rolling. The commander went on board the next day with some of his company, and had an excellent dinner, to which a fat ram of ours, which we sent on board, contributed. We sold them a lot of Madagascar ebony, in order to turn it to some account, as it is very bad and cracked, 100 sticks, 1,800lbs., at ten guilders per cent. and got in exchange two butts of good English beer for our table, valuc 60 Rds.

The galliot remained at Saldanha Bay ten days. The Strandloopers visited them every day, saying the Sardanie men would come with sheep and cattle for

The Hottentots. 1654, December.

sale; they bought one cow, but no sheep were to be had; went then to the island to kill seals; two sailors ran off at night with the large boat, one was drowned, the other reached the land, and was pursued a good way, but he hid himself in a bush; on searching for him next day the body was found, the Hottentoos had beat him to death, so dreadfully that pieces were cut out of his face.

May they not have met with the fierce tribe of Bosjemans here, called by the Strandloopers Sardaniemen?—they got from them one cow, and that tribe, apparently, had no sheep.

One of our men wounded a rhinoceros, it sunk so deep into the mud that it could not get out. His Honor, out of curiosity, went four or five mylen to see it; it was stuck in the mud; if it had been on hard ground it could hardly have been killed by shot; a hundred or more shot were fired at it, the bullets rebounded from its body, particularly from its side; we were obliged to cut out a piece with axes, and then to shoot into its entrails betwixt the ribs.

His Honor the Governor's morning sport near Cape Town, on the 8th of January, 1655!!

A ship arrived with dead 50, sick 100. These schelms of Harry's made it a long job to barter one ox with the Saldaniers, but we got it. They will not sell their own sheep or cattle, although they have 1,500 or 1,600. It were not amiss that we took the cattle, and banished their wives and children, which we can any day effect. They assisted in stealing our cattle and in murdering the boy; also daily show great insolence. Some few, from other tribes of the interior, come occasionally, but not in whole tribes, or with many cattle. Harry's allies seem to have persuaded them that they have made a contract with us to suffer none other to come near our possession,

and thus they keep the pasture hereabouts for their own cattle and sheep. We see, from their fires, that others come to the vicinity, but they come not close to us. At first, when others came, these rogues always went away. We know not where HARRY is, for although his wife and children are with the gang, he is never seen. One thing is certain, that he does no good, but all the mischief he can. It may be easily seen that the other tribes are not their faithful friends. But should we get HARRY, his allies, and cattle, into our power, we could not then venture to travel in every direction so safely, except under a stronger escort. Even now, if we did not keep a sharp look out after our cattle, they would long ago have again carried them clean away. The people in the woods ask for more soldiers to guard their implements from the Hottentoos. The inhabitants also intimated that they would come in great numbers near the fortress, and take a favorable opportunity of attacking us to get our copper, of which we had so much. They were told that they would get copper for cattle. They replied that we were living upon their land, and building, in order never to go away; and that they would barter no more cattle with us, since we took the best pasture for our own cattle. The Strandloopers also say this in broken English. They begin to get so bold that we must hold our arms in one hand and work with the other, for they give our men the greatest possible annoyance. When they wished to erect some huts near our fort, and were civilly told to go a little farther off, they said boldly that the land was not ours, but theirs; that they would build their huts wherever they pleased, or get the assistance of many people from the interior to attack and kill us; pointing out that the walls were built of earth, and so sloped that they could be easily surmounted; and that they

The Hottentots. 1655, January.

The Hottentots. 1655, January.

knew how to break down the palisades. They could scaree take our fort, but as our hands are always full of work, they could commit great slaughter among our men. The garrison is accordingly divided into three watches: one to mount guard, fully armed, every third night; patroles are also appointed to search and scour the neighbourhood, and discover any ambushes that may be placed by the Hottentoos, and protect the working parties. These precautions are considered the more necessary as the fires show that the vicinity is full of Hottentoos. Their annoyances cannot conveniently be seriously noticed, as they are useful in carrying fire-wood. However much we beg and pray, they refuse altogether to carry when the maggot bites, and then our own men must carry it on their own shoulders; and to keep the pot boiling, gives work to almost all hands, for wood begins to get scaree, and must be fetched a full myl, from the side of Table Mountain. The Batavia horses will, therefore, be very useful to fetch fire-wood with the

February.

wagon. Bought a cow and a few sheep from Harry's allies, after much begging. They said a great multitude of inhabitants, with much cattle, were coming, so that we must keep a strict watch, for there is no saying what that awful schelm Harry may have been

March.

about. Many fires are seen along the whole coast to the Northward. The three ships' launches returned from Saldanha Bay—each with three sheep and 1,500 to 1,600 fresh birds. Only two head of cattle and ten sheep were got from the Strandloopers, and these they are believed to have stolen from others—they are not to be relied upon. A Madagascar slave deserted; he had always been quarrelling with the Hottentoos, and they are believed to have killed him; because they sometimes brought back, for a piece of tobacco, our own people who deserted, and they would not go to

seek for this slave, although copper as well as tobacco was offered. A Hottentoo, called SUBBERT, came to the fort; he, like HARRY, to whom he was second, had been absent. He said HARRY was far far away inland, and that he did not know whether his principal would return; it is to be feared not, for HARRY is a knowing rogue, so is SUBBERT: they were the principals in the theft of the Company's cattle. Seven volunteers, provisioned for three weeks, were sent inland under J. WINTERVOGEL. He had been a captain in Brazils, and explored that country on foot, as far as the South Sea, and aided in discovering the silver mine of Chiera. The commando was given to him—a bold traveller—to try whether any tribes and better minerals could be found than those hereabouts. Six pounds of brass, six of tobacco, and some beads, were given to them, that the natives may learn how these articles are to be found at the fort. HARRY may, however, be at work again. His companion SUBBERT having come, so may he, were friendship and pardon promised. WINTERVOGEL's party returned—one man died from eating too many bitter almonds—they went fifty mylen Northward, and found a tribe of people very low in stature, and very lean, entirely savage, without huts, cattle, or anything in the world; (except their lands and wild game?) they were clad in little skins like the Hottentoos, and spoke like them. They also found Saldaniers, who so designated themselves, in separate parties of 15, 16, 20, or 30. They had cattle, but not many. There was a horde 15 mylen hence of 70 or 80 men, with countless numbers of sheep and cattle; they were eager for brass and tobacco, but would not come here on account of HARRY's allies, who always lay here. These they called Caepmans, and said that they kept the pastures hereabouts for themselves; if they move

The Hottentots. 1655, March.

April.

The Hottentots. 1655, April.

away we will come. They appear to be the proper Saldaniers; were very friendly, not given to begging, and ready to give in return for what was presented to them; much inclined to barter for brass and tobacco, but preferring the latter; they always laid aside their assagais and weapons, and came as good friends; they were very desirous of coming here, and very moderate in barter, and they would come but for HARRY'S allies.

Commentary.

If the Dutch bartered with them on equal or fair terms, it is more than they did with the captain of the English East India ship *Merchant*, four months before. The Brazil captain and traveller appears already to throw some new lights on the subject, and to show that the "proper Saldaniers" considered HARRY'S allies, whom they called Caepmans, to have a right to the lands and pasturage, of which the Dutch had taken possession, without entering into any engagements with this tribe to justify that proceeding. Did then nomadic tribes recognize the rights of one another to pasturage over particular tracts of country? HARRY'S allies spoke a little English, and he had been to Bantam in one of their ships, and had probably been better treated by the people of that nation than by the Dutch. They often inquired when the English ships were coming; this may have been a reason for their hostile disposition towards the Dutch, in addition to what must necessarily have arisen from their forcibly taking possession of the land. It is most probable that they were designated Caepmans during the time of their intercourse with the English.

April.

We went out to see our corn fields, and the encampments of the Hottentoos, four in number, from fifteen down to three or four huts; they were all HARRY'S allies, and had 1,000 to 1,200 sheep, and 300 to 400 cattle, but they would not sell one. On our return

from the wood they offered a small, lean, and apparently sickly lamb. They were not the least shy of us, although we had fifty or sixty soldiers, which is good, for their confidence may be turned to good account, if it should be resolved to take them, cattle and all, into the hands of the Company. A ship arrived from St. Helena with two horses, one was caught in the Kerk Valley, they could not catch the other horses, and caught there only seven or eight hogs. Some cattle and sheep bought from natives of the interior, very dear, through the instigation of HARRY's allies. The same party of natives which had been seen thirty mylen off came within a myl. Very few cattle could be got out of them. After receiving the orders of the Chamber of the 6th October last, VAN RIEBEECK informs their Honors that the Cape government have only a garrison of a 100 to 110 men, and still adheres to its former opinion, although there be equity in the Chamber's decision, the affair, when considered at the Cape, stands quite otherwise, and they think that they should see to get the allies of HARRY, and their cattle, into their power, or leave them entirely unharmed. To find out the individual guilty of the murder is impossible; to take only the same number of cattle that we lost, would create as much irritation and hostility as if we took all they have; they place such confidence in us that we could, at any time, get them, women and children, into the fort, and make them drunk—for the trial has already been made. The Honorable Company would then have enough from the increase to supply the ships with fresh meat, and could get good service out of the men in killing seals on the islands, the flesh of the seals would be sufficient food for them, and the women and children might be sent to Batavia. (It is a wonder his Honor did not say to the devil.) To take from them no

The Hottentots. 1655, April.

The Hottentots. 1655, April.

more than they have taken from us is not worth the trouble; it would make the roads unsafe, and, besides, they could not afterwards be got at.

Commentary.

In still urging their own views on the Chamber the Cape Government seem to admit that, when the natives were fairly dealt with, the roads were safe; but not to see that, requiring of, or taking from them only an equal number of cattle as that lost was likely to be considered fair dealing, to increase confidence, and prevent a repetition of robbery.

We also adhere to the opinion that the other natives would not be at all concerned for them, but would, apparently, be glad that this gang were away.

It could hardly be expected, Mr. Van Riebeeck, that the Saldanhamen would rejoice less in an extension of pasture lands and possessions than the Dutchmen.

April.

In order that we may travel further into the interior, a few asses would be highly necessary to carry provisions. "Riebeeck is described as arriving with planters to form a colony and conquering the country from the Portuguese. The first shot fired among the natives put to flight all who did not fall victims to this new kind of lightning." After examining the authorities in support of the opinion that the territory was purchased by Riebeeck, and stating that the Hottentots were "driven back, partly by their own consent and partly by force," the writer proceeds:— "I have entered somewhat in detail in the causes and manner of the conquest, because I have not found in the writers on the subject any thing sufficiently authentic and precise as to the origin of this settlement, (Nederlandsch Africa, 1783.") The Dutch formed their first settlement at the Cape in 1652, and their governor, Van Riebeeck, gives vent to a very natural sentiment, and one which we fear has been

too prevalent with succeeding colonists, where he describes himself as looking from the mud-walls of his fortress on the cattle of the natives, and wondering at the ways of Providence, which could bestow such very fine gifts on heathens. In the same spirit are the following entries:—The system of oppression thus begun never slackened till the Hottentot nation were cut off, and the small remnant left reduced to abject bondage. From all the accounts we have seen respecting the Hottentot population, it could not have been less than 200,000, but at present they are said to be only 32,000 in number.—*(Report of Select Committee on Aborigines,* 1837.*)* The Hottentots. 1655, April.

To place the colonists sooner on their legs a good many slaves would be necessary for them, which could be easily fetched, as before stated, from Madagascar, or even from India, and given out upon credit until the settlers are in a condition to pay for them—and we shall at all events send to Madagascar for some slaves, for the use of settlers, as well as for the Company's use.

Bought some cattle and sheep from the new people, who have appeared with a tolerable number of cattle near the settlement; but they part with their cattle reluctantly, for Harry's people are at work again. A party of his people from the direction of the Salt River passed the fort with 300 cattle, they were flying from the Saldaniers from the interior, who had taken all their sheep and many of their cattle, and who were still in pursuit. They requested permission to live under our protection in the vallies between the Sand Hills and the Lion Hill, saying that they would in return for meat, rice, tobacco, and arrack gladly fetch the daily firing for the cooks. Another party of Harry's allies lay near the redoubt with an equal number of cattle, watching, they said, the approach of May.

The Hottentots. 1655, May.

their enemies, and that they would come to seek shelter with us. The commander himself went to them, and proposed that they should at once give their cattle to us, live with their wives and children under our protection, have food without care or trouble, be secure from their enemies, and continue good and firm friends of the Hollanders; they replied that they would indeed be our good and firm friends, and for food, tobacco, and arrack fetch fire-wood for the cooks; but as to parting with their cattle—*that could not be.* We said we did not wish to have their cattle for nothing, but that we would pay for them to their contentment in brass and tobacco, and that thus our friendship would be made manifest. They rejoined that they would not part with their cattle, either by sale or gift, as they must draw their subsistence from the milk, adding, if the other tribes from the interior came here, we would get cattle enough.

Commentary.

How little the poor Hottentot understood the Dutchman's drift in thinking that their cattle *was* all he wanted! and how little he understood the character of these free and happy denizens of the forest and field in thinking that they would thus part with their cattle and become his bondsmen!!

May.

They said they did not know when these tribes would come, but we are quite persuaded that they have got these tribes to believe that we have taken them under our protection, and that others would be driven away, in order to keep these pastures for their own cattle, and that they try to keep down our stock that they may have more grass for their own. We consented, however, to their living with all their cattle under our protection, for we are disposed to foster this confidence in us, as it may some time be expedient to seize them and their cattle, which they have well merited. Sent a party with brass and

tobacco to the Negry, of full 30 houses, which lay beyond the Salt River, and where there were full 1,200 cattle and sheep; they turned out to be HARRY's allies, and singing one and the same song; they would not part with their cattle, for they lived upon the milk; few people were found at the huts, and the cattle were grazing on this side of the River, under the very guns of our redoubt, herded by only 3 boys—what an opportunity, &c. But it would not be well to take their cattle, for the rogues would then make the paths unsafe for the fishers, wood-cutters, and others in every direction; if we would take their cattle we must also at the same time see to get hold of themselves, wives and children, to banish them. We can at all times get them all into the fort, and make them drunk as pigs, from their confidence in us through our kind treatment. The Hottentots. 1655, May.

Much rain and 5 roods of the curtain washed down; it must all be built with stone when we get more horses; they are less dangerous to manage than the oxen, even if we could get oxen, for these push with their horns, and are unaccustomed to draught or work of that kind. Sent, at the request of the Hottentoos, a sergeant and three to the Sand Hills, a gun-shot from the fort, to assist in killing a wild animal which was among their cattle; they had surrounded it in some bushes, which it dared not quit, neither dared they approach close to it—they were all dressed like devils, standing in a circle, assagai in hand, with reeds and branches in their hands, they were throwing their assagais into the bushes, but had only hit it once in the leg. The sergeant got sight of it—it was a large leopard, and it fell dead by a single shot through the neck, to the great surprise of the Hottentoos. HARRY's allies, who have the finest cattle in the whole country, now daily graze their 300 oxen June.

The Hottentots. 1655, June.

with 150 to 200 sheep on the flat between the Lion Rump and the Sand Hills, under the protection of our guns, but they will neither sell for love nor for money *(nog te hoy ende te gras een crygen is)* any but such as are almost useless, which are hardly worth looking after—yet we bartered to-day a lean old ox from them; the day after HARRY himself, to our great surprise, came to the fort with 50 strange armed natives and a herd of 40 fine cattle, of which, through his means, we bartered 26, fat and good. He requested and was permitted to visit the commander, offering excuses for going away in October, 1653, when all the Company's cattle were carried off, alleging that it was not done by him, or with his consent, but by Caepmans, whom we call his allies, and who are now living under our protection—the boy, he said, was murdered by the son of the old fat man, who is now the captain of that horde; that he himself went off, fearing that he would be hanged, under the idea that he was implicated, and that he had now voluntarily returned, accompanied by these inhabitants, who, he said, are the true Saldaniers, to show his innocence and friendship, adding that he would take care that we should get, from these and from others, as many cattle as we could desire. He requested to be admitted to grace, and to live, as before, under our protection. This was admitted in the first instance, and for the good service already rendered, and in token of our good intentions, he was presented with 25 lbs. of brass, tobacco, wine, pipes, a sack of rice, bread, &c. that he might in the evening make merry with his companions. He told us secretly, that he could point out such of our stolen cattle as had not been eaten in the herds of the Caepmans, and that if we wished to be real friends with the Saldaniamen, we must make away with these Caep-

mans, whom we had always considered his allies, though they had taken our cattle, and would never barter any; they were only rogues and robbers, having themselves nothing but what they took from us and others. He said that this night, when they were all asleep, he would, to prove his sincerity, come to the fort, accompanied by some of the Saldanhaman. They kept, he continued, no night watch, their cattle were tied together, two and two, and were easily to be got, as well as the people, women, children, and all. They should, he said, be sent away in ships, which would be a great kindness to the Saldaniers, who would then bring so many cattle, that our brass would fall short before their cattle, and their disposition to barter them. They had always persuaded him and others, that we wished to kill him and the Saldaniers. To ascertain this, and well knowing the good nature of the Dutch, also that we wanted a quantity of cattle, he had come with some inhabitants; if we should adopt these measures, other inhabitants, he said, would come in great numbers. A full pardon, and assurance of personal safety were granted to HARRY; he was allowed to live under our protection, and invited to eat from the commander's table as before. We always thought that the Caepmans were HARRY's allies, and we saw our cattle among theirs, (VAN RIEBEECK might have added his wife and children among their wives and children) and thus thought him concerned with them; the contrary now appears, by his account, to be the fact. With regard to seizing the Caepmans and their cattle, and putting to death such as he should point out, we let it appear that we had not determined on that course, or at all inclined to adopt it, or to do the least injury to any one. He answered, plainly, they must go, or others would never come to trade, for these were robbers and not

The Hottentots. 1655, June.

The Hottentots. 1655, June.

traders; he appeared to urge on his plan, and to wish that it should, that very night, be carried into execution. We did not evince to him our real inclinations; but this we observe, that HARRY does not speak very wide of the mark, or of the truth, and that our opinion agrees fully with his. We saw plainly that these rogues gave great annoyance to the other inhabitants, in the barter, forcing them with much rudeness to give up their tobacco, as if in brokerage. When we objected to this, they told us that they had sent HARRY and these people, otherwise they would not have come; we knew the contrary, for they had not been near the encampment of the others. Indoors, and with us alone, HARRY drew from these circumstances a new argument in favor of his proposal. Saying that whilst the others were thus annoyed by the Caepmans, they would not dare to come freely, or feel security; that he dared not act much in opposition to them, and was sometimes now, as formerly, obliged to join in their cry, or they would kill him; if the Saldaniers refused them a share of their tobacco, these rogues watched until they were out of sight and plundered them. We have, through HARRY's assistance, procured from the strangers 28 head of cattle, at a fair rate. The strangers departed. He remains with wife and children close to us, and has 15 or 16 head of cattle, which he says are his own, given to him by the said natives; these he wishes to keep for the maintenance of his family, and to be permitted to graze them under our protection. He advises us to look well after our own cattle, or that the Caepmans will one fine day carry them off as they did before. His Honor goes on to show how HARRY wonders at our trusting the Caepmans so much, and that we do not seize their cattle and transport themselves, seeing that there is a ship present, the crew of which would

assist. In proof of his own sincerity and good intentions, he was willing to be confined, with wife and children, in the fort as a hostage. The time has not, however, yet come, for they have not now above 400 or 500 sheep and cattle; if their mates join them, they will have 1,500 or 1,600. As we generally saw some of HARRY's family with the Caepmans during his absence, we naturally considered that they were his allies. He said they had been forcibly detained as security, that he would not inform against them, or ally himself with us without including them also, which he should not have done, had he not succeeded in inducing the Saldaniers to come with their cattle to prove his fidelity and affection for the Dutch. He said it was true, that before his departure he was closely allied with, and useful to the Caepmans, but more from fear than from good will, for then he scarcely knew how it would be with us, whether we were to stay permanently, or go away some time or other, as he had observed that the shipwrecked crews of the *Mauritius* and *Haerlem* did; that he was then obliged to hide himself from the Caepmans, as all the Watermans still do. Now he saw that we intended to remain, he could depend upon us better and more boldly than he did before. He asked whether we had not perceived that he never dared to trust himself entirely among the Caepmans, except in our company; and then even reluctantly, and in great fear, knowing well that but for us they would kill him. Now, however, having heard from some Saldaniers, who had been here with some cattle, that we always inquired after him, and tried by fair promises and assurances to induce him to return, he had confidently determined to return and beg forgiveness. He could never have gone to the Caepmans, since we considered them to be his allies, whilst they were his deadly enemies,

The Hottentots. 1655, June.

The Hottentots. 1655, June.

and had never been anything but pretended friends; but for our protection he could not now go among them alone.

Commentary.

No wonder that poor HARRY in this small sea of trouble was a little puzzled how to act. He little knew, apparently, why the Dutch "always inquired after him, and tried by fair promises and assurances to induce him to return." He acted wisely, however, in coming back with the Saldaniers and 48 of their fine cattle; and he must have played his part well to have got his wife and children out of the hands of the Caepmans. Indeed, both the Strandloopers or Watermans, for HARRY was one of these, and the Caepmans, seem to have been an over-match on their own dung-hills, and in this small field of politics for VAN RIEBEECK; and would probably have beaten him and all his men out of it, had they met him before the invention of gunpower. What might not have been made of such people by a ruler who entertained just notions of the rights of other men!!

June.

We had observed, that at the time of the robbery of the cattle, HARRY went quite a different way from the Caepmans; they drove the cattle round the Lion Hill; he was never seen among them, and his wife and children were detained by force, and not with his consent. In short, HARRY has cleverly worked himself into the good graces of the Dutch. He says towards the time when the rainy months are past, and the fine weather commences, many people will bring cattle through his exertions, and what will be his future exhortations. He would first fain have the Caepmans' cattle taken, and themselves removed. It seems as if the Saldaniers had engaged him to persuade us to that measure; he hints that it is the chief object and wish of the Saldaniers; is dissatisfied with our resolution, seeing that we could now so easily and conveniently indemnify ourselves

for the eattle stolen. But we must keep this point a little longer in suspense, holding him in doubt of our views and intentions, until we see how matters turn out. This afternoon some strange people came past the fort with a herd of 40 cattle and 50 sheep; they went straight to HARRY, and there pitched their camp; soon after HARRY came with them, and we bought 9 fine fat cows and 2 sheep. He said it is now late, they were tired, and as they had got some tobacco, they must rest, put it in their pipes and smoke it—but that next day they would bring more cattle and sheep. Got this day from the new people from the interior 26 eattle and 4 sheep, for brass, tobaceo, and pipes. Since the 23rd HARRY has been the means of fetching and bartering for the Company 67 head of cattle and 13 or 14 sheep, so that we have now 60 cattle, old and young, besides those daily killed and sent on board the *Prins te Paard*—and we have 105 sheep on Robben Island, (Saldaniers' Robben Island?) unless some have died, or been lambed, since last report—so ends the month of June 1655. The Hottentots. 1655, June.

It will be curious and interesting to behold, as the Dutchman said, when he saw the Hottentoo child, with the assistance of its mother, sucking the fat-tailed ewe—how this rather tangled web of South African international politics unravels itself as we proceed; curious and interesting, at least, in as far as the relative position of the aboriginal tribes is concerned; for with the proeeedings of the Dutch, except in so far as they complicated the politics and position of the aborigines, we need not mueh concern ourselves. The Dutch found, apparently, on their first arrival, the country round Cape Town, and probably the whole promontory, in possession of the Cacpmans, an extensive tribe, having large herds and flocks; there were a few Strandloopers, or Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1655, June.

Watermans, living on the sea shore, and extending, in small numbers, as far as Saldanha Bay; 400 or 500 Visehman, with cattle, but without sheep, who came, in their yearly migrations, to the pasturage, after it had been exhausted by the cattle of the Caepmans, or when they went to seek other pasturage for their extensive herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. How the Caepmans gained that designation does not appear; the probability is that it was given to them by the first Portuguese or English navigators, from their occupying the country round the Cape. It seems quite certain that an extensive tribe inhabiting the interior, and having large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, called themselves, and were called by others, Saldaniers; and the probability is that the pasture lands of the Caepmans and of the Saldaniers were mutually respected, each leaving their permanent houses standing in their periodical pastoral migrations, and carrying with them only temporary mat huts, which they could easily strike, carry, and pitch again. It is to be hoped that the *Brazilian*, Captain Wintervogel, who was chief of the first exploring eommando which went into the interior in March, 1655, will throw some light presently on these subjects. The period had unhappily not arrived when the rights of aborigines were likely to be much respected. It would, indeed, have required, at any time, a person with some sense of justiee, to have recognized those rights; to have understood and confirmed, rather than destroy the relations in which the various native ehiefs and people stood towards one another. Van Riebeeck, the first Dutch governor, was not, certainly, that person. He had apparently been a Greenland whale-fisher, or probably superintendent of some whale-fishery in that region.

July.

In their dispatch of July, to the Chamber, ae-

knowledging the receipt of their Honors' despatch of the 6th of last October, the Cape government declared, that they were of opinion, under correction, that the time had arrived to take just indemnification from the Caepmans, and to get rid of this faithless and mischievous gang, not only to be free from the annoyance they give, but also to make an opening for traffic and for a closer alliance with the true Saldaniers of the interior, who are civil, and much inclined to trade and to friendship, which would give much greater security than at present, when we must always be on our guard against these allies of HARRY. We have, accordingly, thought of the means of carrying out this scheme, if possible, without bloodshed. We would first, however, willingly see them joined by all their comrades and cattle, so as to be able to exact a good payment; and as we might not be able to fix on the murderer of the boy, for, as prisoners, they would not be ready to inform against each other, we might, instead, keep them all for slaves; send some to Batavia, employ some on the islands, well secured, to kill seals, on whose flesh they could feed without other provisions, and without expense, whilst others could be employed in chains, to fetch wood. (Horror of horrors, even for Mr. VAN RIEBEECK.) No difficulty need be raised as to the other natives being offended, or rendered shy of coming; but, on the contrary, as HARRY distinctly asserts, and as we perceive from other circumstances, they would be more inclined to fetch their cattle without fear. The Hottentots. 1655, July.

It is indeed probable, Mr. VAN RIEBEECK, that the Saldaniers would not be sorry to gain, through your means, an extension of their pasture lands, even at this expense of sorrow and suffering to their compatriots, the Caepmans; for however much the one tribe may have respected the pasture lands of the Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1655, July.

other in time of peace, this was, apparently, a time of war between the tribes, induced, probably, in the first instance, by the support given by yourself to the Caepmans, which must have destroyed the balance of power between the tribes. The Saldaniers were, apparently, the more powerful tribe, and, but for that assistance, and having what they might consider a just cause of war, might have conquered the Caepmans, although it could hardly have entered into their unsophisticated imaginations to treat them, *en masse*, with the brutality and injustice with which you propose to treat them; even supposing the Saldaniers to unite with you in this measure of mighty cruelty and injustice, it must be doubtful how long an alliance, based on such proceedings, could have lasted between the Christian and the uncivilized man, for he must always have feared that his turn too would come, and he would have sought the first opportunity of driving his herds and flocks beyond your reach, to live a few years in his own native wilds, rather than run the risk of banishment to Batavia and other islands, or to be employed in chains, as your hewer of wood and carrier of water.

A ship sailed with as many vegetables as two boats could carry, and two live beasts for the voyage; and another arrived from St. Helena, with some apple trees, three pigs, and three horses, which they caught. The decked boat returned from Saldanha Bay, but saw no inhabitants there. The Caepmans again requested permission to live near the fort, as they had seen some other inhabitants, enemies, called Soaqua, and we consented. We pointed out the pasture behind the Lion Hill for their cattle; reserving this Table Valley for our own. After the usual afternoon parade of the garrison and sailors, in the whole we had only 35 or 36 men under arms; Harry seeing this, took us

quietly aside, and said, if more ships came from Holland, it would be well to see and get more men, otherwise he could not trust himself and his family among us, for as the warm weather approached many people would come with their cattle from the interior, who, seeing that we were so weak, would, for our brass, try to surprise us and them. We, accordingly, ordered a more careful watch, for our men were mostly employed tending the cattle, as gardeners, masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, &c.—mostly without arms. And if the tribes only possessed wisdom and knowledge, closely to examine our position, they could very easily overpower us; for our small numbers only admit of our posting two or three day sentries. If we could keep the people always under arms and on the defensive, we are strong enough even against a large number of inhabitants, but so long as we have no slaves, we must keep the men always employed on the works, which already begin to go to decay. The natives also begin to get more knowing every day, and we should have forty or fifty men expressly for guards over the fort and the cattle. If we had six or eight more horses we could plough, draw timber, firewood, bricks, and clay with them. We have only six horses, which is far too few; for we observe that cavalry impress the natives with much respect. "Valentyn," Mr. Moodie says, "one of the earliest and best Dutch authorities, speaks of Riebeeck's 150 cavalry mounted on Persian horses." More brass is required, and more tobacco of Martinique, that bites the nose, for more cattle are coming. The domine's wife gave birth to a second son, here at the Cape, and all the other ladies are like to follow her example, so that the country is productive in every way. Some strange Hottentoos came to-day with two fine cows. The Caepmans moved off rather hastily with their cattle,

The Hottentots. 1655, July.

August.

The Hottentots, 1655, August.

shaping their course across the Salt Pans, Northward towards Saldanha Bay. When this intelligence reached the fort, about twenty of their people, who fetch our wood, set off as if fire and sword were after them. Some, who were half-way home with their wood, threw it from their shoulders, leaving only HARRY, a few women, boys, and children with us. We asked HARRY what all this meant, and he said, he was angry with them, and told them to go away, as they would sell no cattle, and only wanted to fill their bellies with rice, tobacco, and arrack, for fetching a little fire-wood, which his people could do, and, as he thought, better without than with the Caepmans. This may not be true, but there must be something in the wind; either some new treachery, or they are flying from the Saldaniers, who are likely to come here in the dry weather in great numbers; they may be nearer than the Caepmans expected, and the Saldaniers are much feared by them; or they may fear any longer to trust themselves near us. We have, however, sent more men to guard our hundred cattle. HARRY pointed out the direction taken by the Caepmans; also the mountains to the Eastward, which, from the clearness of the atmosphere, were distinctly visible, though about thirty mylen off; he said that just beyond the first range lay many people and cattle; he said that they wished to go to them with brass and tobacco, and would bring us cattle enough, offering to place 4 or 5 cattle as pledges in our hands. The flight of the Caepmans is very awkward; all are obliged to be armed, even the surgeon (*barbier*), chaplain, and commander, go about with guns and pistols; searching in every direction for gangs of people; and all the houses in the fort are provided with arms ready for use. HARRY's people are busy preparing their assagais, bows, and arrows. He wanted brass and to-

bacco, guarded by soldiers, to be carried on his oxen, that he might go to, and become acquainted with, the other inhabitants, some of whom he said were great captains or cadets, who would return with our people. We wanted him to go with the brass without the soldiers. He persisted, however, in having the soldiers, that they would meet with no obstruction; that he would take his wife and family, and act as interpreter, and entice the people hither by telling them that it was the Dutch who were building permanent houses; that they would not, as formerly, be pulled down, but always be provided with brass, tobacco, beads, and other articles for barter. He was willing to leave all his people to fetch wood in return for food, tobacco, and arrack; also a man named CLAAS DAS, to act as interpreter. He said he would leave three cattle in our hands, taking the others with him; the oxen to carry his baggage, and the cows to give milk to his family on the journey. He gave an amusing answer to the proposal to leave his wives and children, saying that they must be always with their husbands to keep them from other men, and it was not their custom to be so long absent from their wives. The Hottentots. 1655, August.

At an extraordinary meeting of Council—resolved to send 9 volunteers with HARRY, with proper provisions and ammunition, to be carried on oxen; HARRY desired that the Caepmans should remain unmolested during his absence, lest the party with him or the cattle they might bring should be endangered thereby. They carried with them 250 lbs. bread, 80 lbs. pork, 3 cheeses, a keg of arrack, and one of brandy. We trust that the Most High will bless the undertaking. The *Robbejacht*, a decked boat of 16 or 17 tons, built here, was launched. HARRY was reported to be near the wood with our men, and the Hottentoos stole some of the wood-cutter's provisions; some distrust had arisen, September.

The Hottentots. 1655, September.

for HARRY requested the corporal to fire off all the guns, and keep them unloaded, for that he could take care of the party all night. HARRY had been in the wood examining every thing, asked how strong the party there was, and what arms they had; sent a reinforcement of 9 men, with orders not to allow HARRY to expend all the victuals by delaying his onward progress; to see whether he would proceed alone with the brass; and that, in case he loitered to turn back, rather too soon than too late; to keep their guns loaded and be on their guard. The wood-party and sawyers wanted an increase of guard, not considering themselves safe, for they saw Hottentoos coming about spying; some of HARRY's Hottentoos returned, saying, they had gone on until they could not see Table Mountain, still they would go on; the corporal, they said, wrote much with the pen.

October.

The commander went to the back of Table Mountain to see how the wind blew there. It could scarce be felt, but the clouds blowing over Table Mountain showed that the gusts were falling heavily in the valley, about the fort—the wind dies away there, when there is the finest weather in the world, with a pleasant atmosphere in the vallies, where the ground is very rich, watered by such fine streams, that it is delightful to see it. Wheat and other grain would, doubtless, thrive there, and many might gain bread by agriculture; if we get a few slaves we mean to try next year, but a house of defence must be built, to protect the cultivated lands, which will be expensive to the Company, and would be better done by free colonists. The corporal and party sent with HARRY returned to the fort, their commissariat being expended. He wished them to go farther, saying he would return in 2 or 3 months. They left with him the brass, tobacco, and beads, also one of the Com-

pany's oxen, hazarded as a test of HARRY's credit. It were to be wished that we were supplied with pack-asses, so that parties might go farther; then, indeed, something might be found, for oxen will give trouble. Corporal MULLER held a Journal, which ran, word for word, as follows:—The corporal says, that the first day they marched no further than between the redoubt and the fort, and there made up their brass into 11 packages; next day to Rondebosehje, where the Hottentoos stole from them 1 bag of bread and the pork; they slaughtered a beast in such a way as we had never seen in our lives, they pulled it down to the ground with strings, cut it open in the side, and while living pulled the intestines out of the opening, lading out the blood with pots, (this is the second time pots are mentioned, had then the Hottentots earthen manufactures?) and then they skinned it and cut it in pieces. When they began to load their oxen our officer went to see how they did it, and we were all about to go, when HARRY ran up, said nothing, but beat our corporal with his large stick; we stood to see how it would end, HARRY came back to us, saying, "goo, goo," just as if he would say "you have nothing to do with it." (It appears as if "our officer" had taken some liberty with one of HARRY's wives, when they were loading their oxen.) The Hottentoos steal our things, and we believe it is on this account that they do not wish us to be present when they are loading their oxen. It was well we got a fresh supply of provisions from the fort, for the Hottentoos had stolen some of ours. We were marching generally in a S. E. direction; after marching half an hour one morning we saw a strange proceeding of the Hottentot women on the side of our path, where a great stone lay—each woman had a green branch in her hand, laid down

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The Hottentots. 1655, October.

upon her face on the stone, and spoke words which we did not understand; on asking what it meant they said "*hette hie,*" and pointed above, as if they would say, it is an offering to God. Make little progress for the oxen tire—proceeding S. E. by S., saw the little Lion Berg S. S. West, rested that night in the Sand Hills; missed some of our brass. Our officer said to HARRY, the rest of the bars had been stolen from us; he said to me: "No sir, if you can tell me who has them, I will restore them to you." This was impossible, for the packages often fell off the oxen, and remained here and there, so that we could not be with every man. The Hottentoo SUBBERT was sent for by HARRY, and came. When he was going away the men and women began to quarrel furiously, why we did not understand; HARRY came up and said, "goo," we went on for several days E. N. E., until we came to a fine valley where there was water and an old *craal,* where we remained for the night; it was sometimes so swampy that the cattle, from the weight of their loads, sunk up to their bellies; our grey ox remained behind, for he alone had to carry the brass, tobacco, and pipes, and if we said any thing to HARRY he pretended not to understand. Some of our men went along the beach at Cape False, and found a young whale which had run on shore there; the Hottentoos instantly cut it up, and held a great feast that day on the fat of the fish; found also a great quantity of mussels, but not such as we find at the fort—they were so full of stones that we could not eat them; thinking the stones pearls we preserved some; proceeding East we found a fresh water river and an old kraal, where we stayed that day. Eight strange Hottentoos came, and were very kindly received by HARRY; he gave each 6 bracelets, and they were, for two days, employed in forging the bracelets.

They were the Strandloopers who formerly bartered oxen at the fort; they went away, taking with them all our Hottentoos except two, who assisted in loading our cattle—they took also 11 of HARRY's cattle, leaving 11 with him; we reached a stony mountain, and were obliged to unload the oxen and carry up the brass to the top, where we found a fine flat, on which a whole regiment of soldiers might be arrayed in battle order—on descending, with the oxen loaded, we found a fine valley; so misty that we could not see, and the air so unwholesome, that, when we sat down we became stiff, and shivered so that we knew not whether we should stand or fall. Our victuals were exhausted, the atmosphere unwholesome, so we resolved to return to the fort, and to take the brass with us. HARRY said, where are you going with the brass? if you do go to the Cape you will get no more cattle then—I dare not go, for the commander will be very angry with me, and I could no more go to his house to eat, or on board, to fetch Spanish wine and bread. If I go on with the brass and bring back plenty of cattle, he will say well done, HARRY, (good and faithful interpreter,) come eat Dutch cheese and butter with me, drink Spanish wine, I will build you a house, and to-morrow we will go on board, and you shall fetch Spanish wine and bread. If you are determined to take the brass with you, there is my knife, give that to VAN RIEBEECK, but leave the white ox with me, for he has, in lieu, more cattle at the Cape. We parted in friendship, and with HARRY's consent took back the grey ox, because he could go no farther. We marched that day to the foot of the mountain we had passed, and there the weakness of our bodies passed off—we could not guess why. The Hottentots. 1655, October.

So ends the journal. Signed WILLEM MULLER, HENDRICK HENDRICKS, and 7 others. I have culled

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from it only such flowers of the 29 days' journey, as relate to the aborigines.

The heavy gusts of wind over Table Mountain shake out and destroy the ripening barley. Bartered 3 fine sheep from the new people, who were well treated. The English ship ———, had many refractory men among the crew, particularly Dutch, of whom 30 or 40 would gladly have remained here, had we but let it appear that this would be agreeable to us, and we might have hidden them all in the country; but as our masters would not like to have any trouble with that nation we did not dare to attempt it, otherwise there were means enough to have so distressed the Englishman that he would not have been able to navigate his ship, and would, consequently, have been compelled to offer her dog cheap, with all her cargo and merchandize, (wheat, brass, copper, tobacco, and grog for the Dutchman.)

Despatch from the Chamber, dated October 30, acknowledges the receipt of letters dated January 27, April 16, and July 4. Well pleased to find such refreshment for shipping at the Cape, and that cultivation succeeds so well. It must be more and more extended, and every exertion used, selecting good spots, and trying every thing, rice, wheat, &c., so that you may maintain yourselves without requiring supplies from this or from Batavia, at such expense to the Company. How far cattle can be reared advantageously you can judge as well as we can. We see with satisfaction that stock, of good quality, can, in due time, be procured from the natives. If the rearing of stock could, in the first instance, be brought so far that the ships should, during their stay at the Cape, have a constant supply of fresh meat, and the same with your garrison, this would be of great benefit to the crews, and would produce some saving, especially

if the meat killed during the cold season will bear salt, and can be cured, as is done here. We will contrive, if it is likely to succeed, to assist more and more from this quarter, and have it carried on by free settlers. For these purposes we authorize you to grant freedom to such of the Company's servants as desire the same, who have acquired such knowledge of the country that they can, by breeding cattle, or otherwise, maintain themselves without becoming a burthen to the Company, provided that they shall bind themselves to remain ten years in the country, and to have their wives and children sent to them under the same contract. The children, whether sent out from Europe, or born at the Cape, to be bound to remain twenty years, calculating from the time of their arrival in the one case, or of their birth in the other; and that they shall further be subject to all such ordinances, with respect to free persons in India, as are now in force, or may hereafter be enacted. We approve of you having pardoned HARRY, and reappointed him as interpreter; but as to your proposal, in order to be rid of the Caepmans, whom you before called HARRY's allies, to get them into our power, and, in consideration of the intolerable annoyance we have from time to time sustained from them, to keep them as slaves, to send some to Batavia, to employ some in killing seals, and others to fetch wood in chains, we have thought fit to order you to wait a little longer, as, before finally determining upon the subject, we shall await the receipt of further advices from you, that we may see how they behave themselves in the interval; we must not have recourse to such extreme remedies except slowly, nor until matters appear to be quite desperate. We have seen the proposal of Mr. VAN GOENS, as to separating the Cape from the continent of Africa, and thus turning it into an

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island, but from what we learn from persons who have been some years there, the thing is impracticable, not only from the great distance to be cut through, but from the inequality of the surface; we shall, however, await the result of your further examination, and your report upon the practicability of the work; or, if impracticable, whether some redoubts or fortifications could not be placed on the isthmus to prevent or cut off the passage of the Hottentoos or natives, so that we may occupy that country in security.

In *Haerlem*, October 30th, 1655.

Commentary.

This important despatch from the Chamber, may be considered to seal the fate of the aborigines; for it not only disregards their rights in the soil, but permits VAN RIEBEECK and his council to remain in office after their infamous proposal to make slaves of a whole tribe, the occupiers of the land which all most coveted, to banish some of them to Batavia, and to employ others in chains, and at labour, in their own country; all without trial or conviction of either the mass or the individual. The Dutch law of A. D. 1636, against making slaves of the inhabitants notwithstanding.

November.

The wood-cutters reported that fully four *Negryen* of Hottentoos had encamped in various spots behind Table Mountain, from 1 to 1½ myl off, with many cattle. Sent the sergeant and some soldiers to see who they were, where they lay, and whether they would trade. They said that in a few days many more people would come from the interior with many cattle, who would dispose of some of them. The Caepmans also appeared here with their cattle, placing themselves between those inhabitants and the fort, and requesting protection. They were told that they must keep so far from our settlement, that the pasture

required for our cattle should not be consumed by theirs. The Hottentots. 1655, November.

Mr. Moodie enters here an extract of a letter from the Special Committee of the Company to their Governor-General of India, dated July 24th, 1652, a copy of which was received at the Cape, January 18th, 1653.

We mean to assist you with ships and men, so that we must prosecute the war with vigour, not only against the English, but also against the Portuguese; the English we must first endeavour to ruin, for they are likely to do us the greatest harm—they should be first assailed and separated from the Portuguese, when the latter can be more conveniently attacked. It is certain that the English nation, more especially since they have beheaded their king, and adopted a new form of government, has never had any intention of maintaining friendly relations with these states, but has endeavoured to interrupt all commerce by sea, and unjustly to usurp and secure to herself the dominum manes, or property of the ocean, which must never more be submitted to by any nation, more especially by the free Netherlands, who have fought for the cause of liberty, to her glory and that of her posterity, for nearly eighty years—and having obtained it, is thus compelled to resist this attempt with all her power, and in her turn to assail these usurpers, and to destroy their shipping wherever they have any trade. We are most anxious for the five ships, as their admiral, Blarcke, is said to have sailed to the North, with the design of overpowering the Company's ships; Admiral Tromp is, however, now at sea with an armada of about a hundred ships, &c.

A very great number more of natives came with much cattle, and with them fifty sheep were bartered at the fort; we keep strict watch, for the number of natives becomes very great. In the vicinity there are

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fully a hundred huts put up, and the eattle are as thick as grass in the field; from these our men were yesterday driven away, and upon some natives running at them for that purpose with assagais, they fired at random over the heads of the natives, who, therefore, fell flat on the ground, upon whieh our men got over the river to this side, and so eseaped. It would appear that they do not wish our shooters to kill the birds, whieh have now bred well, and have many young, so that they may get them for themselves.

Commentary.

It is eurious to find the aborigines elaiming property in wild birds, for such I eonelude these were—a kind of game laws amongst the aborigines of South Afriea! But if they elaimed property in birds, how mueh more must this have been elaimed in wild game, elephants, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, gnu, quagga, ostrieh, &e.

November.

Two Hottentoos, who speak Duteh, eame to warn us that the game-keepers must not go again in the direetion where the Saldaniers lie in great numbers, for that they would kill them, beeause, in the firing of yesterday, the game-keepers struek some of their eattle; they were ordered to go in another direetion, and instead of geese and dueks, to shoot partridges, rabbits, and other game; but if the inhabitants run and trot everywhere, little game will be proeurable, and we must use sheep in lieu for the ships' eaptains. The Commander, with his Honor Mr. Trisins, went on horsebaek with some armed soldiers to make observations, and near the redoubt Duynhoop, found the eountry was full of eattle and sheep, as far as the wood, where our people lie, fully three mylen long, and half a myl broad, so that we eould hardly get along the road, the eattle requiring to be eonstantly driven out of our way by the Hottentoos. It was almost impossible to eount the number of herds, leaving

alone the individual cattle. The same might be said of the people, of whom we could see at one look around us, young and old, probably 5,000 or 6,000; they were so curious to see us, and so enclosed us, that we could scarcely see over them from horseback. There were also 400 or 500 houses, rather large, and pitched in circles, close to each other, within which the cattle are kept at night; the circles could hardly be walked round in half an hour, and looked like regular camps. The Caepmans were also there with their houses and cattle. The Hottentots. 1655, November.

It before seemed as if the Saldaniers so respected the pasture lands of the Caepmans that they only came when the others went away. Here we have them altogether, apparently, however, in separate encampments. It is not improbable that the presence and usurpation of the Dutch may have led to this union among the native tribes. Substitute wagons for the portable houses of the Saldaniers, and their encampment bears no small resemblance to the encampments of the Huns and Goths. Commentary.

A certain horde, the captain of which was at the fort the evening before our cattle were stolen, who we have well observed to be allied with the Caepmans, and to have had a share of our stolen cattle—wherefore, as they are like the Caepmans, very rich in cattle, and, like them, have been always found very unwilling to barter, it is our object, one day or other, if revenge and indemnification be determined on, to attack that horde together with the Caepmans. Only 2 old sheep with their lambs were to-day sold to us, and it is feared by us that they are the chief cause why other people bring so few cattle. We have also found that they would fain have us with brass and tobacco among their hordes, to trade with them there; we suspect that they would try to overpower our November.

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people on account of the brass and tobacco. We must try to entice them to the fort, under our protection, where indeed they may come without apprehension. Some new Hottentoos accompanied us to the fort, and were entertained with a dram of arrack, bread and tobacco; several parcels of brass and tobacco were shown to them, and we called out cow, cow! They seem to promise to bring cows—the success time will show.

Commentary.

Mr. VAN RIEBEECK'S "captain of a certain horde, very rich in cattle like the Caepmans," was probably only one of that confederation, occupying a separate, and probably distant tract of pasture land. HARRY was probably purposely absent at this crisis, and it will be curious to see what part in the play this small diplomatist, and his tribe, the Strandloopers, take on his re-appearance on the boards.

November.

Got eight sheep and three cows; should have got more if the Caepmans had not been there, always taking a good share of the brass and tobacco from the others by way of brokerage; with such rudeness, too, and force as to cause much dissatisfaction to the Saldaniers, rendering them, in a measure, averse from barter.

Commentary.

It is a wonder, Mr. Governor, that you did not attempt to regulate all the intercourse between the parties, as well as the mode in which it pleased them to carry on their barter transactions with your Honor.

November.

A sergeant and some men sent to the native encampment, reported that about the Salt River he had counted past 200 huts, rather large, the people would not, however, barter. That Caepmans and the Swarte Captain, "the captain of a certain horde," were encamped in the midst of the whole with cattle. There were also 40 or 50 houses under the wood, two mylen

further. HARRY's people came with his knife and a brass handle, asking for tobacco; as these things were known to be HARRY's, the tobacco was sent. The Hottentots. 1655, November.

The Hottentoos grazed their cattle close to the fort, up the mountain, and on the ground between the Salt River and the fort; there could not have been less than 2,000 cattle, but they only bartered 3 cows and 7 sheep. The interpreter said those people, although eager for brass and tobacco, did not willingly part with their cattle; that they would remove as soon as the weather was fine, because HARRY was coming with others they must quit the pasture hereabouts. They would not, the interpreter said, willingly offend him, because they saw that he was attached to us, and feared to bring us on their shoulders. Those coming were not enemies with those now here he said; disputes did, indeed, arise between the parties, and then they killed each other and took each other's cattle—but that they as often made peace again. It may, indeed, VAN RIEBEECK observes, be easily seen that they have frequent wars from the frightful scars and wounds of which the naked bodies of almost all of them are filled; the Caepmans, have too, sometimes but few cattle, then again a great number, which they say is from others sometimes robbing them, and from their robbing others in turn. This was a successful barter-day, for we got 52 cattle and 21 sheep from some new inhabitants who came last—if they bring as many more our brass will be all exhausted, but then they may take wire, which, however, they do not regard so highly. Our interpreter said that they said they would bring so many cattle that our brass would all be exhausted, when they would, for once, have the pleasure of laughing at the commander. The inhabitants came with thousands of cattle so close to the December.

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fort that we were obliged to tell them to keep a little farther off, which they did—had we not shut the door of our kraal a number of them would have gone in. We heard that HARRY was close at hand with his camp, bringing some cattle for us and some for himself. Got 27 more cattle and 18 sheep, and sent 68 sheep to Robben Island; heard that the great camp of the Hottentoos had removed, with all their cattle, towards Cape False, the Caepmans remaining at the foot of the mountain where the wood lies. HARRY brought for the Company 13 cattle; he said he would have brought more had not some natives stolen from him at night 4 saeks of brass and all the tobacco. He was not well pleased to find that all our brass was gone, as he had eneouraged people to come with cattle, relying on it. Had we only brass bars we might have procured a thousand cattle from the people who lay here a while, and who still daily come without HARRY's aid. We believe that HARRY's story about the stealing of the brass and tobaeco is half lies, and that to ingratiate himself he has given it away here and there—so that the 13 cattle stand the Company very dear; but this is no bad thing, for the people come very confidently with their cattle. We have therefore persuaded ourselves to believe him altogether, he has done much already, and we now begin to trade with these savage men easily and on very friendly terms—so we shall continue to treat HARRY with kindness. The commander's wife was delivered of her second Cape-born son; and the wife of a junior merchant of her first child, a daughter, the first female born at the Cape, and that exactly nine months, all but one day, after her marriage here. HARRY, as soon as he got the 3 cattle which he left with us, set off for False Cape, saying, if he got more brass and tobaeco he would bring many more inhabitants with

cattle; we excused ourselves, saying, the brass and tobacco might be again stolen, desiring him to encourage the inhabitants to come with their cattle to the fort, which he promised to do. We are firmly persuaded that this cunning fellow has stolen the Company's brass and tobacco, and that he is now rich in cattle, and this the Caep and Saldanhamans say; also, that he will care very little more about us—(baed deed, as they say in Persia,)—time will show. No more Indian *lojangh*, or thick wire, should be sent; it is very bad, and the natives will scarcely take it. An English ship arrived—out 8 months—10 men dead and 40 or 50 sick, mostly scorbutic; supplied them with 2 cattle and 3 or 4 sheep, and admitted 10 or 12 of their worst patients to hospital, at the request of the captain, who said they would gladly pay for all. We were told by people who sold us 6 fine cows and 6 sheep, that HARRY was not likely to return as our interpreter, but that when ships arrived he would come to fill his bags with bread, rice, wine, &c.; that he had bought many cattle from the Saldaniers with our brass, and had now become a great captain. A Hottentoo, calling himself DAMON, and then called by us DOMINE, because of his simplicity, and who appears to be entirely devoted to us, is, with CLAES DAS, employed as interpreter. He appears to be the best man we have yet met with; he told us privately that HARRY had stolen our brass; that it was he who had stolen the Company's cattle; that it was his sons who had murdered the boy, with many details of how he had set about it. He said Caepman had not assisted; that HARRY had planned, and with his own people executed the act, rather contrary than otherwise, to the wish of Caepman and Saldanhaman; that the former did not, indeed, willingly part with their cattle, but wished always to

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live hereabouts, and act as friends and brokers to the latter. If we would confine HARRY when next he came to the fort, he would confess all, and send for his numerous sheep and cattle to get released. He said the Caepmans and Saldanhamans would neither be angry nor run away—they would more likely take it as a friendly act, for none of them liked HARRY, who was a great talker, and brought both parties false intelligence. He said if we would make this proposal to the great captain, son of Caepman, we would soon see what HARRY was, and how the people of this country were disposed towards him.

Commentary.

It will be curious and interesting to behold, as the Dutchman says, how friend HARRY fares in this new plot, which is hatching against him.

December.

Five men were sent to the south coast of False Bay, where our people, when with HARRY, had found some small pearls in mussels, that each might bring back a sack full as a sample. The Saldaniers came with many cattle to the fort, thinking we had received a supply of brass bars, but seeing that it was an English ship, and that we had no brass, they drove away their best cattle, and we got only 20 and 69 sheep. HARRY came and pretended that he had induced those people to bring their cattle, which, before him, we pretended to believe. We have now 471 sheep at Robben Island—and the English seeing our flourishing trade in cattle wished to get 1 or 2 more; we answered civilly that we hoped to content them. One man returned with pearl-mussels—so few and so bad that they were not worth the trouble. The Hottentoos quite over the mountains and out of sight with their cattle and houses; HARRY too had departed. The English begged earnestly for more cattle, and were told civilly that two had been given to them, which, in proportion to their men, were

more than any of our own ships had received; that 40 large ships were expected by March; in consideration of their necessity we let them have more, requesting that we might be no more importuned. The Company's live stock still increases bravely, but pigs and poultry must be managed by free colonists. A dispute had arisen among the native tribes, in consequence of the Saldaniers having given some cattle to Caepmans and Swarte Captain, to be sold on their account—but having learnt that the Caepmans had received more for the cattle than they gave the Saldaniers credit for, these had determined to bring their cattle to market themselves, and this the Caepmans and Swarte Captain had combined to prevent, and resorted to arms to take some cattle, as booty, from the Saldaniers, and to sell the cattle so taken to us. All our Hottentoos, even the wood-carriers, went away to join, as they said, the Caepmans and Swarte Captain in the operations against the Saldaniers, that they also might get part of the booty to sell to us. The Hottentots. 1655, December.

It thus appears that the Caepmans, the Swarte Captain, and the Strandloopers, considered the field of commerce, as well as the pasture fields around the Cape, to belong to them; and that the Saldaniers had concurred in this view, until they found that they were unfairly dealt with in the barter transactions. Commentary.

From this it appears that the Caepmans keep the other natives away, and keep the profit to be made of us, to themselves. This is not a good thing, for we are prevented from finding out what besides cattle is to be found; and it is not improbable that the roads by which the people of Monomotopa and Batua would come are closed by these Caepmans. Many think that the people of Monomotopa trade with those of Sofala, and that the people of Angola met them there; the gold of Angola is said to come from Mono- December.

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motopa. This must be particularly inquired into, so that people may come to us with safety from the interior; we must also keep up the full confidence of the Caepmans in us, for the present. They say HARRY's sons not only murdered the boy, but stole the cattle, and cheated us in the brass affair, and they urge us to confine him, cattle and all, in the fort. He is about to come to the fort with his people and cattle for shelter, when these matters may become more fully developed. These Caepmans will require in time to be brought under some kind of subordination, for they prevent people from the interior coming here, which causes injury to the Company. Their conduct was also suspicious about the time our cattle were stolen, so they are deserving of punishment, and revenge must be taken on a proper opportunity. We shall never have any intercourse with the natives far inland, we think, until these Caepmans and HARRY are treated in another manner. We are now gaining useful experience as to the native tribes, their enmities and friendships; and we hope to get into communication with the people of Monomotopa and Batua. Some of the Hottentoos returned to the fort, saying the Saldaniers had got the start of them; but the chance is, that they have received some check, for they are crest-fallen. Two cows and forty-five sheep were brought by the Caepmans, plundered, as they say, from the Saldaniers. They have gone out again with all our fuel-bearers, although we told them that we would rather they left it alone, that the Saldaniers might have free access to us. They wished much to have five or six active soldiers, with fire-arms, to aid them in taking revenge of the Saldaniers; and it appears they are mustering their forces to interpose between the Saldaniers and us, or to make war against them.

Commentary.

A very pretty quarrel, between the Dutch and the

Saldaniers, appears to be almost inevitable, either from receiving their plundered cattle from the Caepmans, or from acting as their allies. If they do not ally themselves with the Caepmans it would not be surprising to find the Saldaniers, the Caepmans, and the Strandloopers, all combining against the intruders, from their having disturbed or destroyed the balance of power. The Hottentots. 1655, December.

The Governor-General and Council wrote to the Cape government (December 25th). It is unquestionably our best plan to keep a smaller garrison at the Cape, and not to graze our cattle far from the fort. The idea of cutting off the Cape from the continent, and that of stocking the projected island with people and cattle, may altogether be dismissed. The formation of a stone pier, to extend seventy roods into the sea, we agree with you in thinking one of the most necessary things at the Cape. Your proposal to strip the island of St. Helena of everything now on it, and to lay it entirely waste, is somewhat opposed to our ideas; this would be quite as inconvenient to ourselves as it would be to the French and English. Where, in this case, would homeward-bound ships, driven past the Cape, find refreshments? We are, therefore, of opinion, that we should allow the island to remain in *esse*, so that they may resort to it in case of need.

Harry came to the fort again with one of his wives. He said he had taken his few cattle a little farther off, because the commander had so many cattle, that all the pasture was required for their use; but that when the rainy season set in he would return with his houses and cattle. He was alarmed, and could scarce speak for shaking and trembling—the Dutchman therefore smiled, and talked to him humorously, to reassure him. The common people cannot endure Harry, and threaten to kill him on account of his 1656, January.

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falsehood. His troubled conscience was as clear as the day, and he was exceedingly distrustful and suspicious. His encampment of seven huts, with his herd of cattle and sheep, lies at the foot of the mountain, just below the wood. He asked for English tobacco from the wagon-drivers, and was told that they had none of that, but that they had two strong watchful English bull-dogs and guns, so he went away without speaking. He warned us, at dinner, against the Saldaniers, telling us to guard our cattle with thirty or forty soldiers, or they would again be stolen; he said they would watch their opportunity when we were weakest, and when no ships were here; and that they had laid a plan that ten of their men, with assagais, should encounter each of our soldiers. He said each of the Saldaniers carried twelve assagais, and they could easily take our cattle out of the kraal at night. Three or four Hottentoos came, hastily, to tell Harry that many swarms of bees had attacked their camp, and that they must move. He instantly went away with all the fuel-carriers, wives and children and all, but the story of the bees was a lie, for the game-killers saw no one at Harry's five huts but the thick fat captain of the Caepmans, with two wives, and about 150 cattle; they saw, however, many Hottentoos running towards Harry's camp, and we know there are now no other people in this neighbourhood except his own and the Caepmans. Harry and twenty men were seen, without arms, at his huts, employed in eating curdled milk; their arms they often put away in the bush. He had fully a hundred cattle and two hundred sheep purchased with our brass. The great drought so injured the pasture, that some of the cattle were left in the field from weakness; and on this account Harry moved his camp to Hout Bay.

February.

On examining the country, to see whether this

Cape could be made an island, the commander found, near False Bay, a very large lake, fully as broad as the Maas, very deep and brackish, full of sea-cows and sea-horses, and without an outlet; the work would cost millions of gold, and need not be thought of; the commander was out all night, and was kept awake by the roaring, round the hut, of sea-cows, lions, tigers, and other animals, as often happens round the walls of the fort. Hottentoos were sent after two English sailors, who deserted from the *Rosia*, and in two hours brought back one of them. In about ten days the other returned, and said he had been to Saldanha Bay; had made a signal with his shirt tied to a stick to attract the notice of our people there upon the island, but no boat being sent, he was forced to return, having eaten nothing all that time but a few mussels. HARRY came to the fort, and said that he lay with his cattle at Hout Bay; he wished to come and live here when the rainy season came. The Caepmans also lay two mylen off he said. He was told that he must not come during the dry season, as there was hardly food enough for the Company's cattle. The rogues! neither Caepmans nor HARRY will ever sell us any more cattle, and only wish to have their own way in plundering and stealing, but for the precautions taken they would have had our cattle away long since. They and the Swarte Captain were the thieves of the Company's cattle, and the murderers of the boy, although each excuses himself by throwing the blame upon the other. But thieves and murderers must be punished. VAN RIEBEECK urges on the Directors the importance of having a garrison of 120 men, against the natives, who are becoming every day more cunning; and against the Portuguese, elated by their recent victory in Brazil. On this, Mr. MOODIE observes, "when the Portuguese had shaken

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March.

The Hottentots. 1656, March.

off the Spanish yoke in Europe, they bore with impatience that of the Dutch in Ameriea; they rose against their oppressors; and after a variety of struggles, obliged them finally to evacuate Brazil in 1654." A French squadron, of four ships of war, fitted out for Madagascar, arrived; and as these adventurers are not to be trusted, the eight ships in the bay were ordered to be on their guard. Twenty men were landed to strengthen the garrison. We must conduct ourselves with civility or they will take what they want. These French are enough to disturb the Company's concerns here. The Hottentoos were warned not to trust these Frenchmen, as they would try to carry off their people, take their cattle, and do anything else calculated to produce dislike. The French pitched a tent close to the fort, and placed forty sick in it, who were supplied with vegetables by private individuals. Treachery might be thus concealed, so we had the tent closely watched, civilly requesting the inmates not to stir out at night, lest they should suffer injury from the savage natives. The French admiral landed with his retinue, and was well received. He insisted strongly on buying sheep and cattle from us, hinting that otherwise he might be obliged to fetch them from the natives inland. They were strong, and we could not well prevent them without a dispute. So we gave for the four ships eight oxen and ten or twelve sheep, at two *reals* of eight each, by which a good profit will be made. The Caepmans came with their cattle, wishing to make their camp beyond the Lion's Rump, but as they would not barter, we would rather, we said, that they would keep farther off. They persisted, and so did we, unless, like the Saldaniers, they would barter, still they persisted, fearing, they said, the approach of other people; we said we would take them under our protection, if they would barter, otherwise

we would prefer having other people here; they would not, however, agree to barter any of their cattle. The Hottentots. 1656,

The commander having gone out to reconnoitre, describes a scheme for constructing a redoubt about 2½ mylen behind Table Mountain, with an intermediate chain of posts, which would prevent the natives eating down the grass with their cattle, which is absolutely necessary, for the cattle of the Company. May.

No wonder that the Caepmans should decline to sell cattle, which were to be fed to the exclusion of their own. The only wonder is, that their allies, the Saldaniers, had not foresight enough to understand that their time would come next, and so combine with the others to exclude, or starve out such usurpers. Commentary.

The Caepmans and HARRY came running past the fort with their huts and cattle, wishing to encamp under its protection; they were civilly desired to go out of the sight of the fort, as we required the grass for our cattle. HARRY maintained that the land of the Cape belonged to him and the Caepmans; and was told that we also wanted pasture for our cattle, but that if they would barter we would willingly suffer them here. He wanted protection for himself, the Caepmans, and the Swarte Captain, under the Company's power. He was told that if we could perceive that granting his request would produce any good effect it would be granted; but that we could not admit his pretensions to a right of property over this Cape, which the Company had taken possession of, and fortified for themselves; to which he also expressed his consent; but he is a cunning fellow—we must not fancy that they are merely wild savage men; the longer they are known the more clearly it appears that they are savage certainly, but not so wild and irrational as beasts; they are daily becoming more cunning and crafty through May.

The Hottentots. 1656, May.

intercourse, and well know how to improve every opportunity; they say it is slow and toilsome work to move the cannon; that the matches of the muskets will not keep alight in wet weather; but they do not like fireloeks and pocket pistols. A strip of about ½ morgen was ploughed and sown with wheat, rice, and oats at Rondeboschje, and a small guard house, with sod walls, roofed with straw, was placed there, also a guard of two men to remain night and day. Bartered with the strange people from the interior 9 cows and 26 sheep for brass, tobaceo, and pipes, with sometimes a drop of arrack or of wine, as a gift. The Caepmans removed their cattle to where their people had lain, and who moved to make way for the others. It were to be wished that they had remained, and that the Caepmans had gone.

June.

The Hottentoos stole the chain and other iron work from the plough, so we, having driven our cattle close to theirs, had 3 of them driven into our herd. HARRY came instantly to eomplain, and was told it had been done purposely; he said if we would point out the thief he would have him punished, and the iron restored. We told him that he knew the thief better than we did; the iron was brought back in half an hour, and the eattle were restored. It was agreed that when any of his people stole any thing, we should take their eattle in lieu, and detain them until the stolen property was restored, the thief produeed and punished by his own tribe, *i. e.* tied to a post and flogged by his own people.

Commentarr.

This is the first treaty or engagement that I see between the Dutch and the aborigines, and the conditions are any thing but reciprocal, although the Dutch were living on their lands.

June.

It was settled that HARRY might live under our protection, provided that upon the arrival of each

large ship he delivered 10 cattle, and 5 for each yacht or small vessel, he receiving for the same somewhat more brass and tobacco than the other Hottentoos, so as to give him some profit; that when his own cattle were expended he should go into the interior and bring more, leaving his wife, children, and milch cows, under our care. (Treaty No. 2.)—An English vessel arrived and he produced 5 cattle. HARRY wished to stipulate also for the maintenance of his dignity, to be supported as chief of the Cape hordes, to be acknowledged master of the land, and to have exclusive access to the Dutch commander. He was told that if he adhered to his engagements then he should be rewarded, and in some degree according to his wish—and with this he seemed satisfied. HARRY, the Caepmans, and their associates are now nicely in our power, living in three or four parties about the Company's possessions, with fully 2,000 head of sheep and cattle, and without ever selling any thing. They pretend that by the assistance given to us they will merit at last to be allowed to reside with their cattle under our protection, with occasional bold allegations besides, that the land belongs to them and not to the Hon. Company. When the Company begins to be as well supplied with stock as they are, then HARRY and the Caepmans and their companions, may be easily cut off from us by a redoubt 2 mylen from the fort, in the neck of the isthmus of the flat between this Table Bay and False Bay, and by three or four guard-houses. The lions killed one of the Hottentoos' cattle close to the fort; we thought they would have got into the gate, but the matches were shaken, a noise was made, and they went away. The English spread out their Indian cottons to dry—had 7 pieces stolen by the Hottentoos, instigated thereto by our people, who paid them in tobacco; we recovered from our people

The Hottentots. 1656, June.

The Hottentots. 1656, June.

5 pieces, and by threatening to take the Hottentoos' cattle, according to the present practice, got the other 2 pieces also, to the great satisfaction of the English. It was further agreed with HARRY that he should, every fourth day, deliver 1 ox or cow, for the profit of the fort, and a sheep for the Commander's table, he to live under our protection, and that when their people stole from us, or our people stole from them, the thief should be publicly punished by his own countrymen, at a post erected for the purpose within the horn-work of the fort. HARRY might thus be established as supreme chief of the Hottentoos; if we could conclude and support a permanent contract our relations are likely to become improved—they, and particularly the children, begin to speak Dutch pretty well, but they will never live with us in our houses; like birds, they prefer ranging in the open air to the finest halls of kings; they also like to paddle and wallow like hogs in dirt and filth—but fetching firewood goes on very well for tobacco and a belly full of food. A horse was devoured by wild animals—a great loss, for one horse does the work of ten oxen. A large lion sprung up within 40 or 50 paces of the commander, when walking in the garden, and moved slowly towards the mountain; some men with fire-arms went after him, and instantly 200 Hottentoos pursued and surrounded him with all their cattle in a deep *kloof* on the mountain's side, so that he could not get through; these they opposed to the lion as a breast-work, while he lay under a stump; they themselves stood outside of the sheep, and between them and the cattle, when he sprang with a roar and seized one of the sheep, they threw their assagais over the sheep with loud cries, and he retreated, but they could not hit him. One of the hunters fired and he fell dead with three balls through his head; then the

Hottentoos showed themselves brave men, and would have stabbed him a hundred times. The skin will be hung in the great hall used as a chureh. Rewards were offered of six *reals* for a lion, four for a tiger or wolf, three for a leopard. The lioness sought her mate at night near the gate, and ate part of his carcase. Two stolen skins were restored by HARRY, but the thieves were not brought to the fort in conformity with his engagement. HARRY failed to fulfil his cattle engagement, and declared, with the Caepmans, they will not part with their eattle. The surgeon and many men being sick, the eommander was obliged to resume the exereise of his old profession. Sent out people, one round the Lion Hill, the other to the Eastward, to see whether HARRY, Caepmans, &c., were going. One of them returned, and said that the horde which had come from the Eastward, across the river, were associates of HARRY's and the Caepmans; they had 35 huts, and many cattle; and said that they were waiting there until joined by HARRY and the Caepmans from behind the mountain, and that then they would proceed altogether into the interior. HARRY did not dare to drive his cattle past the fort, from behind the Lion Hill, lest the commander should take them, from his having failed to fulfil his engagement. The other messenger found a camp of 13 huts and 200 cattle behind the mountain; they said HARRY had taken the Hout Bay route, and was proceeding inland. The two eneampments continued some days in the same place, but would not sell a single beast on any terms. The Hottentots. 1656, June.

Having heard that some natives had been at Saldanha Bay with cattle, the boat was sent there with brass, &c., and instructions not to give more than one bar for two young heifers, two spans of the best tobacco for each sheep, or fully its length in brass wire. A great July.

The Hottentots. 1656, July.

number of the Caepman Hottentoos came from behind the Lion Hill, along the beach, saying they were pursued by their enemies, the Soanqua, or banditti, who were the enemies of all the Saldaniers. They wished to pitch their camp under the protection of the fort, and were told that they might if they fulfilled the conditions made with HARRY. They said they must live from their cattle and could not part with so many. They were then told that they might move on and protect themselves against their enemies, as they would consume all the grass here without selling us a single head. Our people reported that they encamped $\frac{3}{4}$ of a myl off; they spoke with HARRY near the same place; he was preparing to go farther, and declined to come to the commander. The Caepmans meanwhile sent to propose that we should take HARRY with all his cattle, because his only object was to enrich himself by improper means, and had succeeded. They said they wished to return and live, safe from their enemies, under our protection, to be our friends; bringing us fuel in return for food, tobacco, and a dram of arrack, and to render us any other service in their power; they could not, however, fulfil HARRY's engagement to deliver so many cattle; they lived from their cattle, and could not part with them. But they would act as faithful brokers, and take care that the Saldaniers should bring us abundance.

Commentary.

Here is a proof that the Caepmans did not allow that the engagement of the Dutch with HARRY, the Waterman and English cabin-boy, was binding on them, and almost a proof that VAN RIEBEECK was on the eve of making a cruel wrong in his position, and in theirs, when he proposed to seize them and their cattle—making slaves of man, woman, and child of this tribe, for what was probably the exclusive act of HARRY

and his gang of Strandloopers. Hence, too, probably, the hostility latterly evinced by the Caepmans towards HARRY and his gang, enhanced, doubtless, by their having become, through the support of the Dutch intruders, cattle-proprietors, and consumers, consequently, of their pasturage, in imitation of the Dutch. The probability, too, is, that they were not even receivers of stolen goods, for the Dutchman's cattle, seen among theirs during HARRY's absence, may only have been detained like his wives, as security for his return, or intermediate good conduct. We have since seen that the Dutch instigated the aborigines to steal the Englishmen's Indian cotton clothes, and that the clothes were found in the Dutchmen's possession. The Hottentots. 1656, July. Commentary.

The commissioners from Caepmans were told that they must fetch their captain with 2 or 3 of his chief men, that permanent conditions might be framed upon which both parties could always depend—meantime that through friendly means they should see to keep HARRY close at hand, so as the more easily to get hold of him. In the afternoon the two eldest sons of the captain of the Caepmans came, they persisted in the same proposal, we desired that the captain, their father, should himself come, and having received some refreshments they went away, promising that he should. Next day three of the captain's sons came with 6 sheep for barter, saying, their father was too old and fat to come in such wet weather, but that he would approve of whatever they did. They further stated that if we would only take HARRY alone and kill him, it would be the greatest kindness in the world to them, that the Saldaniers would be much obliged, and that they would take care that we got from the Saldaniers as many cattle as we desired; they wished forthwith to proceed into the interior to invite the Saldaniers to come to trade July.

The Hottentots. 1656, July.

with us, leaving here enough of their people to fetch firewood and perform other services for our people. We told them they might live here as our friends, but as to seizing HARRY we must think about that, pretending that the Saldaniers might be offended; they exclaimed with one voice: do not fear, just lay hold of HARRY, he richly deserves it for having stolen your cattle, and appropriated the brass which he pretended the Saldaniers had stolen from him—for that brass they gave him all the cattle he now has; he now plays the great merchant, and will become richer and richer if you keep him about you in such credit. This always leads us and the Saldaniers to fear that he will one day incite you to take all our cattle. He is a great rogue, and has begun to connect himself with the banditti called Soanqua; for this purpose he has taken many wives, none of them his own; all his wives and children were taken on the death of their parents or husbands—a practice which he still continues, in order, through propagation, to become as powerful in people as he is rich in cattle. What they say, observes VAN RIEBEECK, is evident enough, for when we came here he had not a skin wherewith to cover his naked hide, nor a hut to live in, and now he would fain play the master over the Caepmans, as he has in some measure begun to do. The Caepmans promised, and so did we, that HARRY should know nothing of these negotiations; and they, that they would try and induce him to return and live with them here, that we may seize him and take his cattle as compensation for our merchandize. It was mutually agreed that the people of the one party causing the other any hindrance, should be punished in sight of the injured party. They are very fond of arrack, and told their people for it, tobacco, and a belly full of food, to resume bringing firewood. Our fugitive was

brought back by 2 Hottentoos; with the assistance of 3 of HARRY's men he stole the vegetables, and slept the first night in HARRY's camp. When they were consumed he was driven out by HARRY to fetch more, and after that he slept at the hunters' sheds near the haunts of wild beasts. The whale-boat brought from Robben Island 2 young fat rams, and 10 large fat tails, cut from the ewes, according to the Hottentoo practice. The boat returned from Saldanha Bay. The Hottentoos had attacked and severely beaten the crew of the little boat of the *Robbejacht,* carried off a musket, the brass, and tobacco, and knocked the little boat to pieces to get the iron work; so the other boat returned with only 2 sheep. These people are not to be trusted, and are becoming worse *(slimmer)* every day. We must invite them to come here; to send large parties would be expensive—to send a few exposes them to attack and massacre. The Hottentots. 1656, July.

VAN RIEBEECK could not then have heard that if you send a small army into Spain, it is sure to be beaten; if you send a large one it is sure to be starved. Commentary.

The people mowing grass near Rondeboschje, disturbed a very large, old, lean, hungry lion, he came on, and was with difficulty kept off from taking one of the horses out of the wagon; he followed them to near the fort and concealed himself; he was shot in the kraal at night after killing one cow, and severely wounding another. July.

The natives were absent, the grass being sour in the cold months, and unwholesome for their cattle. August.

Two English ships arrived, and they sent us a pipe of beer and a keg of distilled waters. We sent them vegetables in return; also killed and sent to them two oxen and some sheep, which would have died from severe weakness, the English captain knew not what ailed them; not that they were unwhole- September.

The Hottentots. 1656, September.

some, but it was necessary to kill them; and to save our character, they were bestowed upon them by way of liberality. Some think that in the head of the porcupine, the precious stone, *pedra porca*, is to be found, we examined the heads of three and found—nothing. A wonderful animal this in respect to its means of defence, as it throws its quills, when pursued, a span deep into the body of its enemy. A man saw it throw its quills into the open mouth of a dog, and wound him. The lion last killed had many quills through his skin, and a lion was found on the sand hills, close to the fort, just dead, and still warm, a quill was found two hand-breadths deep in his chest; and it was everywhere so severely wounded by porcupines' quills, that it is clear the lion was killed by a—porcupine.

October.

The Chamber, after saying that they need not now repeat what was written in their despatch of the 12th of last April, and acknowledging the receipt of their further letters from the Cape government, dated 25th March, 8th and 22d April, goes on to express satisfaction with the condition of affairs at the Cape, especially that there is now plenty of vegetables for the shipping, and that cattle and sheep are on the increase. They call the attention of government to the necessity of cultivating rice, wheat, and such other grains as are likely to succeed best, especially behind Table Mountain, where the gusts of wind do not prevail, stationing eight or ten men there, who can cultivate the ground and take care of it, until such time as assistance can be received from slaves, by whom it is believed work of every kind can be more conveniently and much more cheaply performed. The chief object in taking possession of the Cape is to secure refreshment for the shipping, but it will afford satisfaction to find that anything can be found which will meet the

expenses of the garrison. The construction of a redoubt, at a suitable position, for safety is sanctioned, and if it should answer, other redoubts may be erected for greater security. If people should be disposed to take their discharge and settle as free men, assistance may be given to them in their agricultural pursuits, and all that they grew may be taken at a fair price by the Company. Mr. Rykloff van Goens, Counsellor Extraordinary of India, and Commander of the outward-bound fleet, is instructed to visit, examine, and report upon the state of affairs at the Cape. He is to be received with the honor due to a Counsellor and Commissioner. At Rondeboschje, where the corn land is, the wind would scarce have moved a straw, whilst at the fort, the South-east wind blew harder than ever; the farther off the less wind. The natives are such that they cannot refrain from stealing. Some of those who lately beat the men, robbing them of brass and tobacco, and broke up the boat at Saldanha Bay, came here, they were recognized by the assistant J. Wouterszs; they must be treated with kindness, that they may not be frightened away, for cattle and sheep are necessary to us; we must, at the same time, be on our guard against surprise and massacre. The two first cattle of the season—first fruits—are bought from the Caepmans for brass and tobacco, rather dearer than usual, the more to entice them. The Hottentots. 1656, October.

Eight cattle and ten sheep bartered from some inhabitants, they had three pack-oxen, which they took away with their baggage; they were accompanied by eighty of the Caepmans. A hundred morgen of land, rather nearer the fort, behind the Lion Hill, found fit for cultivation, and easily to be preserved from the Hottentoos, &c. The boat returned from Saldanha Bay, seeing no natives there. A lion chased a wolf November.

The Hottentots, 1656, December.

against the palisades of the fort, it fell into a ditch, and so escaped from the lion.

Many Hottentoos arrived within a myl and a half of the fort, at the mustard leaves, with 3,000 or 4,000 cattle; they brought us one lean beast and do. sheep; they said that HARRY lay near the Salt Pans, four mylen off, with many eattle; he was sent to, and had 64 houses and much cattle; after much persuasion he came, trembling like a lady's lap-dog; he promised to bring twenty cattle and sheep of his own, and to get more from others than we had brass and tobacco to buy—which God grant. He did not return according to promise, and the commander went to him; he was in great alarm, asking not to be hurt or killed, he was assured that he would be well treated, if he would only be an honest man henceforth, and bring cattle; he replied, that we well knew that his associates, the Caepmans, who only lay here, would not part with theirs. He got a bottle of arrack, and on this many Hottentoos, wives, and children, expressed great joy, leaping and dancing. We will hope that HARRY may still make a good man of himself. HARRY, Caepmans, and associates, decamped, and encamped again in the hollow at Rondeboschje, below the bush, where it is intended to cultivate wheat next year. HARRY did not come, as he promised, and the commander went to him, but he hid himself, and although assurances were given, he would not show. The other 1,000 or 1,200 Hottentoos, women, and children, therefore, got the tobacco and arrack. The commander, with his suite, returned in the evening to see what God would send with other natives, for nothing is to be had from this tribe. A sergeant and four went, as of their own accord to HARRY, but he held himself so proudly that he would not even come out of his hut or say what were his intentions.

HARRY, Caepmans, and all, decamped with their cattle towards False Bay, placing a small camp of four huts at the mustard leaves. We had always, when they went away, sent our wagons for the dung left at their kraal, to manure our lands. To deprive us of this, they now set fire to their kraals and burnt all the dung to our great inconvenience. From the numerous fires seen inland, it is evident that they have made way for others close at hand. About a myl East South-east of the fort, another Caepman tribe has encamped, consisting of 12 huts and 150 souls; they came to us with ten oxen laden with steenbrasen, which they had killed with their assagais in shallow water near False Bay, it is enough to feed the garrison for three or four days, and they sold it for tobacco. They also brought us a ton of salt from the Pans, on thirteen oxen, which we bought for about 25 lbs. of tobacco. This relieves our people from the duty of salt carriers, which must be done every year, to the great impediment of other work. They brought it because they had observed that we annually did so. The commander having gone to Rondeboschje to establish a cattle kraal, came unexpectedly upon ninety Hottentoo huts, with many cattle, in five *negerys* or camps, all Caepman tribes—and among others, HARRY. We were astonished, and he very much alarmed, for they were so completely surrounded by thickets, that we were upon them before we thought of it. He said that our people daily gave out that if we could set eye upon him, or if he came to the fort, he would be knocked on the head. We talked him out of his apprehensions; and after evening prayers gave strict orders to our people to desist from spreading such reports. The commander went again to the camp of HARRY and the Caepmans. A Hottentoo had been bitten in the foot by an adder, and the poison had swollen the foot, they

The Hottentots. 1657, January.

February.

The Hottentots. 1657, February.

had tied two tight ligatures upon the leg, scarified the foot as if for cupping, and covered it with warm cow-dung; and a man and woman kneeling down sucked the blood with their mouths, and that with all the eagerness of a child at the breast, spitting out the dung; every one was employed in contributing to the cure and preservation of the man, from which may be seen the very strong attachment of this people to one another.

Commentary.

The surgeon and present governor could hardly have gone more scientifically to work for the cure of a snake-bite.

February.

Harry, the fat captain, and some of their chief men, seeing us looking on, and hearing us talk of building houses here and there—for some of them now talk Dutch so well that an interpreter is scarcely necessary—asked if we built houses and broke up the ground, where they should live? for they were just now occupying the spot chosen by some of our free-men. We replied, that we were going to grow bread and tobacco, of which they should have a share, and that we would live like friends, there being plenty of grazing room for them; they expressed themselves satisfied, but it might be easily seen that it was not quite to their mind. We learnt that the Saldaniers were in the neighbourhood, that they meant to dislodge Caepmans and Harry, and had killed some of their people, the intention being to occupy these Cape valleys for pasture for their own cattle. To oppose this, the others were assembling all their power. They did not seem pleased when the commander told them to let the Saldaniers come freely; but said the Saldaniers were no Cape people, this tract belongs to us, and we are not obliged to suffer others to occupy it for pasture. The commander rejoined, let them come to us to barter cattle; you can live under our protection,

and graze your cattle behind the Lion Hill and Table Hill, towards the sea, until we have as many cattle as we want, and when the others have moved we shall leave you these pastures again; they seemed to concur, but allowed it to appear notwithstanding, that so long as they could resist they would oppose, and not give way to the Saldaniers. The Hottentots. 1657, February.

There is an appearance in all this as if the even tenour of the Caepmans and Saldaniers' way had been disturbed in their periodical migrations by the presence and usurpations of the Europeans, for the former had already moved, and pulled up, apparently on the sly, to see what the Dutchmen were about in building houses and appropriating their lands—and having once come to a halt, they were probably induced to remain beyond their usual time and oppose themselves to the yearly visits of the Saldaniers, in the hope of receiving support from the Dutch—or from the fear of the other tribes withholding their barter customs duty, and probably occupying their grazing lands permanently. But for the presence of the foreigner the probability is that by this time in the season each tribe would have been occupying the pasture lands and kraals of the other, for change of pasture is as necessary to cattle as change of food to man; the present colonists find this as necessary as the aborigines did, and do not prepare hay or cultivate artificial grasses or food for their cattle to remedy this evil, or escape from the calamity of famine any more than the Hottentot or Saldanhamans. The only indication of a change of the usual routine which Caepmans gave before coming to a halt in the bush was in burning down their kraal, and this was probably done to evince their distaste at the presence of the European. Commentary.

As stated in our former letters the tribes in the March.

The Hottentots. 1657, March.

interior are a much finer people and more civil than these beggars, who have become great men and insolent; they have told us that they would drive the Caepmans away, which they would do if the Caepmans did not join them; the tribes employ so much time in their migrations that they do not visit each place every season, but every second year. If we had had brass enough last year we could have got more than a thousand cattle and sheep from them; our brass came shortly after they went away; but although we warned them of this they could not make up their minds to return, telling us to have enough next year. HARRY and the Caepmans only sell us now and then a beast that can scarcely walk, and only try to wheedle us out of every thing we have got by fair means or by foul. VAN RIEBEECK renews his proposition to seize HARRY, the Caepmans, and their cattle as advantageous to the Company. They already venture to oppose the approach of other large hordes. They also venture to assert boldly that they are not pleased at our breaking up new ground, and destroying grass which grows for their cattle, particularly since we have begun to cultivate behind Table Mountain, so far from the fort; they also steal other peoples' wives, for the purpose of propagation, a practice in which HARRY in particular is a proficient; we shall continue to raise redoubts and guard-houses behind Table Mountain for protection; corn and tobacco succeed well behind Table Mountain, and we shall continue to work, through free colonists, until the slaves are brought by the vessel which your honors have fitted out for Angola. Without slaves and horses very little is to be done; the natives here are not to be induced to work whatever be given to them, except fetching wood for the cooks when they are in the humour. Three English ships have touched

here; if we do not give them cattle they threaten to land and take them, as was formerly their custom with or without the consent of the natives; they build much upon their commission from their Protector, and we wish to know whether force may not be used to prevent them from usurping the rights of the Company. Sailors and soldiers located near Rondeboschje to receive as much land as they can cultivate in three years; to buy nothing from the natives, and buy and sell only from and to the Company, paying a little of all stock reared for the rights of pasturage. The Hottentoos stole 100 lbs. of tobacco from the fields at night, and instead of making restitution offered the points of their assagais. A corporal and 16 men were sent to HARRY and the Caepmans to demand restitution, but before they arrived the others were flying like hares with their cattle through the mountains towards Hout Bay. They found a few assagais and 5 oxen, left in their haste; when driving these towards the fort 4 or 5 Hottentoos sprung out of the bushes, found the cattle running back, and from their swiftness of foot drove them all away. All the other Hottentoos ran away from the fort at the same time, in fear. The Hottentots. 1657, March.

Commissioner VAN GOENS having arrived, summoned on shore a full council of the ships *Orangie* and *Malacca*. The resolution of 28th March, Mr. MOODIE says, is in the handwriting of the commander, with many erasures, and is almost illegible. It appears to set out by declaring that the council are from circumstances satisfied of HARRY's guilt; the result is thus stated:—"The general opinion was, therefore, that to banish all the Caepmans would be too cruel; and as to HARRY, that also may be somewhat delayed, until a future and better opportunity."

The commissioner issues orders for the guidance of VAN RIEBEECK and the council.—Refer to the Home April.

The Hottentots. 1657, April.

Instruetions and Dispatehes. The ehief objeet was to raise supplies of fruit, vegetables, and fresh meat for the Company's ships and Company's servants on shore —and by subsequent extension to reduee expense, through the honorable sourees of agrieulture, internal trade and foreign eommerce. You have already advanced so far in these objeets, that you ean defend yourselves against any violenee from the inhabitants, and with slight difficulty to drive them all away, to banish them, or kill them, should they attempt to do any wrong deserving of such treatment. The first objeet is to diseharge all salaried servants above 100. Seeond, to employ those servants only on the most indispensable works, *i. e.*, agrieulture and the raising of grain. Third, to employ as many burgers as possible, until the salaried servants are redueed to 70, of whom 50 must be soldiers for the defenee of the fort and the proteetion of eultivation. Although all the proposed works, redoubts and guard-houses, and stone pier, are indeed highly neeessary, yet agrieulture is preferable, and you must eonfess that had the 25 shipwreeked men been thus employed it would have been unneeessary to send to Madagascar for grain, and that you have shown more zeal in building than in growing eorn. As to the pier, it might have been suspended for three years; our sailors have had for the last sixty years to wade up to the neeks for fresh water, and it would have little mattered had they eontinued to do so for three or six years longer. Caleulate for a moment the imaginary gain from the employment of two galliots, and they will end in smoke, and show loss instead of profit to the Company. It would have been better had all the ten discharged men, who have beeome burgers, been married, or, if married, had sent for their wives; and now you will refuse to diseharge any but married

men, or such as take service with the married.* We shall never become noblemen here, until we shall first be good farmers—boers. (Mr. MOODIE adds in a Note—The Dutch term boer, meaning simply a countryman or peasant, has been confounded with burger—a citizen, burgess, or freeman; and is still more generally associated with the general acceptation of the English word boor.) Should the burgers suffer any annoyance they must be protected. They must be permitted to buy as many sheep and cows from the Hottentoos, as they can feed without injury to the corn lands, but you must not suffer them to keep good corn lands as pasture; or, without orders from our masters, to grow tobacco; or to buy cattle, except with Company's brass and tobacco; or to give more of these than you have been accustomed to give; they must also sell to the Company what stock may be required, and they can spare, an ox, bull, or cow, for twelve guilders, and a sheep for three, paying the same for those they may require from the Company. Pages 12, 21, and 22, prescribe the observance of the usages of the Fatherland in regulating the length of the myl and the land measure, and weights; the land to be cultivated, which need not for ten years exceed 3,250 morgen, and this quantity is stated to lie convenient within the Cape territory. The Company's charter is understood to extend from the North side of Saldanha Bay to the Cape of Good Hope; East and South, and moreover North, over sea and land—it is unlimited. Land marks, with the Company's arms, are to be placed on Dassen

The Hottentots. 1657, April.

* If we had as many Formosars and Chinese as there are at Formosa, there might be some prospect; but there is very little hope, from the laziness and recklessness of these natives, who know nothing, and are not to be disposed to industry. It is still more impossible for our countrymen to kill game—it is too wild.

The Hottentots. 1657, April.

Island and on the North side of Saldanha Bay. Mr. Moodie says—No Europeans, except Dutch or Germans, were to be allowed to settle, or remain in garrison; and when slaves arrived, great care was to be taken that they did not introduce the Portuguese language. The number of Europeans in April, 1657—five years after the occupation—was 144, 100 being paid servants, 10 burgers, 6 married women, 12 children, and 6 convicts; the slaves, 3 males and 7 females. It is my firm belief that gold and ivory may be more successfully searched after by land than by sea. The coast of Angola stretches from the 10th South latitude to this, and the natives of that country may be induced to come here with their merchandize. I see little difficulty in penetrating to the river Spirito Santo and to the city of Monomotopa. According to the Portuguese accounts it lies 210 mylen North-east from this, in latitude 24., the river 20 mylen farther North. The river is said to produce all the gold brought to the Mauthas. Eight or ten young men, one of them a surveyor, and they have already gone fifty mylen, should be encouraged to the undertaking. As to the manner in which we shall conduct ourselves towards Harry, Caepmans, and their allies, and the Saldaniers, I find difficulties on every side, whether we be lenient or severe. Unless we bridle and keep a tight rein on these Cape fellows, we shall have no trade with the Saldaniers, and shall attain no object of importance; every means must be employed to detach them from the Saldaniers. This may be done first, by means of fortifications and guard-houses. Second, by laying hold of them all and killing or banishing them. Third, by endeavouring to live on good terms with them. The first is the most certain, and by far the best, but most expensive. The second, is barbarous and unchristian, and would, therefore, be

abhorred and punished by God; neither are the home authorities inclined to it, but say that severe measures must never be resorted to unless unavoidable. The third is, indeed, the most honorable and praiseworthy; but we find—God better it!—that it is impossible to operate upon the brutish and savage nature of these men by such means; so that the first course appears the most necessary. It is my advice that you should continue to treat the Hottentoos and inhabitants as you have been doing. If any of them do us serious wrong you should lay hold of the people of HARRY,* Cacpmans, Swarte Captain, or those you may deem guilty, and place them on Robben Island until they point out the offender; release the others, and banish him to the island for two or three years; apprising the chiefs of your proceedings, so as to cause as little estrangement as possible. Even if they should kill any of our men, I would not, without orders from our masters, go so far as to shed the blood of any of them; unless the murderer were certainly known; with their (the chiefs?) concurrence he should then be punished with death, having the execution, if possible, performed by themselves. Every means should be tried to gain their good will; chiefly, because, were they once driven away our men would be in danger in all this part of Africa. If they were once shut up in our entrenchments we would make the fellows dance to the tune of our pipes. Since these Hottentoos part with their cattle so reluctantly, you should send people into the interior to entice the Saldaniers to bring their cattle. Rewards should be offered for going 50 or 100 mylen, and on reaching the river Spirito Santo, 150 guilders might be given to each person. I should think that by going along the moun-

The Hottentots. 1657, April.

* In June, 1658, HARRY's cattle are seized, and himself banished to Robben Island.

The Hottentots. 1657, April.

tains, on the coast, we could easily reach Angola or Cape Negra and Negro; between these lies a place called Bengala, and the natives might bring their elephants' tusks here.

In the name of the Directors representing the General E. I. Company,

RYKLOFF VAN GOENS.

In the Fort of Goede Hoop,
16th April, 1657.

The commander minutely inspected, measured, and laid down upon a map, all the heights and vallies about this Cape, which map will be forwarded. VAN RIEBEECK goes on to discuss the propriety of enclosing the flat, which is fully 2½ mylen broad, with an intrenchment having 15 redoubts, 500 roods apart, with a raveline in each of the intervals, or in all 9 ravelines—thus enclosing the inhabitants who could not run away, bring them to reason, and force them to trade. Then we might the more conveniently trade with the Saldaniers outside of the lines, and HARRY and his people could not then take tobacco and brass from them by way of brokerage. We shall require, gentlemen, 1,500 spades or shovels if the work is sanctioned. We have begun to plough for the Company, but as the oxen are still too young and unbroke they could not well turn over the ground. We must therefore use horses at first, which do pretty well, but as we have only 6 fit for work we can only keep one plough going.

May. One hundred men from the ships, to assist in drawing beams to the pier, were, on their way to the wood, surrounded by 400 or 500 Hottentoos, who took some of their victuals from them, and but for the presence

of a mate, who knew that the orders were not to resist too hastily, so as to get into open war, they would probably have come to blows, and thus the roads would have been rendered unsafe—so they retreated to the redoubt Duynhoop, and, at their request, some soldiers were sent to protect them. The English captain was very urgent for beef, saying he could not sail without provisions, and threatening, unless supplied, to send on shore and get cattle from the natives. He was told that he could only be supplied with water and such little things as our means afforded; that the Company had taken possession here, and would not suffer any one to usurp its jurisdiction—still he thought it strange that he might not go freely into the interior, and was told that our people were not permitted to do so; two of our own captains engaged to inspect the English ship and see what she most wanted. They found that without some assistance it was hardly possible that she should perform her voyage. It was resolved to assist them, to get rid of them, and the sooner the better—so our ships sent them 600 lbs. of bread, for which they will pay in Holland.* Some vegetables and a sheep were also sent on board as a present. Twenty morgen of land were ploughed by the Company and the free colonists, for which only is there seed; two-thirds of the seed for the colonists, one-third for the Company. The first seed was sown for the Company below the wood, and some convicts were sent to Robben Island, to see what could be done in stone cutting.

The Hottentots. 1657, June.

* Note by Mr. Moodie.—Among the concessions by which the peace of 1654 had been purchased from Cromwell, "£80,000 were stipulated to be paid, by the Dutch E. I. C., for the losses which the English Company had sustained." This peace continued until 1664, when the English, under Charles II. were "strongly prompted, from motives less just than political, to make war upon the States."—Hume.

The Hottentots. 1657, June.

Three free men, without our knowledge, went 15 hours inland, mostly South, and were out three nights. They found there two encampments of 500 or 600 people, great and small, who were allied with, or the pretended friends of Caepmans, although living apart. They lived on a fine river, the banks of which were covered with bitter almond trees; the country so level and rich that the Cape is not to be compared with it. They were kindly treated, the people bringing them wood to be used, according to their custom, as a breastwork against wild animals; pitched a neat hut for them, and brought them firewood; bartering 2 young oxen and 3 sheep, but did not seem inclined to sell more. They said the right Saldaniers lay 12 days' journey further, and that towards the dry season they were likely to come with cattle enough; called the place there Holland, or Fatherland, to give our people a better idea of the abundance of food, or fine pasture for their cattle, than lay here. If we had only asses we might, in the dry season, travel further inland, to see what is to be found. We shall be employed in constructing a redoubt and kraal at the Company's orchard, and two or three guard-houses, as small as possible. Both the English boats were driven on shore, and two of their men were drowned. The free men having bartered with the natives 4 or 5 sheep and an ox, we sold to the English 2 sheep for six rix-dollars, and the ox for twenty. We mention this that your honors may decide whether the leaving this trade open, as Mr. Van Goens has done, will be injurious or otherwise to the Company. We think it were better in the hands of the Company, and that the free men should drive a trade in their vegetables, as the Company has always enough of them for the shipping.

July.

The commander fixed upon a site, on rising ground,

behind Table Mountain, for a redoubt, to protect the corn lands and pasture, also for a square citadel of two stories, to bear two guns, and enforce the more respect from the natives, whose cattle might otherwise run all over our cultivated land. HARRY came to the fort after a long absence, and asked, now that we were ploughing up ground every where, where he and the Caepmans should have their dwellings and pasture lands. He was told where they now lie, to the N. E., 8 or 10 hours off, beyond the African Mountains; he said, "the Saldaniers are coming, will kill us, and take our cattle—let us live hereabouts." We said the pasture here is little enough for our cattle; we replied if you will barter cattle you may live behind the kloof of the Table and Lion Hill, on the sea shore, S. W. from the fort, but not behind the Lion Hill N. W. of the fort, for there is our arable land, and most convenient pasturage. He said that he could not part with his cattle, but that he would see what could be done for us by barter through others, and he consented to live with the Caepmans, under our protection, behind the said kloof. He proposed to build their huts on the top of the kloof, between the Lion's Head and the N. W. corner of Table Mountain, within sight of the fort, lest the Saldaniers should surprise them through Hout Valley. This was granted on condition that they grazed their cattle along the coast, from the Lion's Head and Hout Bay—since the land of this Table Valley and the flat behind the Lion Hill was granted to us by Mr. VAN GOENS, and was required for pasturage. With this he, and some Hottentoos of Caepman tribe, who put in a word now and then, appeared to be satisfied and contented. HARRY came again, proposing that on the arrival of the Saldaniers, we would, in conjunction with the Caepmans, attack them and take their

The Hottentots. 1657, July.

The Hottentots. 1657, July.

cattle. He was told that the Hollanders were not the people to do that—but this did not appear to be spoken according to his fancy.

August.

Harry and Caepmans came to the Salt River with more than 3,000 cattle and sheep. While the commander was at Robben Island Harry watched his opportunity and got four of our cows separated from the herd; they were quickly driven off by two of his people. The herds followed, when Harry's wives and children, and those of the Caepmans, fled for fear of being detained, carrying off houses and all they had. The herds seized and held fast Harry, who swore he had nothing to say to it; they had, however, his cattle and the Caepmans pretty well in hand. He requested permission to go and have our cattle sought out by his people. Our men followed to behind the Leopard's Berg four or five hours, and found the cattle in charge of two Hottentoos, who pretended that they had sought and found them by Harry's orders, asking for tobacco for their trouble, which was refused. It was at last thought best to pretend to believe their tale and to reward Harry and his men. The commander went by the kloof to Hout Valley, and found that by fortifying six places, Harry and the Caepmans being once enticed to enter, could be confined with all their cattle, having pasture enough, out of the increase of which our supplies could be drawn for brass and tobacco; or, if more were wanted, letting them pass without their cattle to purchase more for us with brass and tobacco. They would thus, with their cattle, be held in subordination to the Company. The thing must, however, be done patiently and cautiously, for they begin to watch our inspections with suspicion, and scarce dare come so close to us as formerly; so letting their suspicions die away, we must kindly coax them into the valley, when we shall suddenly garrison

these five places with 20 armed men each; materials in wood and stone are close at hand, and the redoubts can be hastily thrown up; HARRY, &c., and the cattle can then be kept inside; two cannon would be required for each redoubt, and 50 additional soldiers for the whole, in order that those confined may be always securely kept. This is the more necessary, as in the open country they are too nimble for us Dutchmen. We only await your Honors' orders, when we shall contrive to draw them into the appointed place. We also hope for the assistance of the ships' crews in shutting them in. The Hottentots. 1657, August.

VAN RIEBEECK perhaps did not know that South African cattle, like all other cattle, require change of food; and, in his iniquitous plan, seems to have forgotten his own figure—that the people were like birds, preferring freedom to the finest halls and palaces of kings. Commentary.

HARRY had been for a good while away with the Caepmans and associates, at last we found him on the beach at 8 o'clock. He said the Saldaniers had been with him, and that the Caepmans had made peace with them, engaging that neither party should injure the other, they coming here to trade with us; he said that they had prayed to him, but our belief is that he prayed to them, seeing that we would not join him in injuring them; for prayed, he used the Indian term *gesoubat*, which he had learnt at Bantam, when there with the English. Some Saldaniers came with HARRY's people, seeking to see our brass, and fearing that we had not enough. We showed them all we had, said there was more in a ship in the bay, and that yet more was expected. They boasted that they would soon exchange all our stock, and, as three years ago, run us dry, and then laugh at us, with other good-humoured chat; they got bread, tobacco, beer, brandy, September.

The Hottentots. 1657, September.

Spanish wine, and we parted on good terms. Twenty persons offered to take their discharge, but for the present only five were discharged.

October.

The Chamber expresses high satisfaction at finding that cultivation succeeds so well behind Table Mountain, away from the high winds, and that the crops are in so thriving a condition; it is accordingly our purpose to extend encouragement to that work, and we trust that you have been supplied to your contentment with slaves from Ardes and Angola, by the *Hassell* and *Maria*. The expenses at the Cape have mounted up to a considerable sum; and we require and direct that everything be tried in order to reap advantage and profit in the advancement of agriculture, and the rearing of live-stock. It is good that tobacco grows well, it will be useful to the natives, and in India also, if good. We expect a sample occasionally that we may put it in our pipes and try its flavour. We have thought fit to suspend our judgment regarding HARRY and his allies, until we receive Mr. VAN GOENS' report and further advices from yourselves. We have already authorized you to build some redoubts with ravelines, in the line of the proposed entrenchment on the isthmus between Table Bay and False Bay. With respect to the English, we direct that you allow them, and all other European nations, to be supplied with water to their contentment, on their fetching it themselves; they may also, without charge, fill at sea or on shore; but you will, in the most civil manner, decline giving them our live-stock, on the plea of our necessities. You will wink at their purchasing from free-men; but should they be disposed to violence, you will oppose force to force. We cannot, at least at present, prevent their dealing with the inhabitants who live in the interior and beyond our protection, and until you are furnish-

ed with direct orders upon the subject, you must only look on and offer no opposition, should they even attempt to carry off the property of such inhabitants by force. The Hottentots. 1657, October.

We have long expected the arrival of the Saldaniers, of whose approach reports were current. Some of them came within two or three days journey, but they have now fallen back; we suppose that HARRY and the Caepmans oppose their coming to pasture here; so we send some people with pack-oxen on a journey, carrying brass, tobacco, pipes, &c., for barter with the Saldaniers, and to try to induce them to come here, assuring them that we shall take good care that no hindrance is offered by HARRY or Caepmans, who are very knowing, representing that, through our cultivating the ground, they will find no pasture; they also hope that through difficulties about cattle we shall be induced to abandon this residency. Eight free-men, with their five pack-oxen, volunteered for the travelling party; others were added, so that altogether there were fifteen Dutch, four Hottentoos, and nine pack-oxen, sent with a month's provisions, 400 lbs. of brass, 48 lbs. of tobacco, and 1½ gross of pipes, for trade. It was agreed that of the merchandize the free-men should have one-third share, the Company two-thirds; food will be provided for the Hottentoos and Company's servants; provisions, powder, and lead, for the rest, to be paid for by the parties. The charge of the whole is given to the acting Fiscal.

Commentary.

If the Dutch had continued the use of pack-oxen, as the natives still do, for light goods on long journies, it would have been much better, over such roads, than the introduction of those unwieldy wagons and teams of ten or a dozen oxen, which, like many of the things still in use among them, especially their ploughs, belong to the period of their emigration; they are,

The Hottentots. 1657, Commentary.

however, too lazy to walk and drive oxen, and find it more convenient to repose on their feather beds in their covered wagons.

October.

The party was instructed to set out in God's name, to keep strict watch, to try as soon as possible to reach the nearest Saldaniers, avoiding as much as possible HARRY's party, the Caepmans, and Swarte Captain, and to try to deal with others without their interposition; inviting them to come here under assurance of protection from HARRY; the greater strangers they are, and the more remote they live, the better. If they will not come in a body, a few should be induced to accompany you through presents, and some of our people could accompany them back; when trade succeeds, you will construct, after the Hottentoo fashion, a good stone kraal or fence, for security; you will also notice where feathers, ivory, civet, amber, gold, honey, &c., are to be found! A land-surveyor accompanies to lay down bearings and distances, valleys, hills, water, and rivers, with a view to the formation of an exact map; also the position of forest and arable lands, and the place where a redoubt or other established trading place could be erected. There must be no firing whatever on the way, as the natives are afraid of that. The commander, at the distance of 1½ hour from the fort, met HARRY, all alone, who said, that one party, on the fourth day, arrived near the first tribe, named Charigrina, that they all took fright and fled; proceeding farther, they fell in with the Choeona, and began to trade with them; near these lay the Charachouqua, the same which last year stole our tobacco out of the field, with these our people encamped, and by these and the Saldaniers, they were well feasted with milk; on the Charigrina hearing this, they returned to their former camp, and brought to our men sheep, and more milk than they could con-

sume; our people's merchandize was soon expended, and with them the Saldaniers would all come, to buy up our brass. It is only to be hoped that they will be so good, which may the Almighty grant. The Hottentots. 1657, October.

It is probable that the tribes Charigurina, Chocona, and Chorachouqua were all branches of the great tribe of Caepmans, and that these designations were, like that of Caepman itself, given to them by either the English or the Portuguese, for they smack very much of Indian words. Commentary.

Some few Saldaniers from the East came with 6 cattle; they were asked whether they would not come with their houses, and said no; but that they would always bring some cattle to sell to the Company and to the free men. They said they feared that the great captains, who sometimes came with the ships, might attack them as they had seen and heard, and that persons were seeking for them all over the country to kill and rob them. Harry, Van Riebeeck thinks, had persuaded them of this, and it was impossible to disabuse their minds of the impression. Harry, who was present, said, why did Van Goens come to Hout Bay with so many men, but to take my cattle, and the Caepmans, and others will, doubtless, be similarly dealt with; all that we could say did not remove this impression. It is also doubtful whether Harry and Caepmans will be easily induced to come here, so as to be easily shut in. When they perceive parties moving into the country, Harry, the Caepmans, and the Swarte Captain think that they in particular will be taken or killed, and they are thus the cause of others becoming so shy; from some of the Saldaniers six cattle were bought, others they would not sell. From the Saldaniers we learnt that there is said to be a certain great lord, emperor, or king, who is the ruler over all these Cape tribes. Van Riebeeck October.

The Hottentots. 1657, October.

enters on a long description of many of these tribes and of their chiefs, drawn from the "some few Saldaniers," a girl of 15 or 16 years of age, whom they named Eva, being the interpretess. Amongst other things Van Riebeeck says—Goringaycona, Caepmans tribe; Choringaina is Harry and all the Watermans, all, with their adherents, rebels and robbers *(banditen)* of Chobona; but as Kochoqua is so much occupied with Oengayqua and some others, these (as they lived at a distance, and had little power or riches,) were left hereabouts quite unmolested, except that they are hunted to their holes by the other tribes, before named, who sometimes came hither, and are now beginning to do so; but they have now, out of consideration for us, made peace with them, the said captain of the Choquonqua thinking thus to do us a great kindness (another proof of how the balance of power was disturbed by the arrival of the Caepmans). On this, Mr. Moodie observes in a Note,—This mode of personification seems to have been introduced by Harry's designation of the several tribes—Saldanhamans, Caepmans, &c. The confusion thus caused ceases as the tribes become better known.

November.

Our travellers, who left on the 19th October, returned safe and well, bringing only 7 cows, 3 calves, and 41 sheep. They could not, they said, get beyond a certain wide river (Berg River). They met only Caepmans, who, as usual, said they must live by their cattle, and therefore could not part with them, as may be seen by the daily journal kept by our men; the journal is a very poor affair, containing only a tedious diary of occurrences. The captain of the Chaynouquas* arrived with 100 men and 71 head of

* MM. T. Arbousset et F. Daumas, Missionnaires de la Société des Missions Evangeliqués de Paris—"Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Esperance, Paris, 1842,"

cattle, all of which were purchased in a couple of hours; they were treated both before and after the barter with food and brandy, so that some of them became rather elated. Their captain borrowed from us a pack-ox to carry home his brass. It appears that the said captain was not the chief of the Chaynouquas, but only his agent. Some few men went out to barter, but met with little success, bringing home only 1 cow, 3 calves, and 47 sheep, young and old, bad and diseased. Some intention, on the part of the

The Hottentots. 1657, November.

—a work which I have lately read, say, page 41—"Le mot *quois* (Kuas) est la terminaison des noms de toutes les anciennes tribus hottentotes, comme Hersaquois, Lusaquois, Dunaquois, ce qui me porte à croire qu'il signifie *peuple* ou *gens*, en langue namaquoise."—And to these tribes may be added those originally in the neighbourhood of the Cape—the Chaynouquas, Goringhaiquas, Gorachoquas, Attiquas, Obiquas, and Souquas, (the two last tribes of Bosjemans,) and, perhaps other tribes of South Africa. I heard at Mr. Duthie's, on the Knysna, from the Hon. Mr. Barrington, that the range of mountains which lies over the town of George, extending towards Plettenberg's Bay, called Utiniqua, means in the Hottentot language, the land of man. I have since read somewhere that it means ever green land. If the vocabulary of the Hottentot language in the Greek character, of which many copies were printed in Amsterdam, about the middle of the seventeenth century, and sent to the Cape by the Chamber, could be found—much that is now obscure in etymology would become clear enough. The same work says, page 530—"Si on suivait les dénominations du peuple bushman, on appellerait les Hottentots *Khuaï*: les Caffres, *Tolo*, et les Béchuanas ou Bassoutos, *Ku*, mot identiquement le même que celui de *Cus*." To this last word is appended a note, showing that the Bechuanas and Kaffers destroy their deformed, deaf, dumb, and idiotic children—and the manner in which the crime of infanticide is committed. I observe in this work, and in the map which accompanies it, that the term Thaba is common as signifying a mountain or hill—as Tibi is in the Northern parts of India and in Central Asia, hence amongst the Tartars, Tibet the country of mountains.—*July 16th.*

Pp. 533-4:—"Toutes ces peuplades, les Bushmen exceptés, avaient les mêmes mœurs et parlaient un méme langage. Elles se réclamaient de Monahin, le bisaïeul de Motloumé, qui exerçait à cette époque une influence aussi considérable que salutaire sur le pays, surtout dans son Etat particulier d'Oumpoukani. Son gouvernement fut celui d'un prince sage et plein de clémence. Les provinces voisines en appelaient ordinairement à lui,

The Hottentots. 1657, November.

natives, to kill them on account of their brass and tobacco was suspected, and no more Hottentoos would accompany our men unless they were in parties of 30 or 40. The Cape tribes, and all who live on this side of the Berg River, are not much to be relied on. As to the Saldaniers, who live beyond the Berg River, and far inland, although much inclined to barter, they are by no means inclined to allow us to come to them. The ox we lent was brought back and restored, and with it 23 others, 6 of which being good, were soon

comme en dernier ressort, dans les procès très-difficiles. D'ailleurs, chacune d'elles avait son petit souverain, qui connaissait lui-même de toutes les causes, et réglait les affaires de son peuple comme il l'entendait; ce qui contre-balançait admirablement bien les pouvoirs et prévenait le despotisme. Il s'associait deux nobles, dont il faisait, pour parler le langage du pays, ses deux yeux et ses deux bras. Les Béchuanas se régissent à peu prés tous de cette manière. Dans quelqu'une de leurs tribus que vous entriez, vous y trouvez un *Morèna-o-mogolu*, espèce de grand-seigneur, et deux ou trois grands *tounas*, qui sont lest principaux officiers de son conseil."

The above description by M. Arbousset shows that, even in these days, a more perfect system of feudalism exists amongst the tribes in the neighbourhood of Natal than amongst the Kaffers on the colonial border. It is to be apprehended, however, that they have lately been very much disturbed by the atrocious proceedings which the Cape Government has permitted its emigrant Dutch subjects to adopt in that quarter. We have alrcady seen in the work of Dos Santos to what extent the Portuguese disturbed the tribes a few degrees further North, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Zoolas, as is well known, were ready to co-operate with us in the work of putting down the slave-trade.* Might not the assistance of all these tribes be appealed to? At all events, the Imam of Muscat, who is at Zanzibar, and with whom we have a Resident, will join us cordially, and a mission might be sent to him from the Cape, or by the Admiral. I need hardly notice the assistance which we have received from His Highness in the suppression of the slave-trade in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. It will not fail to occur to any one that the terms "Morèna-o-mogolu" must be a Mogul designation, and "touman" is a Persian word for a division of troops; our own Admiral, as is well known, is derived from Amecr-ool-Ael—chief of the seas.—*July 17th, Cape Town.*

* My authority for this is the pages of the *Quarterly Review*, from memory.

bought. The free men do not give much of their time to agriculture, but most of it to cattle barter. The Hottentots. 1657, December.

Some Saldaniers, of another tribe, brought 12 cattle, which were soon bought. Their chief, who had not been here for two years, on seeing the commander, was highly elated, scarce knowing how to express his joy, laughing, singing, taking his hands and embracing him round the neck—Van Riebeeck reciprocated in his transports—and they were entertained with bread, brandy, and tobacco. The free men also got some cattle, so that, thank God, the barter still proceeds. The two boats returned from Saldanha Bay with salted birds and seal oil, they had no barter with the natives, but removed the two English cannon from Dassen to Robben Island; they also placed the Company's mark on posts, and engraved it on rocks.

The free men came to complain that Harry's and the Caepmans' cattle had done great damage in their pea and bean fields, and that they were unwilling to drive them away. They were encamped near the Salt River, and the commander went there attended. On seeing this, and fearing injury, they instantly collected their 1,500 or 1,600 cattle and their 1,000 or 1,100 sheep, and put them in their kraal; the women and children ran away, and the men placed themselves in battle array, with bows, arrows, and assagais in hand. When our people drew towards them they all ran away, and would have abandoned their cattle, when fleeing they saw the commander and his party in another direction, and instantly laid down their weapons, thinking there was now no danger. Harry and the other chief men were called, and said that they thought the free men were angry with them, and that soldiers were therefore coming; but that on seeing the commander their minds were set at rest. They 1658, January.

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promised in the morning to go to Hout Valley, where they will be nicely in our toils. The commander left them and returned to the fort. They removed accordingly with houses and stock to False Bay, where they were joined by the Ghorachouquas, the tobacco thieves, and they have fully 3,000 cattle and 2,000 sheep, of which they never barter any. But HARRY says the Saldaniers—the Chaynouquas—are coming with many cattle. Hearing from the sons of the captain of the Caepmans, who had accompanied the commander, that we had inspected the lands behind the Cape mountains, and found there very fine pastures, HARRY came to ask whether they might keep that pasture for their own use. He was told they might; that we would keep the pastures on the flat, and never again look at those in the inner tract, *i. e.* all the Hout and Berg Valleys. They begged that a garrison might be placed there, as they could not feel secure, for that their enemies would come round the Steenbergen; saying that they would go to the interior to procure cattle for us with our brass, leaving their own cattle and wives behind; also some of their people with a flock of good sheep on Robben Island. The commander walked along the beams of the pier into the boat, and 4-inch planks are in preparation in the wood to cover it over. The freemen's sloop—the *Penguin*—returned from Dassen Island with dried fish, birds, and many eggs; they will find a ready sale for these things among the ships in the bay; and there are now 415 sheep on Robben Island. The Cochoquas sold us 4 cows and 29 sheep.

February.

The commander more minutely examined, from the Kloof Pass, all the Steenbergen to the farther angle in False Bay inclusive, to see by what other spots the Hottentoos might get out, and so escape. He found that there would be no chance of enclosing them

without 10 or 12 redoubts, with long wings or entrenchments of 400 or 500 roods, which, from the rocky nature of the ground, would be dug with much trouble; after all, any want of vigilance in the guard would admit of their escaping; and, once escaped they would, certainly, view us to eternity with suspicion, and never return again; so that in these works we might only have our trouble for our pains. Taking the number of ships at 30 per annum, we shall require for them 240 cattle and 240 sheep; and for this residency, including slaves, freemen, and all who must eat to live, there will be wanted 200 cattle and 200 sheep; more than this could not be drawn out of the increase of cattle confined with HARRY and the Caepmans; whether this would be worth the additional expense of the fifty men, required to garrison the works? Besides we now find that fifty additional men would not be half enough. The Hottentots. 1658, February.

Mynheer VAN RIEBEECK would probably have found it cheaper to purchase, or rent, from the aborigines, the lands which he was usurping for cultivation, for out of that iniquitous measure arose his only difficulties; but it never entered, at any time, into the contemplation of the Dutch that aborigines had any rights in the soil; and, indeed, the Committee of the House of Commons, in its last session, on the New Zealand question, seems to have the merit of first deciding that all lands, whether pasturage or agricultural, occupied by aborigines, belong to them, and that the British government, about to plant new Colonies, has only the right to distribute "wild lands" to either the new colonists, or the aborigines, at its option.—*November* 13*th*. Commentary.

And supposing all the works finished, one lout or other, who might be negligent on his post, and "all the fat would be in the fire" (not the fat of HARRY's February.

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cattle, for that would, under the circumstances, never reach the Dutchman's fire at all,) for the Hottentoos finding themselves enclosed, and compelled, although by form of barter, to part with their cattle at our discretion, would contrive a thousand schemes to escape, in one way or other, with their cattle, and we should never again be so trusted by them as we now are—for now they cannot imagine any thing of us but good. Our party, 15 in number, and 2 trusty Hottentoos, under command of a sergeant, set out on their journey to the interior with 3 weeks' provisions, 600 lbs. of brass, 95 lbs. of tobacco, and 3 gross of pipes, to barter for cattle; the appearance of fires in the distant mountains indicating the approach of natives, and our stock of cattle being expended on two ships, leading us to order this expedition.

March.

Mr. Commander Cuneus was instructed by the Governor General and Council of Batavia to visit *en passant* the Cape Residency, to examine into its condition as far as time would allow; and the Governor and Council were instructed to recognise him in that capacity, and to afford him every information. He apprised them that he thought very little of the scheme of building redoubts or preparing a ditch for the protection of the Company's corn lands and cattle, the one being too costly and the other requiring too many armed men, where, after all, the object sought would not be attained; both projects ought therefore to be abandoned, and a free passage be allowed to the natives, for they will be better brought to our *devoir* by kindness; they are now much more humane than on our first arrival, and it may soon be brought so far that they will exchange their cattle for our tobacco, rice, and bread, which is all the assistance and produce that we have to expect from them. Mr. Cuneus also apprehends that except cattle and sheep,

no other things, neither tusks, feathers, musk, civet, honey, nor harts, are to be had from the natives. The Hottentots. 1658, March.

This is very well for 186 years ago, yet is was only a few years since that we expected to drive a lucrative trade with the natives on this side of the Orange River, and even to entice those beyond to come with all sorts of valuable products to the colony, forgetting that there were near ports and places where a trade might be more beneficially carried on by them, if not by us with them. Commentary.

One of the two Hottentoos who went to Batavia with Mr. Van Goens—died there; the other returned with us, and his arrival gave great joy to his associates; he is already so far accustomed to our manners, that he is in no way inclined ever again to live among these hordes; he may therefore be kept about the Company's residence, and employed as interpreter, in which way he can earn his food and clothing twice over; he has advanced surprisingly in the Christian worship, to which he seems much attached, and he should be daily more exercised therein; we will hope that through him many may become disposed to serve our colonists, as some do already, and from whom good service is procured. (On Mr. Cuneus' observations about the Hottentoo, who returned with him from Batavia, Mr. Van Riebeeck, as might be expected, observes)—This is the interpreter Damon, the greatest hypocrite, who has done more harm to the Company than ever was done by Harry; he will not live with us, but in the Hottentoos' houses, and wears skins in preference to Dutch clothing, still less will he again receive instruction in religion. March.

No one will be surprised to find an ignorant man like Van Riebeeck, wondering in the middle of the seventeenth century that a Hottentot should prefer the houses, clothing, and the society of his own country- Commentary.

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men to those of the Dutch; or, supposing that a person could be persuaded by him or his countrymen again to receive instruction in religion. But it is painful to think to what an extent, in America, and other colonies, the views of far superior men, as to their obligations to convert aborigines to Christianity, have been turned into instruments of evil, and how such a course has defeated the objects and ends sought after; as if the ministers of our Holy Religion were Mahommedan doctors, carrying in their hands a fiery-flaming sword, instead of a Bible. Even in the present day it is an object with the otherwise well-judging missionaries of the Moravian establishment at Shiloh, to get the Kaffers and Fingoes to live there in square houses instead of in their own comfortable bee-hive-shaped huts, and to wear square-shaped clothing instead of their own more graceful "poshteens," as the Persians and Affghans call their sheep's-skin dresses.

"The King may make a belded knight,
A duke, a lord, and a' that;
But an honest man's abeen His might,
Guid faith he manna fa' that."

I wish that my friends, the Moravian missionaries, could have seen our noble regiments of Indian Sepoys, and even Her Majesty's regiments, returning from the Cabool campaign two years ago, dressed most comfortably in their sheep skins.—No coverings these for "recreant limbs"!!

March. Our party returned from the interior, after passing the African Mountains near the Berg River, the country was so flat, that it seemed as if no more hills would be found for 100 mylen (His Honor the Governor goes on to describe the nature of the country, and then thus proceeds); they travelled 40 or 50 hours from the fort without seeing any inhabitants, when some of

them began to get ill, so they all turned back; after journeying homewards two days they met three or four small parties of natives *(Negryen)* and the Swarte Captain, all being Charaguriquas; and purchased from them some cattle and sheep, all they would part with. They said the Saldaniers were a month's journey farther in the interior (whether these Saldaniers were not the veritable Kaffers, may appear in the sequel?). One of the people was dangerously bitten by a lean hungry lion, only one day's journey off, while they were making fire and dividing their victuals; he would have done further mischief had not the sergeant snatched a gun and shot him through the head; the skin shall be stuffed and suspended in the great hall. Such another lion was not seen, but some times they saw five or six together—fine fat fellows. They saw one elephant, several rhinoceroses, wolves, and leopards; and, also, in the said great valley, very fine large wild horses—the journal says "seven horses running wild, fine and fat, colour dapple-grey, but so shy, it is probable they could not be caught"—with many elands, harts, and hinds. The journey has cost the lives of two men and the health of a third, the spirits of some of the party are damped, but the sergeant and others are ready to go again; and the Hottentoo, DAMON, now, at his own request, called ANTHONY, offers his services; what further happened is detailed in the following diary. The *Amsfoot* captured a Portuguese slave ship, and of the 500 took 250, but only 170 of these reached the Cape alive, many of them sick; they are mostly boys and girls. HARRY and ANTHONY sometimes propose to us to attack, with them and the Caepmans, the Chariguriquas, the chief of the Swarte Captain's people, the boat robbers of Saldanha Bay; also the Charachouquas, the tobacco thieves, and take their

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cattle; both tribes are very rich in cattle, but will not sell any. They assure us that the Saldaniers would not be thereby alarmed, which is probable, as these tribes are at war with the Saldaniers, and prevent them from coming to this side of the great Berg River; they are also said to be prevented by the great numbers of lions, and by the pasture being too scant for their whole herds. The natives think that we ought to establish a trading station at the mountain pass, by which all must travel. In that case we would require six resting places, with permanent kraals, and thirty good horsemen and soldiers, one-half at the trading station, the other going and coming with the bartered cattle; and this, we think, would answer better than the redoubts and entrenchments.

April.

The Chamber instruct the government to regulate their conduct according to the instructions of Van Goens, except as far as they relate to the redoubts and ditch between Table Bay and False Bay. We renew our recommendation that you will make agriculture your chief object; and they grant to Mr. Van Riebeeck, at his request, a tract of land along the sea coast, behind Table Mountain, but prohibit the granting of lands, even on loan, to Company's servants.

The chaplain began to instruct the young slaves; to induce them to learn the Christian prayers, they were promised each, on finishing their tasks, a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco.

May.

Our honorable masters in the Fatherland have directed that the free-men here at the Cape, do not buy any live stock from the natives, they must purchase from the Company at a fixed price; neither shall they sell to one another cattle, sheep, or pigs, without the consent of the commander and council of this fortress. The Chaynouqua captain sent word that he was living

in the house of the Caepmans' captain, GOGOSOA, the fat captain, until his people brought cattle for barter, from a distance of 30 days. He would not consent that any of our people should go into his country. The *Hassell* arrived from the Roche of Gunea; she had sailed from Popo on the 22d of February, with 271 slaves, of whom 43 died. A free-burger lost six cows and a bull through the negligence of the herd; it was suspected that the Caepmans had driven them off, and they fled with all their houses. The burger laid hold of the old fat captain, who could not run fast; and he said the Soaquas, who are dexterous thieves, had driven them beyond the Leopard's Berg, but that he would try to recover them. This excited some surprise in his guest, the captain of the Chonouquas, named CHAINHANTIMA, but he said that he would not go away until he had brought as many cattle as we had brass to buy, thus showing that he was a man of his word; the six cattle were brought back, but others were stolen, and the herd severely beaten; the fat captain said, by the Charachouquas, who lay three hours off, but that as he was at variance with them, he dared not send to ask for the cattle. It cost us some pains to keep CHAINHANTIMA's mind at ease, and to induce him to stay with us, until, according to his promise, he should fetch a quantity of cattle for sale. He slept in the commander's house, and was treated with food, drink, and tobacco, with which night-cap he went to sleep. He afterwards went away homewards, having his knapsack and stomach well filled with bread and brandy, and his hands with tobacco. He said that his chief's people would in four or five weeks return with him, bringing many oxen, and they are much wanted in farming, for our people are now obliged to use cows, which are weaker, and their breeding is thus injured. He

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returned, exhibiting many wounds inflicted by the farmers' slaves. It appeared that seeing him and others approach the working oxen, and as they would not go away, some of the Guinea slaves let slip the dogs, who seized him, and did the mischief. He was well entertained, and again went away well pleased. Shipped for Batavia 102 of the Guinea or Angola slaves. Whenever the Hottentoos find an opportunity of injuring us they do not let it escape, as we see from every thing. Arrived the *Maria* from the coast of Angola; she touched at Cape Negro, where the natives, who only wore a cloth round their loins, fled inland; and although there seven days, they were no more seen; they saw two large Negro villages of empty huts, in shape like those of the Cape Hottentoos.

June.

Five of the Angola slaves deserted, and great rewards were offered to the Hottentoos if they would bring them back, that they might be made an example of. They reported that the slaves were not to be found, but we fear they have killed them as they did the Madagascar slave ANTHONY, for they are jealous of them, cannot endure them, and are always quarrelling with them. The other Angola slaves say that these are old cunning fellows; that they are Rovenlanders or cannibals. They were seen by the Hottentoo now on the beach. Some burgers complained, with tears in their eyes, that their slaves had run, carrying with them some rice, clothes, &c., although they had never been ill-treated, beaten, or punished; they are too nimble for our people, and we suspect that the Hottentoos incite or harbour, rather than endeavour to catch the slaves for us, perhaps to barter them away to natives of the interior for cattle or something else—so HARRY's assistance was required; 21 of the garrison escaped in the homeward bound fleet. The free men were warned to keep their slaves

in good order, and not to make them sulky, by constantly beating, pushing, and scolding them, so that no more might desert. Others did desert, however, carrying with them 3 or 4 swords, clothing, rice, and tobacco, and the Hottentoos would not go to search for them. The girl Eva said that Anthony, the interpreter, was a good-for-nothing fellow, and that she thought that the Caepmans' fat captain and his three sons detained the slaves, and would give them to the Haneumquas, who live at a great distance, where *dacha* is cultivated. The Hottentoos were promised for each slave whom they should recover, or "*swartman*," as they call them, twice as much brass as for a large ox, besides abundance of brandy, tobacco, and rice. We endeavoured to induce the sons of the fat captain to come to the fort, to see whether we might not detain them in the matter relating to the runaway slaves.—Resolved, with the advice of the free men, to detain the fat captain's three sons as hostages, locked up in the surgeon's kitchen, until the slaves were brought back. Harry and other Hottentoos who were in the fort were not much surprised. Anthony could scarce command his passion, said that Eva had done this, and wishing to kill her. She denied that she did it, and so did we, although it was true, saying that it was our own idea, having observed that some of the Caepman women were familiar with some of the slaves. Damon, however, persisted in Eva's guilt; it were to be wished that he had never gone to Batavia, or that he would go back; we can hardly keep fire-arms out of his hands. Damon clearly takes the Caepmans' side, Eva the side of Harry's people, although her mother lives in Caepmans' camp; that the Caepmans should not suppose that we entertained any animosity against them, we placed Harry's man, Jan Cou, as a hostage with

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their hostages. These parties are jealous of one another, and by playing into the hands of one party, we may always control, or get information out of the other; both are afraid of the Saldaniers, and as they approach must come here for protection. They are so much interested about the hostages that they now almost kiss the rod, and they suggest that we should lay hold of some of the chiefs of the Gorachouquas, the tobacco thieves; this was duly weighed and considered by the council, and resolved upon. We shall thus secure our run-away slaves, and get cattle out of them by seizing hostages; this seizing of hostages being better for our purpose and cheaper to the Company than fortifications. Arms were offered to the free men from the Company's arsenal, and they were ordered not to go unarmed, and to keep their powder dry. Three slaves returned, two of them men and one woman, were found standing at their master's door at night, and the third, a woman, was standing at the mill before day-light. Some stolen cattle were also brought back secretly at night—all this to make it appear that they had returned of their own accord, those who had taken or bartered them not daring to bring them. HARRY came with 25 active Hottentoos, asking for bread, that they might go out to seek the slaves. This was all pretence, but they got some bread and tobacco; three Hottentoos brought two Guinea slaves belonging to a free man; three are still wanting, two men and a woman, belonging to the free men, and seven Angola slaves belonging to the Company. The Hottentoos promise to do their best to find them; they say the slaves are a long way off, so we filled their knapsacks with bread, and gave them abundance of brandy and tobacco; also 6 bars, and 6 pieces of brass wire; meanwhile every kindness is shown to the hostages.

It is curious enough that his honor the governor and council should not have foreseen, or fancied, that by thus rewarding those who brought back maroons, they were holding out an inducement to the common Hottentoos to tempt other slaves to desert, and counteracting the advantage which they expected to derive from the iniquitous measure of seizing and retaining the chiefs as hostages, until their slaves were brought back. The Hottentots. 1658, Commentary.

June. The free men requesting that the apprehended slaves should be punished and sent back to their work,—It was resolved, after consultation with the Burger Members of Council, that the slaves should be flogged, one of them be branded, and two be coupled together by a chain, until their masters should intercede for them. The *Maria* returned from Saldanha Bay with 10,000 lbs. of salted seals' flesh for the slaves. They brought 12 sheep and a calf from the Charingurinars, the same who before robbed the boat of the *Robbejacht;* it appeared that they had now laid a scheme to attack and kill the people who landed, for the sake of the brass, but their design was perceived and failed. It were to be desired that we had their chiefs also in the fort here, in order to make them pay well for their former act of violence.

July. Nearly all the Hottentoos of HARRY's and Caepmans' camps, returned without bringing, or, as they say, having found any more slaves. This caused the hostages, and their wives also, to weep and wail bitterly; for they had been previously told that they would not be released until all the slaves were restored to us; perhaps they cannot get them back from those to whom they have given or sent them, and they may have been sent to too great a distance. ANTHONY affirms that they had never seen the slaves, but that they had run away of their own accord; and EVA

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said that if we did not release SCHACHER, the fat captain's son, they would kill her. We said that we could not believe that the slaves had run away of their own accord, for that the Hottentoo women were from the first too familiar with the slaves, giving them many things—so that the hostages and the women must make up their minds to remain, either until we had the slaves back or certain information concerning them. This made ANTHONY and EVA hang their heads, and seem much depressed. We told her to remain within the fort, and that any one who injured her should be detained also. To set the minds of the hostages at ease the commander visited them, told them not to be alarmed, that they should suffer no harm, that it was all on account of the deserted slaves; tobacco, brandy, and bread were given to them, which seemed to lighten their hearts. (Comment on these proceedings of his Honor and Council must be unnecessary, else a page or two might be written.) Junior Merchant Mr. BASTINCQ came on shore again from the *Prins Willem*, also the captain of the *Maria;* they have been generally present during the recent events, and the council was assisted by them. The fat captain requested that we would at at least release his son, and that he would bring as present some fat draught oxen, since it was impossible to recover the rest of the slaves. He also proposed that, in lieu of his son SCHACHER, we should confine HARRY, and seize his cattle, since he had in the barter transaction cheated us out of our brass, bringing only 10 cattle and keeping the rest, and since he had by the hands of JAN COU, now in custody, and another named BOUBO, who is now with him, killed our boy five years ago—carrying off all the cattle. JAN COU, he said, took the 15 sheep last missed, and they are still in HARRY's flock. HARRY was nothing

but a naked beggar and the captain or head of the Watermans or Strandloopers, when you came here. ANTHONY said that the other Caepman Hottentoos or the Goraehouquas, and Charagurias—also the true Saldanhars, as, Chainouqua, Coehouqua, &c. would approve of this. No one he said lived hereabouts but the Caepmans, and one Siginman named ANKAISOA, who was rich in sheep, and to him this Cape country alone belonged; whatever they agreed to the Saldaniers would be easily satisfied with, if HARRY were but killed. He was told that they should come to the commander, in order to consider the matter with him, and he departed to tell them. Resolution of Council.—Seeing that no more of the deserted slaves are to be found, and as the hostages begin to be quite desperate, and as the tobacco thieves have fled into the interior, and the hostages have no means of delivering their chief into our hands, as the seizure of SCHACHER is known all over the country—therefore matters require to be disentangled and arranged; the prisoners, too, offer a good number of sheep and cattle for their liberation and to conclude a new and permanent peace and alliance, requiring that first HARRY shall be seized with all his sheep and cattle—and as he was the first cause of all the mischief, (recapitulates all his offences) it was resolved, after several deliberations, to see to coax him into the fort by a smooth story, and then to secure him with the rest, to hear them speak together, and thus obtain a full disclosure; also, when he is in the fort, to send a sergeant and soldiers to seize all his cattle on the Salt River and bring them here, and into the possession of the Company. The sergeant was sent out accordingly, and in an hour got HARRY into the fort, by a "*soete praetjen.*" He was at first well received, and then easily seized—not so the cattle, for resistance was

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offered, and the sergeant, on horseback, was almost run through the body with an assagai. We hit one Hottentoo in the legs with small shot, and another right in the eye with a pistol bullet, the rest fled—but the cattle, as long as a single Hottentoo was near, could not be driven by our 22 or 23 men, (the power of the Hottentoos over their herds of cattle!)—so the Company's cattle were driven after them, that they might feed together, and thus be brought to the kraal in the evening. SCHACHER appeared before the council, assisted by ANTHONY, the interpreter, and in HARRY's presence told—"HARRY and you mutually charge each other with the same offence; HARRY appeared, assisted by EVA; she said I will speak the truth." "HARRY admits that his people took the cattle, and killed the boy; after he had them some days the Caepmans, of whom SCHACHER is the chief, took them from him." DAMON, or ANTHONY, alleged "that at that time HARRY and the Caepmans had a quarrel, so the cattle were captured according to the laws of war." "Aye," said EVA, "but if the Caepmans had been honest, they would have restored the cattle; they are as much thieves and rogues as HARRY's people; they plan all plunderings, dividing the spoils among them, and now they would throw the blame on (dear?) HARRY alone." VAN RIEBEECK proceeds:—He who killed DAVID, is CLAES, a Hottentoo of HARRY's people; he despatched him. In short, it appears that they are all thieves and rogues; but HARRY is, as the saying goes, the father of thieves, and first cause, *causa moorra*. ANTHONY afterwards asked, on the sly, why we had not instantly put HARRY to death? and was asked in return: if he so fully deserves it, why do you not do it yourselves, you have him now in your power, in the same room with you?

Resolution.—Since the inhabitants may be induced, by the proposed measures, to assemble and attack persons and cattle, which could not be easily repelled by the present garrison, consisting, including farmers, artizans, those in the wood, and Robben Island, of only 97, of whom 19 or 20 are sick; therefore, until matters are arranged, and a new alliance and peace be concluded, that twenty soldiers be landed from the *Prins Willem*, also 1,000 lbs. of gunpowder, 200 hand-granades, and two light guns, from the *Maria*, for the redoubt Corenhoop, in the middle of the free men's cultivated land; the additional expense will only last until the May ships arrive from Holland. Schacher and Anthony represented that the latter dared not go to the Caepmans' camp, and that they would come here to negotiate a more intimate alliance; they proposed that two of the hostages would be released and sent to them, this was accordingly done, and they were desired to inform the Caepmans' captain and Ankaisoa, the great shepherd, that no evil was intended to them; to express regret that one of his men should have been killed yesterday, arising out of his having thrown an assagai at the sergeant; that it was the desire to settle all the disputes and to conclude an inviolable peace. They carried a present to their wives and some tobacco. Harry's people and wives pitched their camp under our protection, and with them came the three wives of the sons of the man who had been killed yesterday, desiring that their cattle, which were among Harry's, should be restored, and that some brass and tobacco should be given to them as compensation for the loss of their husband and father. The fat captain, father of Schacher, and chief of all the Caepmans, with the twenty principal leaders of their hosts, came, and the following articles of treaty were concluded:— The Hottentots. 1658, July.

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1. That all past offences, on either side, should be forgiven and forgotten.

2. That offences committed by the one party against the other shall be punished by the offending party, in presence of the chief, or of commissioners from the offended party, and with the advice of both parties.

3. That the Caepmans, with their camp, shall continue to live on the East side of the Salt and Fresh River Liesbeecq, the pasture on the opposite side being reserved for the Dutch. If attacked by the inhabitants from the interior, they may pass the fort and live behind the Lion Hill, under protection.

4. If Caepmans' cattle should be found in the Dutchman's corn lands they may be shot, and will lie there until inspected by the agents of both parties.

5. When slaves or people desert, the Caepmans shall use every endeavour to bring them back, receiving for each as much brass and tobacco as for an ox; they will also endeavour to bring back the ten missing slaves.

6. That Saldaniers and other inhabitants from the interior, shall be permitted and encouraged to come to the Dutch for trade; and if the Caepmans fear to sustain injury at their hands, they may place themselves under the protection of the Dutch.

7. The Caepmans shall for brass and tobacco deliver at the fort ten cattle on the arrival of a large ship, five on the arrival of a small, and on each Sunday two cattle and two sheep.

8. One of the Caepmans people, with the interpreter, may always go on board each ship and receive two bags of bread and two or three pieces of pork in return for the cattle, also a small keg of brandy.

They gave us a present of ten fine oxen and nine fine sheep, but would receive nothing in return. Peace being concluded, all shook hands. Harry and

nine or ten of his people appeared to treat at the same time for peace, and produced as a public spectacle one of the murderers of DAVID. The murderer NAMTSEY, with HARRY and JAN COU, were placed in custody. The Hottentots. 1658, July.

Done in the Front Hall,
Cape of Good Hope, July 5th, 1658.

Prins Willem, with W. BESTINCQ, sailed for Batavia. Forty-eight of the cattle taken from HARRY, in his herd of 110, were claimed by Caepmans, and twelve were given to them. The Caepmans said that they gave HARRY up to us to be treated as we chose, for the murder of the boy, and that all the cattle were the rightful property of the Company. They offered to have JAN COU bound to a post and flogged with rods, because, during the visit of Mr. CUNEUS, he had stolen our fifteen sheep, and brought them to HARRY, but we considered further inquiry necessary. The articles of peace with the Caepmans were proclaimed, and affixed everywhere in the country. During sermon 70 or 80 Hottentoos were about the Company's cattle, with a view to carry them off again, but seeing our 25 active soldiers with them, they turned back, making as if they only came to look. EVA said they were Caepmans people; ANTHONY that they were people who, at low water, went along the shore to collect mussels. Thus these two interpreters work against each other as much as possible. HARRY is her uncle. This morning at 10 o'clock, being fine warm weather, with variable airs, our former interpreter, or as the English called him, King HARRY, was transported from his kingdom, at this farthermost point of Africa, to Robben Island, as also two of his July 10.

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companions—Jan Cou and Boubo—at all events, the banishment of Harry and his two companions is satisfactory to the natives. The commandant of Robben Island was instructed to employ them upon such work as might suit their inclinations, not forcing them to do anything—supporting themselves on penguins' eggs, elip-fish, but if they will tend sheep, they may have a little tobaceo, otherwise not; and, if they deserve it, bread or other food will be sent to them. Jan Cou is a good fisher, and may be so employed; the others in attending the sheep. Now that Harry is gone the Waterman's people were informed that they must come to the fort, and if they desired it, that they would be included in the peace made with the Caepmans, and that Gogosoa and Schacher, would be their chiefs. Of this, those chiefs were also informed, and told that on the refusal of the Watermans to submit, they would consider how those people were to be dealt with. The Caepmans removed, however, quite to the Leopard Berg, for change of pasture. Thirty sheep were sent to Robben Island, with instructions to allow the Hottentoos to eat the sheep found dead upon the island, provided no roguery is connected under the practice. Mr. Moodie says, in a few months the sheep from 400 died off to less than 40, and that the conviets on the island had not for a long time any other animal food than the birds, eggs, and fish they could procure on the spot. It appears that they preferred the birds to salted seals' flesh. The Watermans had only nine or ten capable of bearing arms. The free-colonists were recommended to sow one muid of *mily* (maize or Indian corn) or Turkey wheat, on each farm, brought from Guinea by the *Hassell*, the slaves being acquainted with the mode of cultivating it.

August. The Chanouqua captain brought 13 cows, and was

asked why he did not bring more; the inhabitants, he said, had now brass enough. Beads of all kinds used at Guinea were shown to him, but he did not care for them, and least for the finest. So that brass is the best article, with tobacco, brandy, bread, or rice, as a present on concluding a bargain. Two more slaves deserted, but the Hottentoos could find no traces of them. The natives bring nothing but old worn out useless stock, so the free men were ordered to tend their own plough and wagon oxen with fire-arms. The Caepmans are fonder of a certain kind of red beads, found in the residue of the Guinea cargo, than of brass; a sheep or calf bought from them with these beads, only cost a stiver. Fourteen male and two female slaves deserted, but the latter were overtaken. The interpreter ANTHONY is a greater rogue than HARRY ever was. EVA declares that he is our chief opponent, and he reproaches her —saying, "see there comes the Hollanders' advocate again; she is coming to deceive her own countrymen with a parcel of lies, and to betray to the last," with other expressions tending to make her odious in the eyes of the Hottentoos. It were to be desired that this scamp *(guyt)* had never left the Cape, and that he could be decently, and without disturbance, conveyed to Robben Island. The captured female slaves said that their men would have cut the sawyers' throats at night if they could have found knives. There are now 30 slaves at large, and one-third of them have their women, who may attack the Hottentoos, take their cattle, weapons, and all, and then would be too strong for them. The Guinea slaves are as much inclined to desert as those of Angola, they are all much more cunning, insolent, and daring than the Hottentoos, and greater violence may be expected from them than from the native tribes—therefore fetters are to

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be placed upon the Company's male slaves, and the free men may do the same with their slaves. The Chinouqua captain brought 31 cattle, and they were all bought with brass and tobacco, the usual presents being afterwards given. The chief of the Chainouquas urgently requested that we would release Jan Cou and Boubo, saying, that as the Caepmans could not bring the number of cattle for which they had stipulated, they would now and then bring a far greater quantity than that quota. They said that they were now much afraid of us, but that if we would give up to them those persons they would have confidence in our nation. This Eva as well as Anthony confirm, but all call out with equal urgency to us to kill Harry; and it was resolved that he should not for the present be brought here.

September.

The Chamber instruct the governor to abandon all thoughts of the proposed redoubts, since the free men live in tolerable security. Should they be disposed after they have advanced a little further, to construct a place to which they may retreat in case of need, you may assist them if the work appears necessary, and that they will, according to agreement, defend and keep it in repair. Attention is called to horticulture and agriculture in preference to cattle breeding. If the natives will not trade, they have given no sufficient reason as yet why we can take their property by force; and you must also endeavour by breeding to subsist upon oxen and sheep of our own; salting meat for India is not our object. Orders are issued to send Jan Cou, but to detain Harry and Boubo on Robben Island. Twelve Company's slaves deserted with their irons; the fiscal and sergeant followed on their traces beyond the Leopard Berg, but unsuccessfully; they saw thousands of harts and elands—no more to be caught than a bird on the wing. A party of Caep-

mans brought us an ox and a sheep to liberate Jan Cou, and two young bulls and three sheep for Boubo. Nearly all the free men gave up half their slaves, male and female, as they dared not keep them any longer. The trade in cattle proceeded briskly after the release of Jan Cou,—Resolved, therefore, to release Boubo also, especially as he is sick and likely to die. Eva pleads for the release of Harry like Esther for her uncle Mordecai—but he must be kept a little longer —and when this was divulged to the Hottentoos great was the joy among them. Two of our free men were found to be sheep-stealers, an offence at first attributed to the Hottentoos. The men sent after the slaves returned unsuccessful, after an absence of ten days; they saw in every direction rhinoceroses and elephants by hundreds together, and many elands, harts, and steenboks; also, wild horses, which the Hottentoos were daily urged to catch, but they seemed to be little inclined. Boubo was brought from Robben Island, and well received by his friends, who had ready two fine bulls and three sheep for his liberation; those were indeed accepted, but not for his release, for they were paid for with brass, beads, and tobacco, which the Hottentoos considered a particular act of courtesy. They said that Harry might remain on Robben Island all his life for what they cared, for he had caused all the dissensions, and never did any thing but harm to them; they said that they would see to catch us some foals from the side of the mother, but that elands were too fleet, and elephants too dangerous for them. Anthony and Eva asked leave to pay a visit to their friends, and in return for their services, as interpreters, some brass, iron, beads, tobacco, bread, and brandy, that they might have something to take to their mother and friends—perceiving that their intentions were good, leave was

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granted. She took leave, thanking us with much politeness for the presents, in good Dutch; on getting outside and into ANTHONY's mat hut, she put on the skins and sent in her clothes, that she might again put them on when she came in presence of the commander's wife, promising that she would not forget the Lord God, whom she had learned to know in the said house, but that she would always think of what she had learned. ANTHONY soon followed her. More Dutch sheep-stealers were discovered. A lean leopard sprung upon and killed a foal, close to the fort, and to where a Dutchman and his slaves were working. A slave went up to the leopard and killed him with an axe, but the foal was quite dead—a loss of fully 100 guilders. ANTHONY came with the three sons of the Caepman captain, who had before been afraid to come since their release—but witnessing the release of ANTHONY and BOUBO, their confidence was quite restored. They brought 14 sheep and 4 cattle, which were all bought for brass and beads; and they expressed themselves quite secure and more confident in us than ever, particularly if we would keep HARRY away from the Cape and on the Island. CHAINHANTIMA brought 14 cattle and 21 sheep. He was asked to get us some young horses and harts, with promise of high rewards, but said that they run too fast, and that the Hottentoos were not used to take so much trouble for any thing. Five more Dutchmen were found guilty of sheep-stealing. Barter goes on well, and EVA and ANTHONY seem to be doing much good, acquainting the tribes with the good nature of the Dutch. She may become more serviceable to the Dutch than her uncle HARRY has been.

October.

The first serious crime, that of sheep-stealing, that occurred among the free men of the Cape, was tried before the Council, assisted by the Burgerraden. The

chief offender was sentenced to be flogged with rods, to banishment, and work in chains for sixteen years, another for five years, and the two others each for six years, and all four to stand as a public spectacle with a sheep's skin upon their heads and shoulders, with confiscation of all their property. Many cattle and sheep continue to be purchased, and more would come, but it is said that all the inhabitants have been suddenly seized with a great sickness. It is believed that ANTHONY never goes beyond the camp of the Caepmans, at the Leopards' Berg, about five hours walk from this. EVA, according to the statement of even her greatest enemy, ANTHONY, is with the chief of the Cochoquas, doing good service. We have on the island 444 good sheep, here and on the main 578, and the free men have about 300; thank God, altogether more than 1,300; of cattle we have 400, and the free men 200. Two free men complained that some of the slaves had tried to kill them. Two old slaves, who had deserted, were found almost famished from hunger and thirst; and we now perceive more clearly every day that their natural disposition is to run, and that they are not harboured by any of the Hottentoos. One of the slaves said, that for food they depended upon Hottentoo's flesh; that in their country they ate those whom they conquered in war, and that they hoped to kill one here and there; for although they had no weapons, and the Hottentoos had assagais, they would at first try to overpower one or two, so as to get their weapons. ANTHONY returned after an absence of three days, requesting in the name of the Caepmans and Gorachouquas, that we would assist them with twenty soldiers to attack the Cochoquas, who lay in great strength behind the Leopard Mountains, and who had committed great hostilities against them; their cattle, they said, might

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be taken, and they were as numerous as the grass in the field. ANTHONY said EVA is with the wife of NGONOMOA, the chief of the Cochoquas, who are governed by two chiefs, or, as they call them, captains; *i. e.*, NGONOMOA the principal, and OEDASOA the second; and we do not doubt that she is doing her best to invite them to come to us; they have never in their lives been so near before. The Caepmans and Gorachoquas being unable to resist them, doubtless want our assistanee, and they have been invited to come and coneert with us a good plan.

Commentary.

The Coehoquas or Saldaniers will probably turn out presently to be a tribe of the people now termed Kaffers.

October.

But our object is still the same to entice them into our trap, and then to get the Cochoquas and other Saldandiers to come as near as possible, that we may deal with them in all friendship, without hindrance from the others, who will be kept in subjection; appearances are now favorable, but we must proeeed with caution. It is fortunate EVA is with those Saldaniers. ANTHONY very urgently requested the assistance of some men, for the purpose just mentioned, and was told that the chiefs of the Caepmans and Gorachouquas' camps, and the great Sehaepeman, must first come to the commander to arrange a plan.

Commentary.

To the term Sehaepeman, Mr. MOODIE affixes a Note referring to page 31, 46, and 131 of the Record, where it appears that this is the same chief whose leg was crooked from a wound, and who was attended by a surgeon; and the designation "Chariguriquas" was afterwards "Grigriquas," also Ankisoa, the Siginman, or Great Shepherd. At page 31, it appears that the definition of the term Sikin, was applied to tobacco as stinking. MOODIE afterwards considers the Ankisoa, I think, to be the present Amakose tribe of Kaffers.

The prohibition against barter, on the part of the free men with the natives, is repeated; and they are forbidden in the country to admit them into their houses, lest they should, by spying into, and examining all the localities, burn down the houses and murder the inhabitants at night; and JAN REYNIERS is censured, by a resolution of Council, for beating and pushing the natives; and, when unable to agree with them, forcing them to part with their property. EVA returned. She said the Caepmans had plundered her of her property, and that her mother, who lives with them, had not caused it to be returned. She had come to see her sister, who is one of the wives of their Captain OEDASOA, that they had not met since infancy, and that she was very gladly received. She spoke to them in our favor; and OEDASOA, she said, gladly entered into alliance, but dared not come because of the Caepmans and Gorachouquas. She said we ought to send a commission to him with cinnamon, of which they are very fond, and try them with cloves, nutmegs, mace, and pepper, as well as the strongest tobacco and brandy, and some violin-players, as they are very fond of music. She said ANTHONY was good for nothing, and a liar; and that but for his stories OEDASOA could easily have driven all out of his way, but that he threatened them with our power. He desired that we would not assist them, but better let them settle their own affairs in their own way, in peace and in war. An ensign was sent on a mission to the Cochoquas, accompanied by EVA and four of OEDASOA's people, and having a party of fifteen men, escorting a pack-ox, carrying presents as recommended by EVA; which mission was very offensive to the Caepmans. The ensign and party returned from the Cochoquas, accompanied by one of that tribe, bringing three cows, two calves, and nineteen sheep, as a

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present from the great Chief Oedasoa, whieh were paid for. He could not come himself because his great wife was siek, next to her was Eva's sister. He is a middle-aged man, without beard, small and lean, very stately, and mueh respected by his people. It seemed as if none of them had seen any Christians before, and he asked respeeting the ancestors of the eommander and those of the ensign, who was regaled all night, and he entertained them with the violin, and buffooneries by a soldier. After getting as much sweet milk as they eonld use, they took leave, and a thousand men eseorted them half an hour's walk from the eamp. They eould not eome nearer, Oedasoa said, because there was neither grass nor water, but if the eommander sent brass and beads he would allow his people to barter. The ensign, who had served long in the army of the States, had never seen so many people together; they were all alike in stature, and had several villages, living in large round mat houses, 30 or 40 feet in diameter. Oedasoa's three houses were much larger, and his store of assagais, bows, and arrows, was an aetual armoury; his sleeping plaee was on a very fine mat in a hole in the ground, like all the Hottentoos; he was dressed in skins, and so greased over as a mark of distinetion, that the fat ran in drops down his body. There was no end to be seen of their eattle, and in half a day they would eat up all the Cape pasture; they required three hours to issue from the kraal, and the sheep the same. The ensign had never seen sueh oxen in Fatherland; $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad on the back; a tall man eould hardly see over them, or reach their baek with his elbow. In short, these are a very powerful people, and very rich in cattle. They said they could easily, if they ehose, make the Caepmans creep into their holes. They made arrangements for the safety of our

people and their baggage; the ensign having told them that he only came to deliver the presents to Oedasoa. Two deserted slaves returned half starved. The Hottentots. 1658, October.

The ensign set out on his second mission, with 17 soldiers and a six ox-wagon, carrying a second present to Oedasoa; and for barter a 1,000 bunches of red beads, three brass chains, 866 lbs. of brass, sixty dozen pipes, 105 lbs. of tobacco. We trust in God we may procure lots of cattle in return. The ensign's wife, after the nature of women, being somewhat anxious about him, seven free burgers volunteered to follow. The ensign returned with his men in good order, bringing 203 sheep and 25 cattle; 100 sheep and seven cattle from Oedasoa, the rest from Ngonomoa, the great captain. If they had been better supplied with brass, for the demand for beads was soon satisfied, they would have got double the number of sheep, but the natives bartered with their cattle reluctantly, whatever quantity of brass was offered. Ngonomoa's cattle were like the grass in the field. This is the very person called by us the Swarte Captain —we owe him many a grudge—and an opportunity offered, with 20 or 30 soldiers, of taking from them 15,000 or 16,000 cattle and sheep without striking a blow. The second captain, Oedasoa, although smaller in person, was a much more dignified man, and not so mean, or so much given to begging as Ngonomoa and his people. Resolution.—Since these people, from the great number of their live stock, live like flying camps, and must be sought for like birds of the air, never halting for 1½ month in the same spot, it is desirable to take another trip in order to procure a 1,000 sheep, and 80 or 100 cattle. If the whole cannot be had from Ngonomoa, then we must go to the camps of the Chinoquas, which lie from ten to twenty days' journey off, via Cape False. The two November.

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great Coehoqua eaptains lie mostly in the middle of the country, and the Chariguriquas towards the eoast of Saldanha Bay. So that these three shut up almost the whole traet of Afriea, whieh lies between the two seas, of India to the East, and of Ethiopia to the West, interseeting the whole eountry, moving hither and thither, in very fine valleys, between the mountains. Now that they are so near they should be looked after. Sailed a ship for Batavia, earrying, as a sample, a half-aum of Cape beer, and twelve young ostriehes for presents to Indian potentates, partieularly the Emperor of Japan. The free travellers returned from the eamp of Oedasoa, leaving them loading their oxen to move onward. They only got thirty sheep, and the people would not part with more. Eva was with her sister going into the interior; and, with her sister and brother-in-law, travelled like a great lady on an ox, as is their national eustom. She vowed that she would do the Duteh all the good in her power, and remember their word—perhaps returning to visit the eommander—for, said she in Duteh, I have a Duteh heart in my breast. The ensign again started with a wagon laden with brass, beads, and tobaeeo, &e., seven soldiers, and two trusty Caepmans. Anthony dared not aeeompany, for Eva had told the Coehoquas that he had advised us to assist the Caepmans in making war upon them. Even Eva has quite forgotten her unele Harry, for she is only 16 or 17 years of age, and says her sister will proeure for her a husband, a great eaptain, rich in sheep and eattle. One slave deserted, and another returned half starved; he was not punished, that when slaves desert they may not fear to return. The ensign returned with 105 sheep and 11 eattle, and none of the Coehoqua ehiefs would sell any more, although their cattle are like the grass in the field,

they will only part with the refuse, saying they had this year lost many by death, which seems to have some truth in it; they have now moved inland, never staying more than two or three days on one spot. The Chinouquas could not be reached in three or four weeks; and from the Gorachouquas nothing in the world was to be had; when they come next year they promise to trade with us again. Of elephants' tusks the ensign only saw two or three, but of rhinoceroses' horns a great number; these the ensign did not purchase, wishing to stimulate them to bring the other, and to catch some young wild horses, which are so strongly coloured, and so streaked, as are not to be seen in any other part of the world, two or three bits of skin, one of a young foal, the other of an old horse, were procured, of which they make shoes, like the nine broeders. The Hottentots. 1658, November.

There is hardly any more reason to doubt that these tribes are the modern Kaffers, than that the wild horse is the quagga. Commentary.

There is daily less appearance of profit from skins, for the natives said that harts and horses ran too fast for them, and that they were contented with what they had from the breeding of cattle, whose skins they also wanted for their clothing, and could not take the trouble of catching the others. The ensign saw abundance of land fit for cultivation, and it did not blow there as it has done during the last six and a half years of our residence here. As to the Hottentoos, from the increase of free men, we shall have daily less to fear from them. One of our men was bitten by an adder, and there was no Hottentoo doctors at hand, or we would have employed them, having seen proof of their skill. We have now altogether Company's cattle 420—sheep, 1,396; free men's 200 and 350. Resolved to make a great night November.

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cattle-kraal at the Company's Corn Schuyr, where there is the best pasture lands—so that by day the cattle may graze from that place to the Bosehheuvel, or on the great plain beyond the Liesbeeek and the corn lands of the farmers who reside beyond the river. Our great number of cattle renders it neeessary that, while they graze at one place, the grass may have time to grow at another.

Commentary.

It is curious enough that the Dutch should never have thought, even to this day, of growing foreign grasses and other things, or of cutting, carting, and stacking natural grass for their cattle. Now is the time to read them a lecture on the subject, when they are applying for outspanning places between Cape Town and Stellenbosch, bordering on the new road; they might be told that no such privileges belong to any people; that there is such a thing as stall feeding, with great advantage to both owners and cattle, and that forage may be carried very easily on their great lubberly carts for a journey of half a dozen days. The demand would produce the supply, and we should very soon find grass, stacked for travellers, at all outspanning places.

December.

Information was received that Oedasoa was severely wounded by a lion, and that Eva might be soon expected. She came and confirmed the news. The chief met with the accident when out trying to catch some young horses and to shoot elephants, at Eva's request, with a great number of men—one sprang boldly upon the lion, one seized him by the ears, others by the main, tail, and legs, while others tore his mouth open with their hands, and thus extricated his teeth out of the arm of their chief—but the arm was so dreadfully wounded that she feared Oedasoa would die, as he could eat little or nothing;—eventually the lion was despatched with their assagais. They have

since ceased to hunt horses and elephants. Eva gives a long account of the disposition of the chief and the Cochoquas to be better instructed than she could instruct them in our religion, and to send some little children, that they might be taught from their youth upward. Nine of the Cochoquas who accompanied Eva, were, at their own request, admitted to evening prayers, and they lodged in the fort at night, as they would not willingly live in the houses of the Caepmans, or eat with them. The Caepmans and the interpreter Anthony scarcely dared to speak a word to these Cochoquas. Eva also told us of an unfortunate affair for us, *i. e.*, that whilst one of the chiefs of the Chainouquas was on his way hither with his wife, of the race of Chibona, who is said to be the chief of all this promontory, fell in with the two great encampments of the Cochoquas, by whom he was attacked and beaten in battle; his wife fell into their hands, and together with the others of ..... (M.S. decayed, Mr. Moodie says.) He saved himself by flight, and has gone to his chief, the ruler of the Chainouquas, who is said to have gone with his camp to the Chobona to ask for redress of this affront, or for aid in men, to take revenge of the Cochoquas. The chief who was beaten intended to bring his wife with all her jewels,* which she had received from her father Chobona, to show her to the commander. The Hottentots. 1658, December.

Governor reports to the Chamber that affairs have been brought into a proper train, according to instructions, both as regards cultivation and the rearing of cattle; also by purchases from the real Saldaniers who have been found after frequent journeys. Peace has been concluded with the Caepmans, the condi- 1659, January.

* She wore very long hair down to her feet. (See "The Record," page 157, March, 1659.)

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tions of which they do not fulfil, we would have exacted compensation from them and from the Gora-choquas, who are rich in cattle through their tobaceo stealing, had we got the horses which have been promised, for with twenty mounted men we might master all the native tribes, particularly these two said Cape hordes, who are, indeed, since HARRY'S ruin, brought into such perfect subjection that they dare not think of injuring a child of the Netherlanders, so that, thank God! the free men now live in a state of perfect quiet. They have this season too, reaped such an abundant crop, that our granaries will scarcely hold one half of it; the grape and olive are equally promising, and almost every kind of Indian or European fruit trees.

February.

Memo. issued to the free amateurs and adventurers about to set out of their own free will into the interior, to seek for other people, cities, or places, or whatever may be found; they departed in the name of the Lord, each armed with a good firelock and pistol. Some of the Cochoquas came with 48 sheep and 4 cattle; they removed, however, hastily, although EVA did her best to allay their apprehensions; they wished, they said, to fetch some more sheep which they had in the neighbourhood.

March.

Governor reports to the Chamber:—It has been found vain to endeavour to purchase ivory, only two or three tusks having been obtained—and we are satisfied that all the free men do not procure enough to send one tooth for each homeward bound ship. Experience teaches us that patience and circumspection must be carefully observed. Since HARRY'S confinement trade is carried on in peace with the natives, and the Company is rich in cattle; no native dare now to steal any thing as formerly, when they thought that we dared not annoy them in return, or

take revenge; in our treatment of HARRY they have seen the contrary. The Saldaniers would gladly see us take all the cattle of the Caepmans and the tobacco thieves, and banish them, for they give great annoyance to the Saldaniers by here and there acting as banditti and stealing their cattle; and for this reason they dare never go far inland, but stay hereabouts, between the Saldaniers and the Company's garrison. Twenty cavalry would enable us not only to oppose these two Cape hordes, but to resist all the violence that could be offered to us by all the Saldaniers in the country; if we had these we need think no more of digging or of fortifications for our defence; 80 paid men would then be sufficient. If you send us large Dutch horses, 12 large cavalry saddles, with holsters and pistols, will be necessary; for the Batavian horses, of which we have 16, English saddles would be better, for they are like English ponies, or light French horses, and of the sixteen only five or six are fit for use. The travellers were forced to return from the dryness of the country, the want of water and grass; one of the oxen perished from hunger and thirst, and the rest were, like the travellers themselves, very lean. They fell in with the Charinguriquas, who dissuaded them from going on to the Namaquas; they therefore travelled without a guide, and only reached a great river which ebbed and flowed from its proximity to the sea—beyond this river they heard of the Soaquas, or Banditti, a very wild people, without houses or cattle, but well armed with assagais, bows, and arrows; seven or eight days' journey further lay the Namaquas, but the arid state of the country forced them to return. They considered that they had travelled fully 90 mylen, mostly on the North side of Africa—but by the reckoning kept it did not exceed 30 mylen. The English ship *Dolphin* arrived,

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from Bantam 7th January, in a much distressed state from sickness; they begged assistance to raise their anchor, and to get to the proper anchorage; 25 men were sent from the *Princes Royaal*—they were supplied by the commander and captains of the outward bound fleet with an anchor and cable, and with a party of Portuguese to assist in navigating the vessel, the crew having died off from 50 to 20.

April 6.

This being the anniversary of the taking possession of the Cape, public thanks were returned to the Almighty for the blessings and success extended to us.

May.

The Caepmans' people drove off from our people seven of the Company's work-oxen, but our people in return took from them a loaded ox, and broke with a shot a Hottentoo's arm. Orders were given to the corporal of the volunteers and the overseer of the Company's farm, to pursue them with ten soldiers. They reached the Caepmans' two camps just below the kloof-pass, about 11 at night; they were much alarmed, and were ready instantly to restore the cattle, with others stolen before, all except one, which they said had been devoured by a lion; they would not sell a sheep for food, so our people took one, unopposed, and paid for it. Our people thought that with 40 men they could have broken up their camp and taken all their cattle, although they had 100 or 120 men capable of bearing arms, under their captains Gogosoa and Ankeysoa. Both the Saldaniers and the free men incite us to pay them off as we did Harry. The free men would rather run any risk in attacking them, than be daily plundered of their cattle and their crops. They retired, however, with all their cattle quite to the angle of the Steenbergen.

The Chamber instruct the government to carry on experiments in agriculture; to try hemp, linseed, beans, and peas; and observe, if the grape succeeds,

you will receive further information as to the mode of managing it. The export of horses from this quarter would be too expensive and troublesome; you must therefore do your best with oxen. You will be guided by the orders which Mr. Cuneus left with you until you receive further directions. We hear that the English have despatched two ships to St. Helena, in order to take possession of St. Helena Nova, and build two forts there, for the purpose of retaining it as a place of refreshment for their homeward bound ships. On this Mr. Moodie adds in a Note:—"It is hardly necessary to say that the Island of St. Helena Nova, like the city of Monomotopa, had no existence except in the books and atlases from which the Company drew a portion of their information." The free farmers, fishers, burgers, and others, represent, that they receive much annoyance and daily injury from the Caepmans and tobacco thieves, as well by stealing the produce of their fields, the iron of their harrows, aye! of our ploughs also; but particularly their cattle and sheep, which government had refrained from punishing, supposing that it would get better—but now they have stolen the Company's cattle and sheep, which we found in their camp, besides, they have again become so daring that they would have murdered the captain and mate of a ship had not rescue been at hand; they therefore request that effectual vengeance may be taken, and that they may be permitted to retake what they have lost, for they have hardly the means of keeping the plough going, and represent that they can defend themselves against all harm if the government will only let the Company's cattle be grazed under charge of soldiers, above and beyond their corn fields; when, according to orders, they will be able to show the natives every kindness, to do which, whilst they continue to steal, is vexatious to the memorialists.

The Hottentots. 1659, May.

The Hottentots. 1659, May. Commentary.

This is the first instance, which I see in the Record, of the farmers going beyond the government protection in their encroachments on the natives, and then the government authorities going beyond the farmers at their request, for their protection; in which circle the respective parties continued to move, until, in a couple of centuries, their advanced posts reached almost the banks of the Great Orange River.

May.

Oedasoa's people brought 32 sheep and 5 cattle. Hearing of the insolence of the Caepmans, and that only the same number of cattle had been taken from them, which they had taken from the Dutch, although, whilst driving the cattle one of them had been wounded, and died of his wound, expressed their surprise that the Dutch had not taken satisfaction, and entirely ruined the Caepmans. The interpreter, Anthony, trying to push in a word, was severely checked by Oedasoa's people. Eva said that Oedasoa was very likely to attack the Caepmans soon, as he also had been much annoyed by their cattle and sheep thefts; their richness consisting of what they procured by plunder; but that he feared to offend the Dutch by attacking them. The matter seemed so urgent that the government delivered itself of the following observations to the Chamber:—Is the cause so good as to justify us in employing other means than forbearance, to reduce them to subjection, and to force them to desist from their robberies and other annoyances? Whether they have not deserved to lose all their cattle, and that those who may be taken alive should be banished like Harry; besides, they will not desist from keeping the other inhabitants away from us; and from the fine cows which would be captured our breeding stock would be so much augmented that we need care little about the barter of oxen; the present colonists could, too, be abundantly supplied with plough oxen,

and many new colonists be enabled to turn over new land through the captured oxen. We cannot sufficiently supply them from our own stock, and those obtained by barter are lean, old, and worn out. We look for an early reply from your Honors. In the meantime the matter is likely to become so urgent as to render it necessary that we should take the adjustment of it into our own hands; for when about to dispatch this letter we received information that the Caepmans have stolen 16 of the free men's working oxen, and beaten one of the servants almost to death. The free men were unable to overtake their cattle, but got so near as to see the interpreter, ANTHONY, and one of the two men lately released from Robben Island, assisting in driving them. The Hottentots. 1659, May.

These cattle thefts by the aborigines, and the arming of the colonists, aided generally by government, to make reprisals, came famously to the aid of all parties, colonists and government, in keeping up a perpetual system of petty aggressions, and extension of territorial possessions at the expense of the natives. Commentary.

The commander in going to the spot whence the cattle had been driven, found that they had been herded by a Dutchman, who, contrary to orders, was without a gun; and by a slave, which slave brought intelligence of the robbery. The interpreter ANTHONY and some Hottentoos had, too, driven off a whole herd of cattle, but on pursuit with fire-arms, they were recovered. Reflecting on these things, VAN RIEBEECK thought that as the insolence of the robbers was on the increase, and as the farmers, even in these perilous times, could not be induced, according to orders, to guard their cattle by at least one Dutchman armed with a gun, that it would be well to billet nine Company's soldiers, one at each of the nine farm houses, and one at his own private farm, under whose May.

The Hottentots. 1659, May.

eare the cattle, and the farmers, more especially at night, might be safe. The fiscal, sergeant, and corporal, were also ordered to make daily rounds, and see that the guards performed their duty. Orders were given to the Company's people that they should quietly make every preparation, and a hint was given to the free men, so that, should anything be found, they might be ready with their arms. On coming home the commander stated these reflections of his to the Council, that they also might reflect upon them over night. And as the free men were chiefly affected by peace and by disquiet, Burgerraden were also summoned; the Council was accordingly convened the following day; and, as the matter was important, the fiscal and the secretary of the Council were allowed to vote. "The commander prorogued the assembled council, that each might give his advice, and that such resolutions might be passed for the good of the service, as the tranquillity of the free colonists, with respect to the natives of the country, shall seem to call for;" and, also, in as far as depends on us, as may be consistent with the honor and approval of God, that our deliberations may be aided from above with the spirit of true wisdom and of prudence; and may, instead of punishment, be sanctified with his divine blessing. In whose name, then, the said commander proceeded to submit.

What his honor the governor submitted need not be recorded here.

It was unanimously resolved, that we shall take the first opportunity suddenly to surprise and attack these Cape people with a strong force, to take their cattle, and as many male prisoners as possible, avoiding unnecessary bloodshed; keeping the prisoners as hostages, so that those who escape may be held in check and subjection, and quiet may thus be restored.

These Caepmans have always been found to be the chief preventers of intercourse with the true Saldaniers (true Kaffers?)—their enemies—they will eare as little about them as about HARRY, and will come more freely, and deal with us more confidently than before. Orders will be given to hold all in readiness to carry this resolution into execution; and the Counеil preferred a prayer to the Almighty that he would be pleased to assist with his help and blessing—Amen. The resolution had not been passed an hour, when (it being Sunday afternoon) tidings eame that 30 eattle and 70 sheep were earried off from one man, and that all that remained of the eattle and sheep of two other colonists had been taken; whilst a Dutehman, after firing his gun at the Hottentoos, had been attacked and miserably murdered by seven assagai wounds—one slave being wounded. ANTHONY himself was among them, and was pursued by seven free men, but it is feared that the pursuers will run some risk. Four of the farms are now entirely ruined, and brought to a stand still in the midst of the ploughing and sowing season, to the great injury of agrieulture. The moment this report reaehed the fort, all the Hottentoos hereabouts, wives, children, and all, took to flight. The Hottentots. 1659, May.

ANTHONY must have had good intelligenee of what was passing in the eouneils of the Duteh; and, in this instanee, very cleverly anticipated them. It will be eurious and interesting, as the Dutehman said in the ehild and ewe seene, to witness whether the true Saldaniers had wisdom and foresight suffieient, also to antieipate and stay their further iniquitous eneroachments and usurpations. Commentary.

All the Company's stoek was brought to the fort, exeept the working oxen, and they remained to eontinue the work; many of the sheep, too, for we have May.

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not room for them all here. These Caepmans are not to be won by kindness, and as they threaten to take all our cattle before they leave off, and to kill those who attempt to prevent them, full permission was given to every one to seize or shoot them wherever they are to be found; that is to say, those who can be caught near the houses, or are to be met elsewhere, so that each may stay at home to protect his own property, until orders are issued for taking the field expressly, and our spies return and tell us where we can best "get at them," to annoy them the most effectually, and at once to impress them with a proper panic. Eva alone stays in the commander's house; and, seeing and hearing of all our preparations, she seems much dejected. She said that they wished to entice her away also, that she preferred remaining, but was fearful that some of Oedasoa's people, when coming hither, might be killed. We assured her that this we would take care to prevent; that the Caepmans would be punished, for that the peace offered to them, through her, on Sunday last, they not only did not accept, but in the afternoon had killed a free burger, and carried off more than forty cattle and seventy sheep; a matter which was most displeasing to the Almighty, when committed by such men as they were, who did not know Him. That God, therefore, allowed us (who did know Him?) not only to offer all possible resistance, but to do them all the injury in our power, in order that, as they would not be influenced by kindness, (including the appropriation of their land?) they might be brought to a better understanding and behaviour by force, to which righteous cause God would lend his support and aid.

Commentary. Oh! iniquitous blasphemer, hypocrite, and professed Christian governor.

May. Our spies returned, having found no traces of the

Hottentoo, believing also from the growth of the grass, and its untrodden condition, that they could not have been in any part of the country about the Cape, Hout Bay, or Berg Valley, for the last six months; they must have gone to the country beyond the African Mountains, and they will be as easily caught there as the bird that flies. Another colonist's cattle were taken from close to his house, chiefly through his own carelessness from leaving them unattended, at a late hour, on the other side of the Fresh River. The Hottentots. 1659, May.

It is a wonder VAN RIEBEECK does not add these strayed cattle to the debit side of the Caepmans' account current. Commentary.

Twenty Hottentoos were seen on the commander's land in the Boschheuvel, but they had no opportunity for carrying off the cattle; more soldiers were, however, sent to the corn lands, and the working parties were called in from the wood to guard the Company's fine herd of cattle, which they boast they will come for in the rainy weather. The seven free men were driven back by the twenty Hottentoos who had stolen the cattle, only two or three had guns, and the rest pitchforks. The natives know well how to take advantage of such carelessness, and especially ANTHONY, by whom they are encouraged; we have placed on his head a reward of a hundred guilders if alive, and fifty if dead; also, for other common robbers, twenty guilders, and ten; women and children half price; and to earn this, several artizans among the free men have offered their services, that we may get rid of the robbers, and particularly of ANTHONY. May.

I forget how many thousand pounds the Chinese offered for Captain ELLIOT, how many for a line of battle ship, for a frigate, for the admiral, a great captain, and a common outside barbarian! Commentary.

Especial prayers were this day, being very wet, May.

The Hottentots. 1659, May.

dark, and stormy, offered up to the Almighty, to turn from us His chastening hand, which we now feel severely in the mortality among the cattle, and the robberies and murders of these barbarous men. Prayers are also to be preferred to-morrow; after which, the volunteer free men will go out against the Hottentoos, (to murder them? When the native chiefs of India are under affliction, they make a vow to release prisoners when exempt. It is a wonder that Van Riebeeck did not think of emancipating some of the Honorable Company's slaves, and of releasing Harry) which parties of free men retired to the fort with all their sheep and cattle before the wagons, only six daring to stay longer in their houses for fear of fire. The fiscal was sent to warn the wives and children of others to retreat in case of need to the redoubt Corenhoop, or even to the fort. The Company and the Governor will try to keep their cattle on their respective farms to the last. The Hottentoos are looking out for them, and our people are looking out for them in their turn. God grant them courage (give them, O governor! Dutch courage) so that we may get hold of some rogues. It is most pitiful to witness the flight of the farmers from the rye and wheat daily sown, (on the Hottentoos lands, who were first forced to flee) nearly all is in the ground, and much of it showing green. Each farmer is now disposed to keep only six oxen, to watch the Hottentoos as much as possible; and, if need be, to save their moveables with their wagons and their six oxen. The better to overtake the Hottentoos when running, in which they are too quick for us, it was resolved to release from irons all the slaves and to employ them against the Hottentoos, with half pikes at first, until they get assagais enough; for the slaves are much excited against them, and would gladly eat them.

On this, Mr. Moodie observes, "notwithstanding the two previous notices of cannibal propensities in the newly imported slaves, Mr. Van Riebeeck does not appear to be quite serious here; speaking of the feelings of the slaves towards the natives, the original states them to be '*seer op deselve gebeten, en haar wel willende eten.*' The play which seems to have been intended upon the double meaning of the word '*gebeten,*' should be considered before forming any definitive judgment upon this instance upon the good taste of Mr. Van Riebeeck, or that of the Angola slaves." Resolution of Council, for the reasons stated in the Journal, it is thought best to release all the slaves from their chains, and to employ them also in chasing and overtaking the Hottentoos, they being active and strong, and necessity urgently requiring this course for our better defence, we hope that the Lord will be pleased to grant that it may lead to the best. The Hottentots. 1659, May.

Whatever may be thought on the subject of the governor's intention about the slaves eating the Hottentoos, the measure will not appear to any one less iniquitous than that which was afterwards had recourse to in other parts of the world, of importing and employing blood-hounds for the purpose of running down maroons. There is a story told somewhere of a slave when put upon his trial, and being asked whether he objected to a particular juryman? replying no massa; I like him very much; I like to eat him. Commentary.

From the number of men employed to guard the cattle and the free men there are now only a sergeant and corporal and two men to keep watch at the gate of the fort. (Now is your time, O Hottentoos and Kaffers.) Assagais are made for the slaves after the fashion of their own country; their wives, to whom they seem much attached, and whom they will not easily part with, are kept here, to May.

The Hottentots. 1659, May.

prevent the men from straying away. The convicts from Batavia, are employed to the same end; thus earning their own freedom. Prayers were offered for God's blessing in these perilous and distracted times.

Commentary.

Often as religion has been called to aid by Christians? in this country, and in other countries, for enslaving or oppressing aborigines, or rather, as it has been said, that they would not attend to Christian instructors, unless first subjected to the will of their task-masters—there was surely never any thing worse than this hypocritical cant of Mr. Van Riebeeck, in invoking the aid of the Almighty in this unrighteous cause.

May.

Several of the free men are so timid and panic-struck that they fled to the redoubt Corenhoop, leaving their houses a prey to the Hottentoos; warned the people that the supply of matches would not last fourteen days, and therefore to save their matches; there is, too, the danger of the Hottentoos becoming bolder from seeing this panic. The parties sent out must endeavour to get into their hands one or more Hottentoos alive, to be employed, per force, as guides, that we may find their camps. The Caepmans have taken altogether from four companies of free men 68 cattle and 67 sheep. Orders were given for the first parade of the Cape Schutters to take place on Sunday after service—and so on every other Sunday, one of the council attending to give to each a glass of brandy, as many backward characters may be enticed for brandy.

Commentary.

More symptoms of "Dutch courage" than of patriotism in this.

May.

A Boer was attacked in the wood by 50 or 60 Hottentoos, but on his servants coming up with guns, they fled, so that he was only wounded in the neck by an assagai, and they kept five of those thrown at

them; some of the apparatus was found near a house which the natives use to make fire. A soldier was brought from the Boschheuvel with two assagai wounds in the calf of his leg; he said that 300 or 400 Hottentoos attacked four of them, who were guarding the Company's 25 cattle, and, after half an hour's fight, that they had carried off 11 of them. ANTHONY led them and threw five assagais at the soldiers; some of the Hottentoos were touched—thus the commander's 25 morgen of land, sown with fine white wheat, and more than 1,200 vines, planted on the hill, are quite ruined. A good party was made up and sent out; 20 of the worst cattle were to be grazed near the Boschheuvel with only one or two sentries, while an ambush was to be laid where the natives usually make their first attack. The Hottentots. 1659, May.

Wet weather as before, to the prevention of our operations; our people who are out against the plundering Hottentoos can effect nothing, neither can they effect any thing against us—thus, during the whole week, they have been vainly trying to get at our cattle, and we have been vainly trying to get at their persons; but we will hope that we may once more fall in with them in fine weather, and that the Lord will be with us. Those who have now made war upon us are the tribe shortly named Caepmans, but in the Hottentoo language Goringhaicoina, under the fat captain GOGOSOA, with from 200 to 300 fencible men. His adherent, ANKISOA, a small party of men, but very rich, especially in sheep, and with him who is generally encamped close to the Caepmans, ANTHONY generally lives; also all the Strandloopers or Watermans, vagabonds, HARRY's late people. They have also called in the aid of the Goraehouqua, the tobacco thieves, who alone has 600 or 700 fencibles, and is tolerably rich in large and small cattle. This tribe June.

The Hottentots. 1659, June. was recently at variance with Caepman and his allies, and did him much injury, as frequently happens, until he, who is always the weakest, begs for peace.

Commentary. Symptoms in all this of combination amongst the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Cape, against foreign usurpation of their rights, as far as it can be possible for tribes composed of such materials to combine.

June. Thirty more cattle and 34 sheep carried off by 20 Hottentoos, headed by ANTHONY; the cattle were guarded by three men, armed with fire-locks; one of these was killed by five assagai wounds, and the other two were wounded. The commander himself followed the thieves, with others, on horseback, but they drove the cattle so quickly over the flat that they were not once seen. The disaster arises principally from the farmers not attending to orders. ANTHONY made another attack during heavy rain on the Company's cattle, and took them, but all were retaken except 29, with which they fled at such a pace that no one could come up with them; 20 Hottentoos drove the cattle, and the other 30 placed themselves in battle array to keep our men off; it was such wet weather that our men could only get two or three shots at them.

Commentary. The Hottentots seem generally to have made their descents in wet weather, when, as they knew, neither the Dutchman's match nor powder would burn—and but for fire-arms the latter would of course have had no chance against the numbers of the former.

June. The kraal at the Schuyr, (this seems to be the Indian word city, that the Dutch applied to their new kraal on the Company's farm) was now completed, with thick trees and posts planted side by side like a palisade, where the cattle will be safe at night; the free men's as well as the Company's cattle were sent there, where 40 men will guard them, and

other parties will be out here and there lying in wait; the pasture near the fort would not suffice for all. The Hottentots. 1659, June.

It has always been thus—the Dutch have had too many cattle, yet have adopted no measures for stall-feeding to this day; a condition in which, as is now well known, one beast is, whether for milk, manure, or work, worth half a dozen that run loose. Commentary.

We have not been able to secure a single prisoner to point out the Hottentoos' camp, and know not where it is. Resolved, therefore, to fetch HARRY from the Island, and to employ him to point it out; he will be well secured and amused with fine promises, which there is no intention of fulfilling. A mission from OEDASOA represented that their chief desired a closer alliance with the Dutch; that just before the late stormy weather the Caepmans and Gorachoquas had sent presents to him and his confrater NGONOMOA, asking for assistance against the Dutch, or for permission to move further into the interior away from their persecutions—but that he and NGONOMOA returned the presents, and rejected the proposed alliance; that they had also recalled all their people from the Gorachoquas, lest they should suffer when the Dutch attacked that people; that a difference on this point had arisen between himself and NGONOMOA, and that they had separated—the latter intending to watch results, not aiding the Caepmans or Gorachouquas; but, if all went well, proposing to trade with the Dutch as before. June.

These are so obviously the people now designated Kaffers, that I shall, from this period, transfer the further records or observations relating to them to the separate paper respecting Kaffers. Commentary.

We heard that at night the Hottentoos tried to break into a house, to murder all in it, but that they fled on being fired at—a Dutchman instead of a Hot- June.

The Hottentots. 1659, June.

tentoo was, however, shot in the leg with five balls. HARRY was brought to the pier, but as OEDASOA'S people were here, as EVA did not know that he had been sent for, and for several other reasons, he was sent back to Robben Island. The sheep on the island had died off from 500 to 100; there has been mortality among the sheep here, but not so much, and we have suffered more from the robbery of the Hottentoos. It would seem as if it had pleased the Lord to visit us for some time back, with afflictions from all sides, but we hope once more to receive his blessing. —Amen!

Commentary.

Good works, in your case, may be more efficacious to your well-being in this world, than either faith or prayer, Mr. Governor—therefore, give the people back their lands, and the slaves manumission, when your little difficulties and affairs will assume a very manageable form, Mr. Governor!

June.

Some iron crow's feet were scattered in the narrow passes through which the Hottentoos, about seven years ago, had driven the Company's cattle. Some of the farmers were busy ploughing, and those who had lost their cattle were digging in their gardens, so as to have vegetables in lieu of corn. No Caepmans' camps were to be seen from a position which commanded a view of the flats from the one bay to the other.

July.

A good many Hottentoos made an attack on the Company's force at Boschheuvel, but unsuccessfully, as the people were on the alert, although they could not reach them with their fire-arms. Ten spies were sent out to search for our enemies through the sand hills of False Bay, quite to the Hottentoos' Holland, ten hours walk from this, and a party of upwards of 300 of them were seen behind Boschheuvel, occupied in dancing and leaping—so orders were sent on board to land a

party of armed soldiers, to be sent there and elsewhere against these triumphant enemies—the country there was so full of them that our people dared scarcely trust themselves in their houses. The spies returned after carefully examining the country as far as Hottentoos' Holland, without seeing either men or cattle. It was very cold, and so wet that they were constantly travelling up to their waists in water—so that in this winter weather little else can be done than to stand on the defensive. According to our view of the matter, therefore, we shall be always subject to much trouble and contention, chiefly from trying to protect our establishments with 80 men; even although there were free men it is very difficult to keep the cattle out of the hands of these nimble savages, for from the number of cattle they must be grazed at some distance, and often kraaled at night at the Company's farm, about 1½ hour's walk from the fort; thus we can scarcely hold all in security with less than 120 men, unless we had cavalry; and for this arm we can only now furnish four tolerable horses out of our fourteen, the rest are young foals and mares, and they are quite knocked up by ploughing, and only fit to breed from. If, gentlemen, (of the government of Batavia,) you could only send us by the homeward bound fleet, or by a single vessel, some horses, so as to enable us to mount 20 men, we could dispense with 10 or more of the garrison; we submit the proposal with great respect, and await instructions whether to increase to, and maintain the garrison at, the strength of 120 men, which is the smallest number that will enable us to keep what we have got in these perilous times. But for this unexpected war we should have had abundance of corn, whilst most of the farmers would have cleared off their debt to the Company, (incurred in the purchase of slaves, cattle, and seed corn,) besides

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having their houses, cattle, and freeholds unencumbered; now they are all reduced to poverty. Even the commander has little better to anticipate with his private farm—his servants scarcely dare to stay there, and would long since have withdrawn; they are, indeed, kept at great expense, and with great uncertainty as to the result. But he resolved to maintain his advanced position, for fear of too much weakening the free farmers, otherwise they might entirely abandon their farms—but to prevent their courage from sinking, the commander resolved to hold out to the last, hoping that the Lord will be pleased to send better days, for else all the free men are much to be pitied. It is surprising that we can no where find the camps or houses of those robbers, although we daily see their persons in the bushes in all quarters, watching for a favorable opportunity of driving away our cattle. The thieves are dangerous, and we expect every moment to hear that people are murdered in their houses; still these poor men—that is to say the greater number of the free men—are so utterly reckless and careless of their lives, that, whenever any ships are in the roads, they may be daily seen as intoxicated as irrational creatures; they get the strong drink from the shipping; nor can this be easily prevented, for spirits are landed in many places at night, and when the free men come to the stores for their provisions, none of them can pay in money, for they have been ruined by the wars, and we cannot so harden our hearts as to send them away without any supply. Even the farmer Jan Reyneus, who always paid for his provisions in ready money, must now take them on credit, for he has lost his 18 milch cows and his 6 working oxen. If the depredations continue, the establishment of free farmers will be any thing but profitable to the Company; and we therefore hope

that the Almighty will be pleased to stay his chastening hand, which has been severely felt in our cattle—so that out of 500 ewes on Robben Island, almost all in lamb, and which we hoped would this year increase to 1,000, all have now died but 40. The mortality has not been so great here on this main land, where, including the sheep which the free men have returned to the Company, we have between 600 and 700, and little less than 300 cattle, old and young; but these we have great difficulty in protecting from the robbers, whose mischief may the Almighty speedily check, and only permit that we may find them, and that we may give them a good fright. The Hottentots. 1659, July.

Commentary.

Open your eyes on sublunary things, oh! thou blind, merciless, and unjust ruler in South Africa! instead of appealing to heaven's high throne; for the accusing angel will certainly not blush to give in your oaths, neither the recording angel drop a tear upon the word, or blot it out for ever. You will find a remedy for all your petty grievances in two or three very simple things—if you have not magnanimity enough to withdraw your drunken soldiers and sailors, whom you are trying to cocker up into farmers, and to restore to the aborigines the lands of which you have robbed them, and to withdraw from a farming occupation on your own account, and on account of your government—try whether the natives will not rent their lands to you; reduce the number of your long-horned cattle and large-tailed sheep; turn your free men into an agricultural and horticultural, instead of a pastoral people, and see what stall-feeding will do, as in Holland, for your cattle and yourselves; circumscribe the limits of your usurpations, if usurpers and robbers you must be.

July.

Resolved to send for HARRY, since he knows much better than we do all the roads and hiding places,

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whether Oedasoa will make war on the Caepmans, or join them. Being called before the Council he seemed to think it hardly possible that Oedasoa would unite with the Caepmans, although he might have so far agreed with them as to remain neuter in their disputes with the Dutch; but he could well believe that some vagabonds might join the Caepmans for the sake of booty. Such, Van Riebeeck observes, there are under the best governments. He said they could hardly be found in this rainy season in their numerous hiding places, but that in the dry season they might be found. A Hottentoo having been caught, and promised to act as a guide in pointing out the united camps of the Gorachouquas, the Caepmans, and of Ankaisoa, it was resolved to send 80 sailors and 70 Company's servants to attack the said enemies by break of day. The fiscal was appointed commander-in-chief, the proposal of the commander to head the expedition having been rejected by the Council; and three divisions of 48 or 50 men each were formed, commanded by two sergeants and one corporal in lieu of captains; it was also thought fit to send six or eight slaves, armed with assagais, to carry baggage and drive cattle; and, the better to encourage the men, to abide by the rewards before offered for Anthony, for Hottentoos, whether taken dead or alive; and as to cattle, in proportion to the amount of the booty. The said army marched out when it was dark, with fine weather. May the Almighty grant them victory, and that they may return in health—Amen. In the afternoon 20 of the ships' soldiers arrived, after a march of four hours to the Leopards' Berg; they could go no farther. Two ships arrived, one with 362 men, of whom nine had died; the other with 190 men, of whom one had died; the rest well. The fiscal returned with his three companies, and re-

ported that with the aid of the Hottentoo prisoner they had found the place where the enemies' camps had been, but that they had fled not twelve hours before. The ships' soldiers were so weak that they could go no farther; and HARRY said that it would be of no use to pursue, for they would break up; that they had their sentinels on every height and hillock; in every bush and thicket; so that they could easily avoid our party; there is, therefore, little to be done, except by surprise and sudden attack; for which, with what the Almighty may be pleased to send, another opportunity must now be awaited. By the application of another torture to the guide, he confessed that OEDASOA had promised to protect our enemies; that they were now with him, as he had allowed them to go as far inland as they chose. Five Hottentoos attacked a soldier, and after throwing some assagais, which passed through his clothes, they made off with his two cattle; they were intercepted in a passage; the fiscal and three mounted men offered them quarter, which they declined, and assumed the defensive; the fiscal was the first to come up, and was obliged to retire; but having reloaded his gun, and the other three having come up, three of the robbers were shot, and as they thought the fourth also. The groom, after speaking with ANTHONY, who refused to receive quarter, wounded him with shot, but he unfortunately escaped; two of our men were wounded, the fiscal and another escaped with whole skins. Five Hottentoos having dared to oppose themselves to four horsemen, shows that, when close pressed, they can show desperate courage, and that they will rather die than be taken. The surgeon, with some soldiers, were sent to meet the wounded men, and to fetch the heads of the slain enemies; only one known Hottentoo was found, and he was brought to the fort alive; one

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of the nimblest and greatest rogues was he. It appeared that the others had been dragged away by those who eseaped, or by some others. The wounded man said that 13 of them had in the morning gone from the eamps of the Caepman, Aukaisoa, and the Gora-ehouquas, whieh lie near Saldanha Bay, into the kloofs of the mountain; that Oedasoa had agreed with those eamps to let them have a plaee to retreat to, having himself erossed the eountry with Ngonomoa, and passed the Berg River, about fifteen hours journey distant; the eight remaining robbers got without hindranee six ploughing oxen; the eattle eould not be overtaken, although briskly pursued, but if we had horses enough they might have been, like those this morning—there lies the rub. The free men in eoming to ehureh said that yesterday evening they saw a great number of Hottentoos beyond the Liesbeeek, and that in the night they heard them making a great noise and singing. The commander went out, but saw nothing, and they made no attempt, so that the truth of the story is somewhat doubtful. The eommander submitted to the Couneil the present state of the war here with the Hottentoos, and proposed that 15 or 20 volunteers should be sent in the free men's vessels to Saldanha Bay, to attaek from behind our enemies, who had retreated in that direetion. It was, however, resolved that the measure was not advisable at present, as it was thought better to lie wait for any who might eome here; it was also feared that we might attaek the eamps of the Saldaniers, and thus bring upon us new enemies, of whom we had already enough to give us full oeeupation. The Hottentoo prisoner said that Harry's people—the Watermans—were living in the Hout and Berg Vallies, and that they eome through the Kloof Pass, behind the Boschheuvel, to annoy our

people. A corporal and ten were accordingly sent to search for their huts to the farthest point of the Cape Mountains. We most urgently beg the Governor-General and Council of Batavia, that the horses before requested may be sent, as well as rice, for the preservation of our establishments at the Cape entirely depends upon cavalry, and considering the fertility of the soil, it would be most lamentable to see these establishments ruined. There is not the remotest chance of catching horses in the interior, still less of doing so through the Hottentoos, for they know too well how much annoyance they might thus suffer, as they could so easily be pursued and overtaken. The sergeant returned; but, after searching everywhere, found nothing; and we learnt from the Hottentoo prisoner that when they go out against our cattle they never by day or by night light fires, so as to be liable to surprise. The Hottentots. 1659, July.

Long discussions commence about this time amongst the Dutch authorities and farmers as to the best mode of blocking the passes through which the natives drive their cattle; and it was resolved in council that the best mode was through fences or palings, like those in the cattle markets in fatherland, some of them extending 11,000 or 12,000 roods, the posts to be six inches in diameter at the smallest end, eight feet in length, three feet of which in the ground to be charred to prevent decay; another mode was by a fence of dead bushes, a hedge of bitter almond trees being planted along the paling; it was made compulsory on the colonist living beyond, each to make a similar fence along his own land, and it was made a penal offence to injure those works, the penalty being three years labor in irons and a fine of 100 reals. The corporal and his ten men returned; about 18 hours march from this by the shortest road, just within the August.

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North angle of False Bay, they fell in with three huts of the Hottentoos, where were about 18 men capable of bearing arms, and as many women and children; they could hear them hammering assagais, and could have surprised them had not their dogs begun to bark, when they sprung out of their huts quite naked, fled with women and children in great alarm, and hid themselves among heath and bushes. They were people who had lived at the fort; were well known; and called out that they were Vischmans or Watermans, and that they were not concerned in stealing the cattle; they had, however, been frequently seen stealing cattle, and some of our men had felt the wounds of their assagais; the corporal got into communication with them, and they could have been made prisoners; they were advancing towards our people when a gun exploded, they retired and tried to save themselves by flight; our men pursued, in order that their journey might not be in vain, and they got hold of their chief captain, who was rather old, and shot two others. The upper lip of the captain named Trosoa was cut off, because he would not come to the fort, and it was troublesome to carry him so far. He used to be Harry's companion, and, chained together, they would have made a good match. The upper lip of one of the men shot was also brought away; the body of the other could not be found, but on tendering their oath that he had been shot, a premium was given for him also; or, for all three sixty guilders. Their huts, and all they contained, were destroyed, also fifty assagais, quivers, with bows and arrows, and skins were thrown from the South point of False Bay into the sea; so that the others were left without arms, and as naked as the day they were born. They endeavoured to stop our party at various narrow passes by throwing down stones, but they

kept out of the reach of shot. Among them were some well-known cunning blades, who had been the carriers of wood at the fort, and had done other services to persons there, and to the free farmers in the country; they were the champions in the war now waged against us, and were always present in the attacks upon our cattle; twelve are named, and the other three dared not come so near; they belonged to CAEPMAN'S people as well as to HARRY'S, and they said that ANTHONY, and others, known to us, were in CAEPMAN'S camp near Saldanha Bay. Pruned our vines, and gave cuttings to free men, some of whom have planted vines along the sides of their houses; the commander has prepared more than two morgen of land for vines. It is the time for planting and grafting all sorts of European and Indian fruit trees. Many Hottentoos were seen watching the cattle, yet the people will go without their guns on the roads; a man was only saved from two of them by retreating to a mounted guard, which ascended the hill, and saw where they had been digging out roots for food, but they hid themselves in caves and bushes. A party of men, with flintlocks, was sent there, but returned without seeing them. Natives were seen who appeared disposed to remain on peaceable terms, or to make peace, therefore our people were ordered to attempt nothing against such as came unarmed, except to endeavour, by show of friendship, to get hold of them, and for those so taken the same rewards were promised as for prisoners taken in war. A wounded Hottentoo died, and it was ordered that his death might be concealed, and to say that he had been sent to Robben Island; which, in point of fact, took place, for the body was sent in that direction in a boat, and on the way quickly sunk with a weight attached to it to give less trouble, and for other

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reasons. It was found that the Guinea slaves intended to join the Hottentoos, and the males were put in irons, for if these bold people should join our enemies they would do more harm than a hundred times their number of Hottentoos, instructing them in the art of war, for several of them have been present in the wars of Europeans in Guinea. The plough is going, and the free men are all busy in their gardens and sowing. May the Almighty protect the crops from burning by the Hottentoos, and we may still reap more than last year. The boat returned from Saldanha Bay; they had seen seven Hottentoos in one party and nineteen in another, and they were carried over to Schaapen Island in the free men's boat, both parties behaving kindly to each other; they had no cattle, being shore people, who live by fishing; they said the Caepmans, of whose robberies they had heard, were at present between Saldanha Bay and the Cape. A wooden guard-house, twelve feet square, was placed on the shore to prevent the Hottentoos from driving the cattle towards the Salt River, and another of stone in the middle of the Hottentoos' passage, the Salt River running between the two.

September.

Our bush fence progresses, will be soon completed, and then the Hottentoos will not be able to drive away our cattle so easily, even if they should not leave us in peace, as they have done for some time back. Found the bones of the soldier missed on the 30th of August, at the skirt of the Lion Hill, 30 roods from the beach, presumed to have been devoured by a lion.

The Chamber inform the government that since they are satisfied with the supply of slaves it is not their intention to undertake any more voyages to that quarter, as the profit was doubtful, and the places are within the Charter of the West India Company. We

disapprove of the interdict placed on the free men in their dealings with the natives—both cattle and slaves with which you have assisted them must be charged to their account; higher prices may also be given for grain; there can be no objection to their selling and bartering with one another. You will do well to explore the interior for something profitable. HARRY, as you say, may deserve what has befallen him. We postpone sending you any large horses; you have already 16, which may be increased by breeding, and in the Cape itself there is as fine a race of horses to be seen as in any country, which may be caught. You should bring the stock which you issue to the ships into some better condition, for great complaints are made of the dryness and leanness of the meat; you should also take measures to prevent Company's servants and free men from concealing themselves in the homeward bound ships, especially those who are in debt, a practice which has become very prevalent. It appeared that in twelve months 29 ships of 150 to 450 men had been supplied with 148 head of cattle and 352 sheep. The heaviest of the cattle were driven against the dead bush fences, and did not break through; 1,150 roods of these had been made by 30 men in 20 days, but there is danger from fire. The Hottentots. 1659, September.

A free man reported that near the Boschheuvel he had been surrounded by nine Hottentoos, who begged him to fetch a flag from the fort, that they might be enabled to speak with the commander. A flag and a soldier were given to him, and they were followed on the sly by three horsemen. He returned to the fort accompanied by the Hottentoos; they were HARRY's people, who, on the 3rd of August, had been attacked in the Cape mountains; they said they had no hand in the war or the stealing of cattle, which had been done by the Caepmans under the direction October.

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of ANTHONY, and they begged that our men might not be sent out against them, but that they might, as before, be permitted to live about the fort with their huts, women, and children, offering to feteh wood, water, and fish; they said they had no cattle or other riches, but lived by fishing; they said they were not on sueh terms with the Caepmans as to be able to say where they were—but that they heard some time ago that, in return for some of the cattle stolen from us, OEDASOA had offered them refuge, and that they thought all had retreated far into the interior. They said they could not easily go to seek for them, but that if we granted their request some of the Caepmans would visit them at the fort at night, or at other times, to talk about peaee. HARRY, who was placed behind a thin partition, within ear shot, said, they were his people, and that they spoke truth. It was submitted to eouneil whether these Hottentoos should be released or detained—and they were set at liberty; four of them returned to the fort, saying that in a day or two they would eome with their huts, wives, and ehildren. The free men's vessel returned from Saldanha Bay, where they had seen some of OEDASOA's people and the tobaeeo thieves, and from whom they had bartered 20 sheep. They could have proeured a great number of eattle, but had no merchandize, or means of conveying them.

November. The first Duteh rose grown at the Cape was gathered from a tree brought here last year.

December. The farmers were busy in mowing their brown wheat, rye, and barley—very good erops—and the white wheat promises equally well, but it is later in ripening; as yet we have seen none of the misehief threatened by the ill-disposed Hottentoos in burning the eorn, for which God be thanked. HARRY and the Hottentoo prisoners had during the night made off

from Robben Island with our men's boat, which was so leaky that there was no doubt that it would sink with them—it blew, too, a small breeze from the West, giving them a lee shore, and the sea breaks in seven or eight lines. A corporal and five men were, however, sent to search the shore as far as Dassen Island; they returned, having found, one and half day's journey from this, a small boat drawn up on the shore, and brought an oar and an iron thowl-pin. It was proved to be the same boat, and to all appearance HARRY and the Hottentoo had escaped. What HARRY will now take in hand time must teach—some expect harm, some good; and that by bringing the Chinouquas with many cattle, he will again try, as on a former occasion, to earn pardon—once more to reign over his old subjects, the Watermans. The first ripe cherry was plucked at the Cape. CHINANHANTIMA is now living with the Caepmans, with five houses and many cattle; this is the chief whose wife is of the Chobona race, who is dressed in gold ornaments, and whose hair hangs down to her feet; she was killed by the Cochoquas, and he was driven away by his master, the Chainouquas, because in that battle he had lost so many of his tribe on his wife's account; much has been written on this subject; he has now found refuge with the Caepmans. ANTHONY's shoulder-shot wound had healed, but his arm was disabled; the rest longed much for peace, but he dared not return to the commander, fearing that he would be hanged—the result time will show, and we must hope for the best from the Almighty. The chief surgeon Mr. WILJAM ROBBINSON, of Doudy, discovered a great treachery of four English, four *Schotten*, three Dutch servants, one black convict, and fifteen slaves, to destroy the crew of the *Erasmus*, who were at work in the wood, then the Company's servants at the Schuyr, then to

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scale the walls of the fort, murder all in it, and then to make off with the *Erasmus*. Pieter Barber, of Hamistede, Jacob Borne, of Glasco, Patricq L'Jack, of Glasco, were amongst the conspirators, but as the trial would last ten days, and detain the fleet, it was resolved, on the 12th of March, to send all eight to Batavia for trial.

The Governor-General and Council in India, in reply to despatches from the Cape, observe, that from the favorable accounts received they had hoped that the Company had fully attained its principal object, but that they had subsequently learnt that the long smothered fire amongst the Hottentoos had, without their having received any cause of offence, burst into a flame, and in their own way waged war against us; you had thus no alternative, but to resist, and as far as possible protect your establishments; you have hitherto obtained but slight advantages; they have done much damage—the best of the free men are ruined and dispirited, which will shake the Cape colony to pieces; the Residency producing no return, will always be a burthen to the Company. We never entertained any high idea of the Cape scheme; there was too much said at first, and things are now turning out unfortunately; however, what is done cannot be undone. We authorize you, provisionally, to increase the strength of your garrison, a burthen which their honors need not bear any longer than they choose. We shall be constantly embroiled with one chief or other of the native tribes; they have always displayed signs of jealousy, because you had occupied the best of their productive lands, which had always been theirs, and which put them to much inconvenience, a grievance of these savage men which we must certainly admit, is not entirely unfounded, but for this we cannot give them any satisfaction while we remain

at the Cape; they will become bolder in time, and give you more trouble than at present; there will be ceaseless alarms, and we cannot conceive that with 20 mounted men you will be able to keep the enemy in check, or to protect all the lands as far as the Gevel Bergen. We shall, perhaps, learn in the end that the Company has been involved in a long train of expenses, greatly embarrassing, in spite of the most rigid economy. We long to learn what has been the result of these difficulties, and to what remedial measures our honorable masters will resort. We have charged Mr. Pieter Sterthenius, Councillor Extraordinary of India, to examine the Cape Boundary on his way, rendering to their honors, on his arrival in fatherland, a proper report on its state and condition; and in the present state of the war with the Hottentoos we have thought fit to ship two horses in each of the homeward bound ships. The Hottentots. 1659, December.

John Maetsuyker.

In the Castle, Batavia, 15th Dec. 1659.

Fires were seen every night in one and the same spot, at the Leopard Berg, supposed to be those of the Caepmans, but spies on going out could find nothing. The boats returned from Saldanha Bay, where Oedasoa's people still lay, also the Caepmans; many of the latter had been on board, also Anthony and Harry; they said the fat captain was disposed to come with his camp to reside with us again, provided that the vessels brought a letter, signed by the commander and two others, whom they named, also some tobacco and brass as presents, which they would receive as a token of peace; they also said that the commander had much faith in Eva, but that Oeda- 1660, January.

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soa only permitted her to come and go that he might know what we do, or intend to do, which she always tells. They would hardly believe that we had permitted the Strandloopers to return, and said that if one of them came in the boat, and they were satisfied of this, they would indeed believe that the commander's anger was over. They said that the reason why they made war upon us was, that we everywhere broke up the best land with the plough, and that they thought to prevent this by taking away the oxen with which we did it, also, that some farmers had done them much injury, in particular Jan Reyneus and Hendrik Boom, who had once hanged up one of them with a strap, but he was cut down by Jacob Rosendaal, and his life thus saved. Seeing that we were now strengthening ourselves, and that it was impossible to drive us from the Cape, they wished to make peace and to live as before. Harry also wished to be allowed to live at the fort, saying he would take care that we got plenty of cattle from the Chainouquas. They said, also, that if a person, whom they named, had not fired on them when they came to take his cattle, then they would not have stabbed him to death with assagais, neither the servant of Hendrik Boom, for that they had only come for the cattle, and would have done them no harm. So that these people, by offering resistance, were the cause of their own deaths. They said, in reply to a question, that the Cape was the place of their birth; that the land was their own; full of pure water, after which the heart always longed; that in Saldanha Bay all was dry and brackish, and that Oedasoa would not allow them to lie on the best places and rivers, and had told them that they must arrange with us, so that they might live in peace and quiet in their own country. Eva confirmed this, but added, that although Oedasoa might wish us to make

peace with the Caepmans, he did not do so with heart and soul, which were reserved for the commander alone as a brother. The peace which he designed us to make with the Caepmans was only a feigned peace, such as they designed to make with us. She said that OEDASOA had desired her to impress on the mind of the commander that he should always be considered as the greatest Heer of this country, and looked upon as his own brother; above all, that we should not ally ourselves too closely with the Caepmans, nor trust them any more, as they would not fail one day or other to seek and find an opportunity of doing mischief, however favorable a peace might be made with them. The boat was sent back to Saldanha Bay with one of the Watermans, carrying notes to GOGOSOA, the fat captain of the Caepmans, to ANTHONY, and to HARRY, with presents for each; telling the fat captain that he might come with all his people and with ANTHONY to the fort to speak with the commander about peace; and HARRY that he might come and live at the fort with his house and wives, if he would only see that many cattle were brought to us; which notes, at the request of the Caepmans, were signed JAN VAN RIEBEECK, ROELOFF DE MAN, and ABRAHAM GABBEMA. The Hottentots. 1660, January.

The poor Caepmans had fallen on evil times, for in their first attempt to withhold their cattle, by not bartering them for the brass, tobacco, and grog of the Dutch, (well knowing that the cattle so acquired would be pastured on their land) the proceeding was considered hostile, and other tribes were invited, enticed, and eventually brought by HARRY to supply the deficiency of cattle, and to create jealousies and hatred between the tribes; which, without the presence of the foreigners, could not have occurred in this way, or if disputes had occurred in any way, Commentary.

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they would probably easily have been settled when not fostered by a foreign power. Then commeneed the system of robbing them, on an extensive seale, of their best lands for agricultural purposes, and when they began to steal the eattle with which those lands had been, or would be ploughed, this was eonsidered a mighty offence, and the powerful tribe of Cochoqua, under their ehiefs Oedasoa and Ngonomoa, was brought forward, not for the purpose of mediation, but for that of extirpating the Caepmans. Had those chiefs not shown more merey and consideration towards the Caepmans than the Duteh showed, that result must necessarily have followed. Still the Caepmans showed more eonsideration towards the Duteh, who were in their power, than eould, under the eireumstances, have been expected from them; wishing not to take, and sparing the lives of those who did not assail them, and only persisting in getting the cattle with whieh their land was ploughed. They showed diserimination, too, in only robbing those who, among the drunken sailors and soldiers, now turned farmers, most injured them; for Jan Reyneus, the person who onee hanged up one of them with a strap, was soon so entirely ruined, that he was obliged to return to his original trade of sail-maker. In the same manner the Kaffers, 140 years after, so diseriminated between their friends and their enemies, that they left the only Englishman's house at Plettenbergh's Bay untouched, whilst they destroyed all those belonging to the Dutch.* The poor Caepmans managed, too, their negotiations, through the mediation of Oedasoa, with mueh more skill than eould have been expected in men in their condition; and so did the Strandloopers. Altogether it

* See Barrow.

is painful to think of the dreadful sufferings of these people at the hands of the Europeans, and of the opportunity which was lost of raising and enlightening them through ordinary justice and fair dealing; but these things were hardly to be expected from grasping and avaricious Europeans towards aborigines 180 years ago; nor would they generally be extended towards them in the present day, by those living at such a distance from the control of the Parent State and of authority. The Hottentots. 1660, January.

The commander visited the farms and found the free men busy ploughing down the stubble and thrashing their corn. The *Sea Lion* arrived from Saldanha Bay with 25 sheep, bartered eight from our enemies, the Caepmans, and the rest from the little Charangariquas, with whom HARRY now lived. They said that HARRY, on receiving our consent, would gladly come in the boat, but as CLAS DAS, who had been sent to satisfy the Caepmans, was in the boat, and as he is now chief of the Watermans, in HARRY's room, the boat people, on some other plea, declined bringing HARRY. February.

More dissensions fostered, Mr. VAN RIEBEECK, even amongst the poor tribe of Watermans. Commentary.

Our people further reported that PIETER, OTEGNO, and KHUMA, sons of GOGOSOA, the Caepmans' fat captain, and several of their principal chiefs, (who are named) were already far advanced on their way hither, as commissioners, taking with them many of the stolen cattle, which they hoped the commander would receive, and they hoped that he would enter on and maintain a firm and inviolable peace with them. NGONOMOA, or the Swarte Captain, as we call him, has separated from OEDASOA, and joined the Gorachouquas, our tobacco thieves; and as they are too proud to make peace with us, it may happen that these two February.

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large tribes will not be disposed to let us live in quiet; but as we have now got horses, and as they are very rich in cattle, we shall be able to indemnify ourselves much better upon them than upon these indigent Caepmans and Watermans. Very strong South-east wind with extraordinary showers of rain; the *Erasmus* rode it out; and this wind has never, since we have been here, drawn any vessel from the roads, though they have dragged their anchors, only to hold the faster. The wind was last Saturday almost like a Mauritius hurricane, or Japanese tuffane. If the North-west wind blew so in the winter, it would be impossible for any ship to lie in the bay. Small vessels were, by orders from Holland, sent to cruize for the homeward-bound fleet, and to warn them not to touch at St. Helena, as it was in possession of the English, and to avoid passing through the British Channel, since, from the tottering condition of the English government, it was uncertain whether war would not ensue. The Admiral of the return fleet was informed by letter, that all had been quiet with the Hottentoos for some time, and that they had begun to ask for peace. The circuit of the Cape settlement was measured, and found to be, from the sea-shore at Uyek Uyt, over the height of the Boschheuvel to the Boschberg, 3,673 roods,—around this line it is intended to plough, to the breadth of one *roe*, and in the ploughed land to plant and sow, as thickly as possible, bitter almond trees, and all kinds of thorns and brambles of rapid growth; in four or five years these will have grown to a thickness and breadth so as to prevent cattle, sheep, and even men, from getting through, except at the gates, where there will be mounted guards,—within this semi-circle our whole concerns, farms, and woods, will be nicely enclosed against the invasions of the Hottentoos, like the divi-

sions and jurisdictions betwixt the territories of some dukes and lords in Cologne and Germany. The Hottentots. 1660, February. Commentary.

Very nice encroachment this, Mr. VAN RIEBEECK, on the jurisdictions of the dukes and lords of South Africa.

The nine homeward-bound ships and the *Soenan* anchored in the bay. March. Three burgers who went, without authority to Saldanha Bay, bartered with the Caepmans there six sheep and a lean cow, who sent with three of their people, who requested the commander to permit HARRY, ANTHONY, and some others, to come to the fort with a present of cattle and sheep to treat for peace, promising in future to live like good friends, and not to injure any of our people; their request was acceded to, and they returned, accompanied by one of the burgers and a soldier, carrying presents to the chiefs, and a note permitting them to come, which was for their satisfaction signed in their presence by his Honor Mr. STERTHENEUS, commander of the fleet, and by Commander RIEBEECK. The *Sea Lion* arrived from Saldanha Bay. HARRY had embarked in her, but the Caepmans made him land again, to accompany them in their journey by land, fearing that he would, if alone, speak too privately with us. HARRY, ANTHONY, and a whole squad of their people, arrived, attended by the burger and soldier, and bringing ten cattle and five sheep, in order to treat for peace—the cattle were received, and brass and beads were given in return, besides meat and drink, so that they were well paid and entertained, and it was agreed, provisionally, that they might come with their camp, houses, and cattle, to beyond the Boschheuvel, to treat for peace. His Honor Mr. STERTHENEUS, after referring to the Instructions of Messrs. VAN GOENS and CUNEUS, recommends VAN RIEBEECK to attend to those objects, for the attain-

The Hottentots. 1660, March.

ment of which possession of the Cape was taken, namely, the cultivation of the soil, and observe that, in spite of the Hottentoo war, 32 tons of wheat, barley, oats, or rye, had been secured in the granaries. A mission of peace should be sent to Saldanha Bay, that oxen for the plough may be obtained, since the theft of 119 oxen has caused more than 200 morgen of land to lie waste. The free men should be allowed to buy, sell, and exchange cattle and sheep among themselves, and to sell to the shipping as much tobacco and other herbs as they can cultivate without detriment to corn cultivation, of which they are the best judges. Cattle and sheep must also be collected, for vegetables go but a small way in refreshing the crews of homeward-bound ships, which cannot now touch at St. Helena, since it is in possession of the English. You should also endeavour to make peace with these barbarians, for nothing is to be gained by a war with them. You must not, however, trust them farther than you can reach them with a stick, for no reliance is to be placed upon their words or promises, which they will only keep so long as it may be advantageous to themselves. Our establishments cannot be protected by less than 120 men; unless, now that you have got horses, the country could be kept so clear, that the outposts could, in a great measure, be dispensed with. Guard-houses and the hedges you have lately made, will be very useful in cutting off the openings for cattle thefts.

Commentary.

No recognition in all this, on the part of this high and mighty counsellor of India, of the rights of the natives in the soil, but, on the contrary, authority, on his part, to governor-farmer Van Riebeeck and the colonists to keep what ground they have got, and to go on taking more.

March.

As to your proposal to seek revenge after peace, it

might indeed be easily effected, but that is neither permitted nor consistent with our obligations as Christians, and it is very much to be doubted whether we are at liberty to act thus towards these irrational and blinded men; or, according to the proverb, to repay them in the same coin; that course would not redound to our credit, nor would it be sufficiently dignified towards them, for it would seem as if we could do nothing to them in any other way; such a course these savages could not reconcile with justice, and therefore would have good cause to regard us with suspicion hereafter, and never to trust us again. It were better to allow past evils to pass unnoticed, and to try whether we cannot convince them by kindness. Should that fail, opportunities enough will offer for making them pay for both offences together. Admiral Stertheneus issued a proclamation forbidding Company's servants, and inhabitants of the Cabo de Bon Esperance, to harbour natives, or suffer them to come about their houses, or upon their farms; and when any of them approached from the interior, to show them the way to the guard-house, Keert de Koe, that they may enter through the fixed barriers, and proceed to the commander. The apprehended burning of houses, ripe corn, cattle-stealing, and all other annoyances, will thus be avoided. The penalty of contravening the order is prescribed. The Admiral sailed with the whole fleet, and the free men of the *Penguin* all deserted from the colony with it. The Cape government report to the Chamber that the Hottentoo war broke out very unexpectedly, soon after the winter fleet from Holland and the homeward-bound fleet had left, when the garrison was very small, and they had furnished themselves with farmers instead of soldiers; that Anthony, who had learnt far too much at Batavia,

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did not fail to observe these things, and that, with the Caepmans and their adherents, whose captain-general he became, joined also by the tobacco thieves, by some people of their ally, ANKISOA, and by all the Strandloopers, and banditti, suddenly attacked the Dutch on all sides, and in a short time carried off 148 of the best draught and milch cows, with 113 sheep; this ruining five farming establishments, and half ruining those of the Company and the commander, which are the most extensive of all; that this happened at the most important time of the year, the beginning of May, or the commencement of the ploughing season. We had at the very first many people wounded, and two killed; under these circumstances no new ground was broken up, but we managed to sow all that was in crop last year. After a recapitulation in a letter to the Chamber, of what is noticed in his journal respecting the escape of HARRY, his re-appearance at Saldanha Bay, the negotiations with the Caepmans and him, and the return of all to the Cape, with their cattle, houses, and families, VAN RIEBEECK observes:—We trust, also, that we are no longer likely to be robbed, for the natives entertain that fear for the horses, and also for the hounds brought by the fleet, for which these natives are very much afraid, and by which they may be greatly annoyed. In short, gentlemen, all our troubles and difficulties are, thank God, past and gone, and pleasing prospects are fully restored.

April 6.

This day peace was renewed at the fort with the captain and chief of the Caepmans, HARRY, and all the principal and oldest of the tribe; it was promised upon both sides no longer to molest each other; but of the stolen cattle there were none remaining that could be restored, in lieu of these the Caepmans engaged to induce the interior tribes to bring us others.

They dwelt long upon our taking every day for our own use more of the land, which had been theirs from all ages, and on which their cattle pastured. They also asked whether, if they were to come to Holland, they would be allowed to act in this manner, saying it would not signify if you remained at the fort, but you come into the interior, taking our best land, and never once asking whether we like it, or whether it will put us to any inconvenience; they, therefore, insisted on being allowed free access to the pasture. In reply to the observation that there was not grass enough for their cattle and for ours also, they said, have we no cause then to prevent your getting cattle, for if you get many, you come and occupy our pasture with them, and then say the land is not wide enough for both of us! Who then, in justice, ought to give way, the natural owner or the foreign invader? They insisted much on their natural right of property, and on being permitted to gather their winter fruit, the bitter almonds and roots which grow there naturally; this could not be acceded to, for it would give them opportunities of injuring the colonists, and we wanted the bitter almonds ourselves for the projected hedge, although this was not told to them; but they insisted so much on this point, that they were at last told that they had now lost the land in war, and must expect to be entirely deprived of it, particularly as they would not give up our lost cattle; that their country had fallen to our lot, being justly won by the sword in defensive war, and that it was our intention to retain it. They complained much of the colonists and others living in the country, who had given them much annoyance, now and then stealing a sheep or a calf, and taking from them their beads, earrings, and bracelets, and giving them to their slaves; also beating and pushing them without the commander knowing any

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thing about it at all, in which, Van Riebeeck observes, there is some truth, and that therefore, as they were not able to bear this any longer, they had resolved to take revenge, and steal the cattle, for which they roundly maintained they had cause enough. They were reminded of the manner in which those had been punished against whom they had complained, and told that, if this would not satisfy them, and they were always to seek for revenge in robbing and theft, then peace could never be maintained; that they would lose still more of their land by the right of conquest, unless, indeed, they had the courage to expel us, when they would become, by virtue of the same right, owners of the fort and all, and might keep it if they could, but that if they were disposed to try that game, then must we consider what we must do. They said that this was only a recital of past events, that our people should no more be molested by them, and that they would complain to us when they were themselves molested, that they would banish their people who offended against us, and we would punish ours who offended against them. When the commander next went out, he must point out to them the roads they must take, and the limits beyond which they must remain. The peace was then concluded, and the chief Gogosoa, Harry, and all the principal people, about forty in number, received presents of brass, beads, and tobacco—and they were so well entertained with food and brandy, that they were all well fuddled, and if we had chosen, we could have easily kept them all in our power, but for many weighty reasons this was not deemed expedient, as we can do that at any time; and in the mean time their dispositions can be well sounded. The Caepmans and their retinue went home, apparently much rejoiced at the peace agreed upon. May the Almighty grant that it may be

quietly maintained. This being the anniversary of our arrival here, and the annual fast, the clergyman Walsand preached upon the subject of our arrival here, and the blessings bestowed upon us by Providence. The Hottentots. 1660, April.

Van Riebeeck forgets that he had not left the poor Caepmans a home to return to! As he was concerned in prayer, and as it was a fast day, it may be supposed that he did not get drunk with the chiefs and negotiators, whom his brandy and tobacco had long before corrupted; and yet it is difficult to believe that a man in his sober senses could be so lost to all sense of present shame, or regard for posthumous reputation, as calmly to record his atrocious thoughts of making prisoners of those who had come to him, in the capacity of negotiators of a peace which he professes to desire should be lasting—and, that he had only postponed his iniquitous intentions since 'they' could be made drunk, and kept in 'our' power at any time. There need, however, be no hesitation in believing that Van Riebeeck was in his sober senses, since he has before recorded his still more infamous intentions and proceedings towards the aborigines of South Africa. It matters little what such a man thought of the probability of such a peace being lasting—or whether he could foresee that the system whose foundation was laid by him, in blood and injustice, was to work such mighty evils in the destiny of this tribe of aborigines and other tribes far beyond his limited ken—and that it was, in one short century, to carry his government and its people from the southern part of Africa to the Orange River, spread widely over a country, most of it so poor and barren in present and prospective resources as to be utterly unsuited for the operations of civilized governments, for the habitation of civilized man, and which Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1660, April. Commentary.

Providence has only designed for the dwelling places of people in the condition of Hottentots, Bosjesmans, and Kaffers—or of those foreigners who, residing there, must inevitably fall, in the process of time, into a still more barbarous condition, in spite of all the efforts and expenditure of the most civilized nation in the world, to save them from that fate.

Yet have I heard some of the most learned in this dark land, if not attempt to justify such usurpations by the extension of British power over India, at least attempt to draw a parallel between such proceedings here and there; this is indeed to compare little with great matters. But this is not the place to enter on, nor does the occasion require, a justification of the proceedings of the British government in India. It would, perhaps, be difficult to find a justification for some of our first wars, in that great field. War seems indeed unhappily to be the condition in which proximate powers find themselves sooner or later involved, especially where there is no mediator, (not always even an Oedasoa,) or court of international arbitration to appeal to. But whatever may be the history of our first wars in India, there can be no question that, ever since the days of Cornwallis, and during his rule, the sword has never been drawn but in our own defence; that war has been carried out, and peace negotiated on such terms as became the representatives of the most enlightened nation in the world. The generals and the governors having fortunately had their reputations and interests all involved in so ruling—whilst the permanent position of the Court of Directors, and their unchangeable and enlightened views in behalf of the sovereigns and people of India,—but above all the scrutinizing eye and the voice of the people of England, rendered it quite certain that war conducted, or peace negotiated on other principles, was sure to

bring ruin and disgrace on those by whom they were so conducted and negotiated. This is, however, an absurd digression from VAN RIEBEECK'S Hottentot war and peace. But those who would draw a parallel between Indian and African proceedings, should bear in mind that the wars in India have only been with the sovereigns, and that the private rights of their chiefs and of the people, in the soil, and otherwise, have, whether in peace or in war, always continued inviolate—whilst those rights have become more secure and of greater value under British rule than they ever were in any former period of Indian history. If people would only open their mental eyes, they would at once see that any interference with, or encroachment on the rights of the millions under British rule in India, must, from the first, have rendered the establishment of that rule hopeless; and would have rendered impossible the exhibition of that reciprocity of interest, and that sympathy and good feeling between the government and the great body of the people, which we have so long witnessed—for there is no people more jealous of any interference on the part of rulers with their individual rights, and few more ready to combine for the purpose of resisting such interference, than the people of India.

The Hottentots. 1660, April. Commentary.

Three commissioners came to the fort on the part of the Goraehouquas, or tobacco thieves, and said that their chief, CHOSO, had sent them to ask whether they might, like the Caepmans, be included in the peace, and come to the fort? They promising to procure for us abundance of cattle from the Caepmans, and from others in the interior.

April.

The tribes, it will be observed, never promised to supply the Dutch with their own cattle.

Commentary.

They were told that they might come, provided that, until further agreement, they should pass only

April.

The Hottentots. 1660, April.

through the barriers which had been pointed out to the Caepmans. His Honor made a display of our brass, tobaceo, beads, brandy, Spanish wine, arraek, rice, and bread, for barter and kindly entertainment; and of 16 Java horses for warfare, and for fighting the ill-disposed; and of our intentions formerly and now to live on good terms with the native tribes; which they understood; and they took their departure with presents for themselves, their ehief THOSO, and his brother GAKING. The latter, they said, was living three days distant with GONOMOA, seeunde to OEDASOA, with many eattle, with which he soon intended eoming nearer to sell some of them to us. EVA says that from these and other Hottentoos we shall get plenty of cattle this year; that the Huneumquas intended to send cattle through the Chainouquas, and that CHINHANTIMA would be sent to the latter people to dispose them.

May.

In a despateh to the Chamber, the Cape government reeapitulate the late matters reeorded in VAN RIEBEECK's Journal, to whieh, as on all oeeasions, they refer the Chamber for details; observing, among other things, that one of the eauses assigned by the natives for making war upon them was, that our people living at a distanee, and without our knowledge, had done them mueh injury, and also, perhaps, stolen and eaten up some of their sheep and ealves. It is very diffieult to keep the eommon people from doing these things, when a little out of sight, observes VAN RIEBEECK.

Commentary.

How mueh more diffieult when a great way out of sight did this beeome? and eventually how impossible to the Dutch government and authorities, had they even been so inelined. Even the British government appears to have found some diffieulty in this from their not, for a long time, having gone the right way to work. Beyond the border the evil is still far from

having been stayed. But when the chiefs, within whose jurisdiction colonial subjects are residing, shall have clearly ascertained that such persons are not, and cannot be, under the protection of the Colonial Government, they will have little difficulty in getting rid of such intruders, either by open or secret attack upon them.

May.

His Honor says the horses received from Batavia will be useful, either for offensive or defensive operations, and so will the French saddles; only that the bits and stirrups are wanting. The saddle horses impress the native tribes of this country with a high degree of respect for us. It may be their intention, with their misled strength, to eject us from the pastures of their countrymen, the Caepmans. It is proper to be prepared, so that should such an attempt be made, we may, with God's help, give them such a further taste of our weapons, that they will avoid the like in future. However, our hopes point to something different, and are as high, indeed higher than ever before. May the Almighty extend his merciful blessing upon all, for the benefit of the Company.—Amen! It is the custom of these tribes for the party who makes an offer of peace, to send, when the offer is accepted, 10 or 11 cattle, in return for which a present is given as a token of acceptance. This we do with brass, tobacco, meat, and drink. The chief of the Gorachouquas, named Choso, came to the fort with a retinue of fully 100 people, among them most of his oldest and principal men, also a present of 13 cattle, which they requested us to receive as a mark of our acceptance of their proffered friendship. He promised to live at peace with us, and to endeavour to get his people to trade with us to our contentment; the present was received, and we promised to maintain a friendly intercourse; the cattle were driven to the

The Hottentots. 1660, May.

kraal, and the natives were treated with riee, bread, tobaeeo, and brandy, we promising that the return presents would be given to-morrow. HARRY and ANTHONY attended as mediators and interpreters, and were eonsequently entertained apart with the ehiefs, and permitted to sleep in the fort. They again insisted mueh on our quitting their pasture land, though the Goraehouquas did not seem to eare so much about it; therefore HARRY and ANTHONY, and they, were told that this had before been refused, and that no more was to be said upon the subjeet, beeause they had lost it by the war against us. The Goraehouquas evineed mueh satisfaetion at our aeeepting his offered friendship, saying that his people should only pass direetly through the barriers, or where we might ehoose to appoint. ANKISOA was also present, and was at his request ineluded in the peaee, so that we are now again reeoneiled with our enemies, namely, the Goringhaiquas, or Caepmans, ANKISOA, their adherent, and the Goraehouquas, or tobaeeo thieves, who, about this time last year, began to make war upon us, with about 1,000 aetive fencible men.

Commentary.

No wonder that the Goraehouquas did not evinee the same dislike of the Duteh usurpations in the neighbourhood of the Cape as the Goringhaiquas and ANTHONY, who, I think, belonged to the latter tribe, or as HARRY and the Strandloopers, for the lands around the Cape appear to have belonged so exelusively to the Goringhaiquas and Strandloopers, that other tribes eould not eome within their limits and barter or sell their property, without paying to them a per eentage or brokerage on their transaetions. This is only the seeond instanee, I think, in whieh the Caepmans are designated Goringhaiquas; and as the first designation is so obviously foreign, I shall hereafter use the last in mentioning that tribe.

Ascension.—This morning, before the sermon, the chiefs of the Goraehouquas, and their train, were given the return presents of brass, beads, tobacco, and pipes, more than double the value of the 13 cattle. After service they were entertained with food, and a tub of brandy and arrack mixed, was placed on the esplanade with a wooden bowl. These people made themselves so drunk, that they made the strangest noise in the world with singing, dancing, leaping, and other wild pranks;—one falling down drunk after the other, and were carried to the fort by those who were a little passable, and laid on the grass to sleep;—all, except the chief and three or four of the oldest of his people, who were not above half drunk, but even some of these could not resist dancing. The women sang and clapped their hands so loud, that they might be heard 150 roods from the fort; so they seemed to be holding, after their own fashion, a great triumphal rejoicing for peace. The Hottentots. 1660, May 6.

Nothing surely so degrading in the conduct of those aborigines, Mr. Van Riebeeck, as on your part in administering to such passions on such a day—Acension. Commentary.

The Hottentoos departed and were conducted to the barrier by the commander and six mounted men, where they were met by some other riders from behind the thickets, and thus conducted to the Brak River, where the passage they are in future to use, and the ground on which they are not to come, were shown to them. They crossed the River, and the commander rode along this side at a good gallop, getting quickly out of their sight, for the express purpose of showing them the speed of horses, (Java ponies?) which produces much awe among them. There are 152 morgen of land under cultivation, of which 50 belong to the Company, 35 to the commander, and the remaining 67 to seven individuals, May.

The Hottentots. 1660, May.

who are named. If the Lord will grant that each morgen will produce one-third of a ton, we hope that man and beast will be pretty well supplied. Trade commenced with the Goringhaiquas and the Gorachouquas; they prefer the largest sort of red beads to brass, and like the tobacco pipes with large bowls, so the small kind are at a discount, and we must try and sell them among the free men, so that the Company may get rid of them without loss, and if possible with some profit. The French ship *La Marischal*, of 180 men, with a governor and bishop on board, bound for the Bay of St. Augustine, in Madagascar, was driven from her anchors and grounded near Salt River. To the conditions of surrendering their arms, keeping their men within particular limits, and holding no public meeting for the Romish worship, the shipwrecked French at first demurred, but finally submitted. Choso, the chief of the Gorachouquas, and his brother Gaking, brought three lean oxen and two cows to the fort, with 40 or 50 men, who had to be entertained. They were good-humouredly told that hereafter no one would be entertained except chiefs, and those who brought cattle for sale, to save expense. The stable for the guard for protecting the lands and cattle of the free men being ready, it was proclaimed:—First, no Hottentoots to pass within the limits of the free men, but made to go to the guard-house of the Keer de Koe, thence in a direct line through the barrier to the fort. Second, no free men's cattle or sheep to be depastured beyond the limits of the mounted guard. Third, on seeing any cattle driven out, and that this has been done by the Hottentoos, they are to be attacked as enemies, the cattle retaken and restored to the owners. As long as the French are here live stock are to be conducted through the fort, and the French kept away from them. Above

all allow no French, English, or Hottentoos to enter the watch-house, shut the door if this be attempted, and if force be used, defend your posts like good soldiers—at the same time keeping them in ignorance of your numbers. The Hottentots. 1660, May.

Public Warning.—Although peace has been concluded with these native tribes, yet opportunity offering, they do not fail to avail themselves of it to steal live stock. (There is no instance of this since peace was concluded.) All persons, Company's servants and free men, when they perceive alarm signals, *i. e.*, the flags of the guard-houses being constantly pulled up and down, shall drive the cattle into the nearest kraal, and then proceed with his gun to the scene of danger, to the assistance of our people, and to the resistance of the predatory foe. June.

It is ordered, (see a former part of "The Records" of Van Riebeeck's time,) that when a flag from the guard-house was pointed in a particular direction, people should move accordingly. This is just what boar finders do in hilly ground in India to direct the progress of the huntsmen, as my friends William Charnier and J. Bainbridge, Esquires, Colonel Outram, Captains Inglis, Gresley, and others, of the Ahmednuggur Spear Hunt, well know. In the case of the Hottentots, however, they very soon discovered that the flag pointed towards them, so that pointed flag became a pointed warning to them as well as to the Dutchmen. Commentary.

Fifty-eight of the French crew sailed for Batavia. June.

A free burger having been detected in cattle dealing with the Gorachouquas, going to their camp for this purpose, was brought to the fort from his house with three of these people, who had brought for him his purchased sheep. He and they were brought before council, and they declared that neither their chiefs July.

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nor themselves wished to go to forbidden places with the free men—still less to sell their cattle; but that this burger always came to them, and when told that their chief had stipulated with the commander that no cattle were to be bartered except at the fort, he said it was a matter of little importance, that the commander wished to have all to himself. In this manner, they said, he had long carried on a private trade, killing the cattle and selling or bartering the meat to the farmers, at the fort, and on board the ships, and getting tobacco and brass to keep up the trade; in this manner 400 or 500 sheep had been procured and disposed of, and that they were generally employed to carry about the meat in bags; he had, they said, supplied the *Phœnix* and *Neuteboom*, carrying the meat concealed below the wood in his wagon—they named the ships, and several persons who had in their presence paid him money for his meat; they also said that he could make small copper chains, with which to purchase cattle, and that he gave as much for one as the commander did for five or six sheep or cattle. HERMAN confessed to these barter transactions, and named three other free men who assisted him in them. The three men said that some of the flesh was even sold to the French, but how much they did not know; and that last year, during the war, HERMAN and they had twice gone to the camp of the Cochoquas, from whom he had bought sheep, and with whom he had spoken in secret. The three Hottentoos persist in saying that HERMAN had taught them to shoot with a gun, for that after he missed the young rhinoceros, one of them broke the animal's leg with a carbine-shot, and killed it with a second—and that before the war he had shown and instructed them, and other Hottentoos, how they could do the greatest injury to our people. At all events, VAN

Riebeeck proceeds, it is clear that he was aware during the war, that a number of Hottentoos watched in the bushes to attack the commander when he went out. It is also asserted by many that during the war Herman could have shot Anthony and three or four others, which he denies. It appears, however, that when the enemy was coming very conveniently into a trap, which was laid for them, Herman showed himself, and thus 50 or 60 enemies escaped who would otherwise have been destroyed. He had also said that the mounted guard was a very good thing to protect cattle, but a very bad thing in preventing the resort of Hottentoos to the free men, and in preventing their free trade, and that those tribes should therefore agree to destroy the guard-house, men, horses, and all. The Hottentoos said they had heard this, but knew nothing of its truth. It seems, however, that Herman did not disclose the secret designs of these tribes, which were sometimes known to him. He knew also of the plot of last year in the ship *Erasmus* affair, and the affair of the fort, for most of the fort and ship conspirators were harboured in his house; he also knew that the affair was to commence at the redoubt Corenhoop, and said in the afternoon, this night there will be something wonderful done about the redoubt. The three Hottentoos were released, and warned to avoid forbidden paths, as our men had orders to shoot any one they saw there. They were told that they had better bring their cattle to the fort, where they could trade in peace and security. They replied—yes, that is good; but the commander will not readily buy old and lean cattle and sheep; into the condition of these the free men do not look so closely, as they kill them instantly, and give us as much, of whatever we want, as we ask from them, even of iron. Iron, observes Van Riebeeck, had better be

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kept out of the hands of these tribes, as they use it for assagais and other warlike weapons. The Hottentoos were informed that there was enough of every thing to be had at the fort; and replied that, although they could get rid of their old and lean cattle better among the free men than at the fort, still they would not expose themselves to danger, but that they would fulfil the engagements entered into by their chiefs, and that they would not before have done otherwise, had not HERMAN himself conducted them to his house. VAN RIEBEECK, on all this observes, that HERMAN has always been an obstacle to the Company's trade, which is thus frustrated by those whom the Company has charitably raised from the dust, and who are still fed on credit. The Company have not, on the main, above 90 sheep, so that only one has been killed for the officers in two months; and for a long time we have not had 1½ dozen of sheep brought to the fort for sale; all owing to HERMAN'S private trade; who also spreads tales among the Hottentoos, little to the credit of the Company or to the public. The Council, strengthened by the Burgerraden, sentenced HERMAN BEMANJERMA to a fine of 20 *reals* for his private trading; confiscating for the Company his last six sheep and one cow. The other free men were pardoned with a warning, they having been misled by HERMAN.

Commentary.

You had better, Mynheer VAN RIEBEECK, give up the trade of commander, for it is no wonder that there should be mutiny in your garrison, since you starve even your officers, to support your cattle-barter monopoly; which, too, is opposed to your instructions, and is of your own seeking, and probably for your own individual gain; and you had certainly better give up the trade of governor, for there never, surely, was so bad a specimen, of which you have now given

an additional example by not raising the Burger HERMAN BEMANJERME to the post of your negotiator with the native tribes, since you have had sufficient proof of his fitness for that office by his successful management of his own private speculations with them. Injurious as the Dutch system of close monopoly has always been to themselves and others in their colonies, the evil effects of it can hardly have been more injuriously felt anywhere than in the Cape colony. Yet it is wonderful to find the British government, at this time of day, carrying out the same system in their dealings with the Kaffer tribes. If that fine race of men had been armed and confided in by us twenty years ago, we should now be able to bring, probably, 10,000 of them into the field as our tried and trusty allies. The attempt to keep arms out of their hands, and powder out of their horns, whilst the whole lines of coast and of frontier are open, can only experience the same fate as VAN RIEBEECK's endeavour to prevent his Hottentoos from getting iron to point their wretched assagais. But the Kaffers can hardly suppose that this is done from any fear which we entertain of them or of their arms. The Hottentots. 1660, July. Commentary.

The sealers at Saldanha Bay bought the sheep from the Charigurhiquas, who had now retired into the interior; and there were no Hottentoos left at the bay except Strandloopers. The heaviest rain has fallen since the Company took possession. Two messengers came from the Chainouquas, a numerous people, possessed of many cattle, saying that their chief was coming with a quantity of cattle to sell to us, and as something is to be had from them, the messengers were entertained with food, brandy and tobacco. The Goringhaiquas attending, as usual, for their commission as brokers. July.

The Chainouquas came, of whom the Goringhaiquas August.

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have reeently said so much, as if our brass would not suffiee to buy all their eattle. But they made only a poor show, having brought only 11 ; their cattle were bought, and they entertained as usual. They promised many more, these lean cattle being only sent as a trial, and they were apparently proeured from the Goringhaiquas in exehange for their own; this has often happened before, for the Goringhaiquas eontinue to induce natives who eame from the interior to go to their camp, and thus they colleet very fine cattle, while we only get the refuse; this, however, we must, on several aeeounts, espeeially in these thievish times, allow to pass unnoticed.

Commentary.

Open thine eyes, oh! thou blind governor, and understand, that the native tribes have a perfeet right to barter with one another, as well as with thy high mightiness; and that none of the interior tribes can come into the Cape territory except under the authority of the Goringhaiquas, or sell and barter property there, without paying them a per centage.

August.

A corporal, somewhat drunk, was with his horse drowned in the Fresh River, two musket shots from the Keer de Koe guard-house. The Company have lost a good soldier, and a good mare, she was worth fully 200 Rds. She was the very best Cape mare, and was in foal.

The Chamber aeknowledge the reeeipt of the government letters of 19th March and 4th May. We have for some time back, and especially sinee the banishment of HARRY, and the eapture of the eattle, been apprehensive that the Goringhaiquas would endeavour to give us an unexpected blow, and we could, therefore, have wished that, in this matter, we had exereised our patience a little longer. Our sentiments upon that subject you must have seen in our former letters; and we now find, God better it! that our

fears were not without cause. The discontent of these people, from our taking their land, and excluding them, they having used it for their cattle from time immemorial, is neither surprising nor groundless. Could you not purchase it, or otherwise satisfy them? We are pleased that you have at length pacified these people, for that was necessary; but on this we can place but slight dependence, and we must always be prepared. These troubles, and the mortality among the cattle, must have thrown the Cape Residency a great way back,—a great many deserters, too, have arrived by the return fleet, all loudly complaining of the poor state of affairs, and of the hunger and hardships which, they allege, they endured at the Cape; although these statements may be undeserving of credit, yet, at the same time, all the reports of the Company's servants received for a series of years, concur and agree in this, that the state of matters is not so prosperous, nor the hopes of improvement so great, as is implied in your despatches. The treason contemplated by a portion of the people is, likewise, no proof of the great contentment enjoyed there. These things, concurring with one another, diminish, in no small degree, our hopes, and the inclination we have hitherto indulged towards the Cape. The Chamber goes on to observe, in no very measured terms, upon the failure of Van Riebeeck to produce sufficient food for the support of the establishments, and the refreshment of ships' crews; also, on his mode of restricting the colonists in their free dealings, but not on his proceedings towards the native tribes; concluding, at the urgent request of Commander Jan van Riebeeck, and upon other considerations, us thereunto moving, we have thought fit to consent to his removal from the Cape, and to send thither, as his successor, in the same quality of commander, and with a salary of 100

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guilders per mensem, Mr. Gerrit van Hoen, who has formerly served the Company in various capacities. Upon his arrival, Van Riebeeck shall, therefore, remove to Batavia, with his former rank, to be again employed in the service of the Company. The commander went out and inspected the farming; among other things he selected a fertile hill, behind Table Mountain, above the Company's bush, for the Company's Wynberg. In the Fresh River the first eel was caught, twice as thick as a man's arm, fat and delicate. Engaged in strengthening the fort, so that we may not be suddenly surprised by Europeans, who sometimes touch here, chiefly from France, or by people from Guinea, or other pretended friends, or open enemies. For since the Company has lost St. Helena, this place is of more importance than before. We must, in the first instance, see and prevent an enemy from landing; when, unless by the weight of artillery, or by internal treason, the fort will not be easily reduced; but we will hope, with the drummer, that it may never come to that.

September.

About thirty of the Goringhaiquas came to the fort with three old cows, a calf, and twenty-seven sheep, which were all bought, chiefly for beads and tobacco. Anthony and Eva said that the Charingariquas and Gorachouquas had sent complimentary messages to Sousa, king or chief of the Chainouquas, and to his son Goeboe, and that the former, who were too cunning for all the Hottentoos, had managed to get employed as the escort of Sousa and his son. As for the Vischers, or Watermans, such poor, naked creatures, dared not, they said, go anywhere, but remain under the protection of the Company, employed in fishing, washing, scouring, &c. Eva appears to associate with all except the Goringhaiquas, who are jealous of her, because they think that she discloses to

us too many of their traditions, and too much of the affairs of this country, which is true enough, for, although we occasionally detect her in a falsehood, we should, but for her, be in ignorance of many things. We advise the Goringhaiquas to go to Hout Bay, where the Perkyl can get at them, but it is doubtful whether they will again place themselves in the trap, for they now keep with their camp out of arm's length of us. They have managed, too, to get into greater favor with the Chainouquas than OEDASOA, for the daughter of GOGOSOA, their chief, or the sister of OSING KINMA, his daughter, (are these ladies then by different fathers?) is married to GOEBOE, the son of the king of the Chainouquas, and the regent of the kingdom; and this is another reason why the Goringhaiquas are so much in favor with SOUSA, the king, and GOEBOE, his son. The free men's boat returned from Saldanha Bay; the crew saw, on the South side of the bay, the Goringhaiquas' ally, ANKEYSOA, the great shepherd, with his half camp, but they could only buy two sheep for want of tobacco. Some of the Charingahiquas, who were there, asked whether some strange people had not come to the fort from the interior, which proves that the advance of SOUSOA, in this direction, has spread far. God grant that, when they do come, they may trade willingly, and that the Company may come to a better understanding with them, than with the people hereabouts. The Hottentots. 1660, September.

There are two very obvious reasons why you should have less difficulty in obtaining cattle, and in keeping on terms with SOUSOA and his Chainouquas, or with any other foreign people than with GOGOSOA and his Goringhaiquas, "the people hereabouts," Mr. Governor! 1st. If they sell you cattle, they will not, at all events, for some years to come, have to fear that your purchased cattle will be pastured on their lands; Commentary.

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2nd, if you rob people of their pasture lands for the purpose of obtaining pasturage for your cattle, or food for your people, by converting those pasture lands into agricultural lands; the lands so usurped must, for some years, belong to other tribes, and, although their sense of right and justice may revolt against such usurpations, it is hardly to be expected, (however much to be wished,) that they will, on all occasions, combine with others and make war against the usurpers.

October.

Two slaves are sentenced to be flogged and branded, for deserting, concealing themselves in the sand hills, and trying to kill the pigs kept there; they also killed the Hottentoos' dogs when discovered by their barking, which might have led to hostilities. Mr. Moodie observes that, of upwards of fifty criminal convictions, which took place during the ten years of Van Riebeeck's command, none are against Europeans or natives for offences against each other.

November.

The Goringhaiquas are much inclined to return to Hout Bay, under the Steenbergen, and in all the Cape country beyond our *circkel*, promising that, as they never sell cattle, they will bring us the wax, out of which they have sucked the wild honey, and which they would otherwise throw away.

Commentary.

On the rumours of high premiums upon a journey to Monomotopa, several volunteers presented themselves, and set out with provisions, ammunition, and merchandize, carried on three oxen, in the name of the Lord. Mr. Moodie, in a Note, refers to the instructions for this journey, as entered in Van Riebeeck's Journal, without translating and transcribing them. "The cities," says Mr. Moodie, "of Cartado, Belgaries, Monomotopa, and the rivers Spirito Santo, Infante, and Pascaria, with the country of Batu, &c. are described as laid down in the map of Sin-

schoten. The Work of Huygens Sinschoten, (published at Amsterdam in 1623) may be seen in the Dissenian Collection, Cape Town. Sinschoten's map of Africa is liberally sprinkled with kingdoms and cities in the interior; among others, Monomotopa, lying near the tropic, on the Rio de Spirito Santo; Vigiti Magna and Mossato are laid down to the Eastward of Rio Piscoisa, an imaginary river running nearly South, from the tropic, into the sea at Mossel Bay. Cartado is placed to the Eastward, on Rio de Infante." The Hottentots. 1660, November. Commentary.

The earlier maps are deserving of notice only where they are explanatory of the objects of the first journeys into the interior. "For the second time a piece of wax, weighing 2 lbs., was brought by one of the Goringhaiquas; although very impure, we paid well for it, to encourage them." In a letter to the government of Batavia, Van Riebeeck refers to his Journal for an account of the friendly relations in which the Cape government stood with the Cochoquas, the Chainouquas, and through them, with nearly all the Hottentoo race, —observing that the roads being thus rendered somewhat safer, 13 volunteers were sent to endeavour to discover some of the towns of Monomotopa, according to the Resolution inserted in the Journal. What the Lord will be pleased to reveal to us, should the travellers return in safety, we trust hereafter to communicate to you. From the annexed copy of a short letter from the Chamber, Amsterdam, your Honors will observe the wonderful change of government, and restoration of the king in England.

Two of our travellers returned unwell, having left their party ten days ago, as appears by the following letters. According to these men the party had advanced forty-three mylen, and were obliged to turn off to the North; one of their oxen had fallen down a mountain and was killed; the two Hottentoos, with December.

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ANTHONY and BISENTE, had leave to return with their two sick men, but they said that they would, as they had promised to the commander, stay with the travellers to the last. Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, that one of the letters states that the party had toiled in vain, in trying to pass the mountains, in which they had not succeeded, but that they hoped, if they could not reach Cartado, at least to reach Mossuta—and that the resolution of November, after thanking God for being on good terms with the Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas, notices the friendly terms on which the Cape government was with almost all the Hottentoo race in the interior, namely the Cochoquas and Chainouquas, a still greater people, dependent upon the Hancumquas, whose chief is said to be the chief over the Hottentoo race, whose friendship we do not doubt to secure through the Chainouquas, and who live next to the Chobonas, and they are supposed to be the people of Monomotopa. The rewards offered to the volunteers were in proportion to the time occupied in travelling, the distance travelled, and the value of the discoveries made. If they reached any town of Monomotopa, Batuha, or Davahul, they were to endeavour to induce some of the natives to return with them, should they even leave some of their own party as voluntary hostages; the baggage carried on the three oxen exceeded 10,000 pounds, (the load of a pack-ox in India is, where they travel in thousands or tens of thousand, only two maunds, or 160 pounds.) Mr. MOODIE observes that farming did not probably hold out much encouragement in 1660, for a farmer was employed on the expedition for ten years at ten guilders a month—(but the Dutch in their expeditions and commandos generally looked to other things than their monthly pay.) There is, the Journal proceeds, among the Hottentoo

race, a language in which the great people communicate with each other, and which the common people do not understand; but none have been found who knew any thing of reading and writing. One of our men, who has some knowledge of surgery, shot a wild horse in the neck, and the horse having fallen, he sprang upon him, intending to ham-string him, but the horse jumped upon his legs and ran off with him, and leaping over a river the man fell off, receiving a kick in the face. This horse was very beautiful, dapple grey over the whole body, except the buttocks and thighs, and on the legs streaked with white, sky blue, and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully rare and beautiful, quite like a horse, with small ears, handsome head, and thin legs, like the finest horse one would wish to see. The Hottentoos have sometimes brought us the stuffed heads and pieces of the skin of the other kind. They have long ears, extraordinary hair, and are streaked, white and dark chesnut; our men saw great numbers of these; they bite at the people like dogs, and most resemble mules—the Hottentoos have, indeed, distinct names for the two kinds, calling the horses *haqua*, the mules *donqua;* they will not, whatever we may offer, bring any of the young ones alive, apparently because they see, more plainly every day, that we would thus be enabled to keep them too much under *devotie*. Our party saw only one elephant, but rhinoceroses, harts, reeboek, and elands, in great numbers, near the waters; also pheasants, partridges, and pigeons, but all very shy. They thought the miners had found copper, but no other ores of value. The returning men found a much better road, and weak as they were, travelled, in ten days, what had, going out, occupied twenty-nine. They were kindly treated by the Hottentoos, and also by the small people, so that the road is now safe enough, but very

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toilsome. They did not like to go out of their way by keeping the Hottentoo paths—the road by which they returned might be travelled by a wagon. The Namaquas are dressed in skins, make baskets, and casks, large and small, as in Holland, in which casks they preserve their milk; they eat with spoons made of tortoise-shell, and have, indeed, fixed houses, which they do not move from place to plaee—but not stone houses. HARRY is now more communicative, probably because he sees that we are not to be hoodwinked, as we get much information from the Chainouquas; and upon these subjects EVA has not spoken according to his liking, as now begins to appear; although, indeed, here and there she begins to fib a little, and is a little given to flattery, and to saying whatever she thinks one would be pleased to hear. She is now again residing for a while, in Hottentoo clothing, with her brother-in-law, OEDASOA. HARRY lives with the Gorachouquas, on the road by which the Chainouquas approach. On seeing them coming he joins as interpreter, ANTHONY being absent with the travellers; he, therefore, received a good present, for he begins to be a good servant again. We showed him the samples of Freneh beads, of which he approved, and he went home well contented. The beads were aecordingly, upon the repeated petition of the priests, reeeived by the fiseal and sergeant, after they had agreed upon the price fixed by the eommander; as from the great number of eattle acquired through this *opulent* barter, they must be dispastured under the charge of a mounted guard, far beyond the space already enclosed, and planted with bitter almond trees. The commander went out to examine how much further it is absolutely necessary to extend the fence. Orders were given to strengthen the mounted eattle-guard, for the Goringhaiquas, the

Gorachouquas, and no less the Watermans, will not fail constantly to steal the Company's cattle. The first must, indeed, upon a farther increase of our live stock, be entirely excluded from these Cape pastures, as we shall require the pasture for our own cattle, for the grass within the fence and the river Liesbeeck, is hardly sufficient for the free men's 200 cattle and their sheep—whilst that in the Table Valley, with the flat beyond the Lion Hill, is not too much for the mares and foals, and the sheep belonging to the Company at the fort—so that the large herd has to be sent to a distance with a guard of horse and foot during the dry season, and must, for the reasons before stated, be most carefully and closely watched. The Hottentots. 1660, December.

You continue up to the last day of 1660, Mr. Van Riebeeck, and knowing that your successor, on your removal, has already been named, (although he unfortunately died on the way,)—your iniquitous intentions of encroaching on the landed rights of the aborigines, in spite of the admonitions which you have received, with the hint to enter into some pecuniary arrangements with them in this matter—and all in the face of their protest against your usurpations ! ! Commentary.

The Chamber's letter of 16th April is acknowledged, and taken the opportunity of writing by the English ship *Depeche*, of 50 tons, from Indiapoora (the ancient name of Ceylon) bound to Leghorn. The state of affairs at the Cape is better than at any former period, as well in respect to the flourishing cattle trade, as to the particularly good intelligence subsisting between us and the native tribes, which has been increasing daily since our last letter. The report concludes by describing the expedition undertaken into the interior by 13 volunteers. The Company has again 136 sheep on Robben Island, and since the number of snakes 1661, January.

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has been diminished, rabbits by hundreds. A party of our travellers arrived, again unsuccessful, having only advanced 55¾ Dutch mylen to the North-east, arising partly from inability, and partly from the unwillingness of some of them to go farther; also, from their leader being afraid to exercise his authority in too absolute a manner, and thus being too little respected by them; as appears from the information collected; otherwise his will was good enough, as appears by the following journal kept by him; having commenced on the 14th of November, proceeding in a North-west direction, the journalist observes on the 6th of December:—I think this part of the country must be the kingdom of the moles, for the ground is so entrenched by them that we were obliged to keep the rhinoceros paths, otherwise we sunk to the knees in sand. Van Riebeeck's Journal:—As to the approach of the Namaquas, the interpreter Anthony and the Hottentoo Bissentee, who returned with our party, said it was true that they heard it positively asserted by the Souquas, or Mountaineers, who also told them that the Namaquas were coming to occupy all the Cape country, so that they alone might trade with the Dutch; that they would drive away all the Hottentoo race; that they had already dispersed one of Oedasoa's camps, which lay a little out of the way; had burned the houses and taken the cattle, and two boys, of whom one had escaped and returned home during his (Anthony's) absence; he said that he must, therefore, warn his people to be on their guard. We told him that they ought to allow the Namaquas to come without fear or obstruction; that we would protect them if they would retire behind the mountains, to the Hout Bay and Berg Vallies; that we would try to bring about a peace between them and the Namaquas, so that they might all trade together and live in

amity, which seemed to please him and some of the Hottentoos, who were present; tolerable presents were given to ANTHONY and BISSENTEE, who had gone out and returned with our men so faithfully. The Hottentots. 1661, January.

Our party returned from the interior, having found the Namaquas, and brought some marks of them. They received them very kindly; bought all their caps, and seemed very eager for red cloth, canvas, and other things, as detailed in the diary of the journey. They are a very tall people, like half giants, wearing all kinds of spotted and dressed skins, ornamented with brass, iron, and other beads; wearing long locks; living in the same kind of mat houses as these Hottentoos, and subsisting chiefly on their very numerous herds. Their king sent a little goat to the commander, being the first we had seen in the country; they held much whispered talk about this goat before they delivered it. They are said to be very willing to come hither, but it would seem that they will first endeavour to destroy some of the Soaquas, or Mountain Hottentoos, who had plundered them of many cattle. They would gladly have fought one battle with OEDASOA, the chief of the Saldaniers, but at the intercession of our people they suffered themselves to be persuaded, in the event of OEDASOA sending two or three of his people with our men to solicit peace, to accede to his request; and to come hither with large herds of cattle to sell to us, to come to a better understanding with us; to conduct our men to their permanent dwellings, and to a people whom they call Bryckje, with whom they are now at war; as more fully appears in the journal kept by the under surgeon PIETER MEERHOFF, second in command of the expedition; the expedition consisted of a commander and twelve others, with two Hottentoos, and five oxen to carry the baggage. On the second day, March.

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January 31st, saw seven rhinoceroses, before crossing the Tigerberg. Four of Oedasoa's people came to us, saying they were on their way to the Cape. Captain Oedasoa came on the third day with sheep, but wanted so much brass for them that they were not bought. Saw rhinoceroses, wolves, and ostriches, and one lion; also horses, and thousands of hartebeests. At the deep bed of a river, a lion sprung out at the two Hottentoos, but seeing a European he ran off. Shot four hartebeests, but only got one, which was put on a pack-ox. Came to a river quite full of sea-cows, which we called the Klein Berg River. On the ninth day the Hottentoos began to lose heart, saying the Namaquas would kill us. Saw 16 horses, of which one was wounded. Went along the hills to the North, keeping the rhinoceros path, but for these paths travelling would have been very difficult, for there was nothing but thorns and bushes. Saw a rhinoceros with a little young one. On the 20th day saw a kraal, where the Namaquas may have lain three or four weeks; and saw, by going from one hill top to another, kraals upon kraals, where they had lain with great numbers of sheep and cattle, but saw nothing of them; at last, 23 were seen standing on the rocks looking at us; I ascended a little higher, when the Hottentoos got so much alarmed that they took off their shoes, and were about to run back, saying "Namaqua Boeba cros moska qua ink;" I took my telescope to see if this was true, and saw that they had shields of dry hides, and had a skin hanging from their left arm, bows and arrows on their shoulders, and in each hand an assagai. I spoke encouragingly to my Hottentoos, and told them not to be alarmed, Namaqua would not hurt them, and I promised them something if they would accompany me, and when that would not do, I said that I would

tell Mynheer when I returned to the Cape; when I said this they could scarcely articulate for fear, at last they advanced, and when we reached the summit we could see nothing of the Namaquas, who had gone among the rocks; we shouted, but they made no reply; on the next day we saw them at the same place, they ascended the hill and began to shout to us; our Hottentoos desired them to come to us, saying that we were not angry, they came a little nearer and called out again; at length, seven of them came within gun-shot, the others sitting down among the bushes; our Hottentoos sat a long time on one side of a morass, they on the other, and talked a long time before they ventured to cross; at length they came. I took a pipe of tobacco in my mouth and went up to see whether they had any knowledge of tobacco; when I joined them, one of them instantly took the pipe out of my mouth and began to smoke; he had been with the Goringhaiquas. They were so poorly dressed that they were asked whether they were captains; also, which was the king of the Namaquas? he was pointed out, but he was sufficiently distinguishable, for he was a man like a giant, much larger than CALLIBON, our largest slave. Bread was given to them, of which they ate heartily, then a clean pipe of tobacco; most of them were anxious to smoke, but could not; the king, instead of drawing in his breath, blew from him; they all, however, men, women, and all, soon learnt, and began to be very fond of tobacco. We showed our goods to the king, and they seemed to please him, particularly the brass and tobacco. I gave him a false hat-band and some French beads, and to his son a gilt chain, which they received very thankfully. The king asked us to come to his house to-morrow, which lay half a day's journey off; he gave two of his people to show us the

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proper road; he then joined his people, who had stayed in the bush, and sent us two more men; all four stayed with us all night. On approaching the kraal the king came to meet us with three sons, each as tall as his father; they showed us a spot where we might lie; we pitched our camp upon two great rocks, piled our baggage, and turned our cattle out to graze, but the Namaquas have such an immense number of cattle that there was little for ours to eat. We gave to each of the four, who had shown us the road, a bunch of beads and a piece of tobacco, and to the king and his three sons, and four captains, each a string of French beads, which was thankfully received. I gave the king a *soupie* of brandy, and he instantly sent for a fat calf, and his sons for a sheep, which they gave us, saying that our people might eat heartily, they would give more when that was eaten; we gave them brass, beads, and tobacco, on which they returned to their kraal; I followed, the king invited me into his house, and gave me to sit on a very finely-dressed skin as soft as cloth; he sent for a large wooden vessel filled with milk, with which he regaled me. I gave them some more beads, which they hung round their necks. I produced my tobacco box, and let them have a smoke, adding that this was only a sample, but that there was plenty of every thing if he would come to the Cape. He said that he must first either have a battle, or make peace with Oedasoa; and, also, that there were some Souquas whom he must first destroy, after which he would come to the Cape. He said, in reply to a question, that he could not part with any of his people now as he had to search for the Souquas. The king's sons brought another sheep and a young goat; the king sat with us the greater part of the afternoon, and was treated with bread, mutton, and tobacco. In the evening the

king caused a triumph to be sounded—I stood by—it was done as follows:—One or two hundred tall persons stood up in a ring, each holding in his hand a hollow reed, some long, short, thick, or thin; one stood in the middle with a long stick, and sung, whilst others blew on their reeds and danced round in a circle, making many fine movements with their feet; the women danced round outside the ring; the sound thus produced resembled that of the bassoon. The king sat a little way off upon his stool. The stool is a round piece of wood, three or four fingers thick, richly ornamented with copper beads; they usually carry it with them wherever they go. The game lasted for two hours, with all kinds of dancing. The king then went with us to our place, and smoked a pipe or two till it began to get dark; when he went home they began again with their instruments, and continued for three or four hours in the night. Where the king has his house they make their kraals like the Cape Hottentoos; their houses are covered with mats; 73 stood in a circle, and on the outside stood three houses, the tenants of which have no cattle, but are like messengers, who go from one kraal to another, whenever the king sends them. Their household utensils are large tankards of solid wood, hollowed out, and narrow at the neck; they have also calabashes, which hold 20 or 30 quarts; these grow far inland. In the wooden vessels and these they collect their milk and churn their butter. The king, named Akembie, is apparently 60 or 70 years of age, and speaks in well-considered arguments. They wear all kinds of fine dress, as tigers, leopards, and rabbits skins, gaily ornamented with copper beads. Their hair is like that of the Cape Hottentoos, but some have locks as long as a Dutchman's, which they fill with copper beads all round their heads; on their necks they wear neck-

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laces of 15 or 16 folds; many having round plates of copper hanging from their necklaces. On their arms they wear many rings of ivory and copper indiscriminately; and round the waist 30 or 40 strings of beads of copper and iron mixed, a piece of flat ivory is suspended from the private parts, and plaited thongs studded with beads round their legs. They are in number about 300 able-bodied men, and 400 women and children, subsisting chiefly by live-stock. They had about 4,000 cattle and 300 sheep in their kraal. And it may be seen from the number of skins that they are great hunters. They have no other manufactures than in copper and iron, of which they make very neat chains and beads. They prepare skins and hides, and when they are at war, use shields of double ox-hide, large enough to cover the whole body. Their weapons are assagais, bows, and arrows. Towards our countrymen they seem very friendly and faithful, so that we perceived nothing but every kindness. This is all I could learn of this people. The country is nothing but sand hills and brush wood, with a valley here and there, in which they lived. The king decamped for change of pasture, encamping about an hour's journey off, and in the afternoon sent us a young ox. We went to their camp, and were met by the king's sons, who showed us where to halt, and unload our cattle. We sent them presents. One of the king's sons had both his ears torn open, and so had also one of the captains. I stitched them together, for which they were very thankful. I had to promise that I would soon return to them. I wore a fine cloth night cap, to which the king took a great fancy, and it was given to him; the sons seeing this, would have one each; four were instantly made out of our blue rugs; but the red caps pleased them most, and our men gave up their red caps. The king

said he would cover his cap with beads. When we packed up our oxen, the king and his captains accompanied us a myl, showing us where we could best pass through the hills; we rested at a small river, entertained them with bread, mutton, tobacco, and a dram of brandy, and they took leave of us about half an hour before dark. The following day we went East between the hills to the Oliphants' River; while resting in a valley, the Namaquas came with their cattle and encamped near us. On the following day we crossed the river, because the Souquas had burnt all the grass on this hill. On the 27th of February marched to the place where the elephants cross the river, and on the 11th of March reached the fort. The Hottentots. 1661, March.

So ends Under-surgeon Pieter Meerhoff's diary of the mission to the Namaquas, which, apparently, in a North Westerly direction, occupied the travellers, with pack-oxen, 19 days in going to the Namaqua camp, and 16 in returning to the Cape, so that the distance could hardly have exceeded 300 miles, and it is probable that this small party, of the great tribe of Namaquas, lay near the site of the present village of Clanwilliam. It says surely very little for Van Riebeeck's administration of ten or eleven years that this should have been the first attempt made, just at its close too, to open a communication with such neighbours. We are at all events indebted to Mynheer Meerhoff for materials for ten good pictures. 1st. The 23 "half giants," who, standing on a rock, with shields, and javelins in either hand, quivers and arrows slung over their shoulders, and mantles of skins suspended from their left arms, watched and awaited the approach of the first European invaders of their country; they were evidently only the advanced guard of the 300 who remained at the distance of half a day's journey, under their chief Akembie, Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1661, March. Commentary.

to support the advanced party, should support be necessary.

2nd. The appearance of the same party for the same purpose, at 10 o'clock on the following morning, and the closer approach to the Dutch, of six men under AKEMBIE himself, taking up a position behind a morass, to hold a (palaver) parley.

3rd. The advance of the chief and his three sons, "giants like himself," to receive the mission, three miles from his encampment.

4th. The interchange of courtesies and presents with the Dutch on their arrival there.

5th. The reception of the head of the mission by the chief in his own house; and his declaration that he could not visit the Cape until he had settled, either in battle, or through negotiations, his differences with OEDASOA, the chief of the little Cochoquas, and punished the predatory and diminutive Bosjemans.

6th. The triumphal dance and festivities of the evening, by 300 warriors, and 400 women and children, all clad in tiger, leopard, and other finely-dressed furs, ornamented with copper beads, their long (false?) locks also ornamented with beads—their double rows of iron and copper beads round their waists and necks, with armlets and leg-ornaments of ivory and copper.

7th. The return complimentary visit of the chief to the mission at the Dutch encampment.

8th. The order and regularity of the Namaqua encampment.

9th. The second visit of the mission to the second encampment of the Namaquas, and their reception, at some distance in advance, by the sons of the chief.

10th. The procession of the chief and his feudal chieftains, accompanying the mission for a mile in its homeward progress.

What has now become of this fine race of men may well be asked of the first European invaders of their country? and the answer in this as in all other cases, (the Kaffers only excepted) must be, we first took their lands, then extirpated themselves, or drove them beyond the reach of our usurpation, on 30° of latitude. The Hottentots. 1661, March. Commentary.

Van Riebeeck's Journal proceeds—Mr. Frisius took his departure, having finished his inspection of the Cape settlement, and refreshed the crews of his fleet. It was resolved to send another mission to the Namaquas, under Meerhoff, with the view of inducing them to come nearer, since they are found to be an active people who trade with other tribes, and may have things not discovered by the first mission. The mission being instructed to negotiate a peace between the Namaquas and Cochoquas, in order to facilitate the expected trade. The admiral also instructed the commander:—First, to pay every possible attention to increase the stud of horses, so that there may be 20 riders, with which to protect the Company's establishments and the free farmers against the Hottentoos, when the outpost may be withdrawn and the Cape relieved from so numerous a garrison; there are already nine horses in the country, and five in the stable, besides the brood mares, which may all be saddled occasionally. Secondly, to attend to the propagation of the vine, the orange, and the olive, which promise very well—and to the live fence for the protection of the farms. Thirdly, the advancement of the colony by all possible means is recommended to you—assist the free farmers and colonists as much as possible, as, indeed, you have done this year, so that they do not make any complaints, as has been frequently the case before. March.

The instructions of this high commissioner are a good sample of the grasping and pettifogging policy Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1661, March. Commentary.

of the Dutch in their colonial administration. He entirely overlooks what may be called their foreign relations—which were, even at this early period of their rule in South Africa, by far the most important matter they had to deal with; and his last instructions to the Cape government, so far as Mr. MOODIE has given them, refer only to their wretched pottering affairs in the immediate neighbourhood of their usurped position at the Cape.

April.

The Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas having requested that the hills and dales in the Hout and Berg Vallies, and along the Gevelbergen by the sea-shore, where they might go, and by which they might approach us unmolested, should be pointed out to them—the interpreter ANTHONY and another Hottentoo were sent to them for this purpose; they wished, they said, to retire thither, under our protection, for they feared that OEDASOA would attack them, as he suspected that they taught us to look well into the mouths and at the teeth of the cattle and sheep, brought for sale, to ascertain their age. They tried also to excite us against the Saldaniers, alleging that they entertained evil designs against us, which must not be too lightly credited; yet although OEDASOA went away in good humour, he must be closely watched. Our Namaqua expedition returned, for the king had moved, but having proceeded five days' journey, at six mylen a-day to the North, they reached the great Chariguriquas, with whom were some of the Namaquas, whom their king had left with the chief of that people, in order that, when our party arrived with OEDASOA's people, peace might be concluded, which was accordingly done. The Souquas, or Mountaincers, who had been defeated by the Namaquas, were included in the peace—so that there was now peace everywhere, apparently to the great

joy of all. The war which the Namaquas contemplated with Oedasoa, was not on their own account; they had adopted the quarrel of the Chariguriquas against Oedasoa because he had taken all their cattle. In this Oedasoa was in the right, as the cattle were his, grazed for him by the Chariguriquas, but which they had appropriated to themselves. Oedasoa captured the cattle; the Chariguriquas then proceeded to the Namaquas, and got from them cattle to graze on the same terms—they keeping the Chariguriquas as tributaries, (hostages?) The Namaquas would now gladly be at peace with Oedasoa, in order that they might proceed to the Cape in security—and this their messengers were directed to state to the Chariguriquas. They were also directed to inform them that their master, Akembie, was now compelled to proceed against the Brigoudys, to reduce them to peace and obedience—this done he would return to the great Chariguriquas, there to meet the usual messengers of Oedasoa, named Kerrahi and Hachosa, with some Dutch, as now; with these it was his intention to come to the Dutch commander, not empty-handed, but with all kinds of commodities from the tribes with whom he had intercourse. Amongst these tribes were the Geyrygyqua, whose country produces gold and copper, and from the latter were manufactured the arm-rings of the Namaquas. The Geyrygyquas (called by the Hottentoos Choueyqua, or the gold people) have intercourse, besides the Namaquas and Brigouquas, with the Choboquas, or people of Monomotopa, meeting at the towns of Vitige Magna and Mossuto, which seems to agree with the account of Linsepatu and others. Oedasoa's messengers further told us that far to the North, on the sea coast, there were people like the Dutch, with ships, forts, and guns—apparently the Portuguese at Soango St. Paulo

The Hottentots. 1661, April.

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—but as the king of the Namaquas now saw that there was at the Cape a people from whom every thing in the world was to be had, he would, after settling his differences with the Brigoudys, come this way. He hoped to reach the Cape in the dry season, for it was not so troublesome a journey, or so far, as that to the Portuguese places; he would then show all the artieles he could procure from the interior. All this aceount we have from KERRAHI and HACHOSA, who tell us of many things; that in the interior are a people of fixed dwellings and cities, who are quite black, with thiek lips, and mueh household furniture, also gold and ivory; they tell also of a eertain little people, not larger than ehildren four or five years old, who are hung round with glittering beads, whieh, on being broken, shine like the rays of the sun. On this Mr. MOODIE observes in a Note, that OEDASOA's messengers would appear to have been instructed in geography by Mr. MEERHOFF, with the aid of SINSCHOTEN's map, or to have learnt from EVA to bring sueh intelligenee only as was likely to be gratifying. VAN RIEBEECK's Journal proeeeds:—The Namaquas had marched against the Brigoudys beeause they had withheld one half of the gold which they got from the Geyrygyquas for the Namaquas. Here follows the journal of MEERHOFF:—

Set out with eight men and three of OEDASOA's Hottentoos to make peace with the Namaquas. On the fifth day we were told by some of GONOMOA's people that the Namaquas had been fighting with the Souquas, and that the latter had won the battle, and taken the cattle of the former; this we thought was to deter us from going on. They said we might turn back at once, for that we should not find the Namaquas.

May. The Chamber inform the commander VAN HOEN

and eouneil that they had, on the 21st of last August, replied to the main points of their letters of the 19th of March and the 4th of April, and that they had reeeived, via Leghorn, their letter of the 1st of January, by the English vessel *Depeche*. Their honors express satisfaction with the desirable state of affairs at the Cape, and the good intelligence which exists between the government and the native tribes, in consequenee of which the cattle-trade has been renewed, and is daily inereasing. May the Almighty extend his further blessing. We shall be glad to hear what the thirteen persons who have gone into the interior have done, or diseovered, but greatly doubt whether it will be of quite so great moment as you appear to imagine. We aeeede to your proposal provisionally, to inerease the garrison to 120 men, unless you should deem 12 or 14 more men necessary for the occupation of Saldanha Bay. We deem the priees whieh you have, by your resolution of the 27th August, 1659, affixed to nearly every article of food to be in many particulars exeessive, particularly beef, pork, butter, milk, vegetables, and the like; they are rather heavy upon the free men. You should render every article of food as cheap and easily attainable as possible, so that the people may no longer feel such dislike to the Cape. We desire that you will leave the fishing open to all; every one ought to be able to grow fruit and vegetables for himself, and not be compelled to purchase at so dear a rate. Might not each of the free burgers get a piece of land, on which to keep a few cows, as is done in many villages here? The Hottentots. 1661, May.

If your honors mean by stall-feeding, and could rise from the dead, after 183 years sleep there, you would find that most of the free burgers are far too lazy to stall-feed their cattle—even their cows—and that they prefer pasturing them on lands usurped from Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1661, May.

their neighbours, in a more barbarous fashion than any of the aboriginal tribes ever did.

To enable the people to live, and to maintain themselves in the cheapest manner possible, you must assist them in every mode which is not too burthensome to the Company, (*i. e.*, at the expense of their neighbours and fellow countrymen of South Africa.) We have carefully examined the substance of the petition presented to you by the free men and burgers, which we find to be full of sedition and mutiny; you ought not to have received it, but to have torn it up and thrown it away in their presence; if they persist in transmitting such papers in future, we shall be compelled to provide against the same by severe measures.

Commentary.

It was overlooked that these seditious and mutinous people were for a long time in a position to dictate to the Cape government, which was powerless from the absence of organized troops. They are not now in that position certainly, but are still at their old tricks, and in some places practice them with impunity, to the great injury of the native tribes, and the reproach of the British government. It is even a question, at this day, whether the children of these tribes are not captured far beyond the border, and sent within the colony.

In the latter despatches of the Chamber to the government of this period, I do not find one word of instruction on the subject of foreign relations; the letters are full of nothing but details relating to the miserable little affairs of the Cape settlement.

May.

It is our wish that those persons may be somewhat assisted, particularly at first, so that they may maintain themselves and not acquire a distaste for labour; take every care that all their contracts and promises are fulfilled. We would approve of the free men

assisting each other with loans of money upon interest, care being taken that the rate of interest is not too high, and that they may not thus ruin each other. We approve of your zeal in leaving nothing untried in agriculture and horticulture, and of your promising cattle and refreshments in abundance, as shown by your letter, and we can only recommend you to persevere in that good cause, zeal and industry, which will confer a service on the Company, and furnish us with cause, in due time, to think of your promotion. We can also easily conceive that the 20 riders—provided you have horses to mount them—will give protection to the free men and their cattle, who live in the interior, and that mounted men will impress some awe upon the Hottentoos and other tribes of the interior. The treaty with Portugal does not advance; but as the Spaniard has now made peace with France, and feels his hands at liberty, and threatens Portugal with several large armies, the latter country will have too much on hand to be able to send any relief to her East India possessions. The Hottentots. 1661, May.

The commander went out again, and inspected in every quarter; among others where the Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas had requested leave to come and encamp with their houses and cattle. It was East South-east, about an hour's walk off, behind the sand hills, and beyond the Salt and Braake Rivers, and fully half a myl beyond the land occupied by the Company. They had come there because there was no longer any grass for their cattle in the Hout and Berg Vallies, to which places they had some time ago retired, with our consent, from Oedasoa. They had yesterday pointed out to the fiscal and Anthony the spot on which they wished to encamp, and leave was granted, provided they kept off the hedge, which was now being planted, and approached only by the per-

The Hottentots. 1661, May.

mitted roads. Mr. Moodie says the conditions are for the greater part illegible.

As to the farming, many people must be encouraged to resort to it; still a good deal of wheat will be sown this year, and in many places it is coming up so well, that it is a pleasure to see it.

June.

The ship *Honingen* arrived from Cape Verde, bringing the wonderful tidings that two days before their arrival there, five large English ships, with 1,200 men, had been there, warning them to give up the place to the King of England in six months, and stating that they had orders to give a similar warning along the whole coast of Africa, as far as this Cape.

August.

The commander and fiscal went out inspecting, and found all in good order. The Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas moved, according to their request, under the eye of the commander, from behind the Boschheuvel, and beyond our boundaries, to behind the Sand Hills, half-way to the Salt Pans, 1½ hour's walk; when finding no fresh water, they might come to ours; or they might, according to existing contracts, make dams in the braake ground, where their cattle might drink. Mr. Moodie mentions in a Note, that an imperfect notice of 18th June, appears to mention the arrival of the ship in which Mr. Van Hoen, the intended successor of Van Riebeeck, had died during his voyage from Europe. The Chamber inform the Cape government that they receive annually, verbally and in writing, accounts from their functionaries in India, which by no means correspond with the highly-coloured accounts which they send on the subject. They are surprised to find that grain is required from Batavia, which has led their Honors to turn their thoughts to the trade with Madagascar; the slaves that are to be had there in sufficient numbers, and at a low rate, would be very useful at the Cape, although

they seem to be lazy and filthy in their habits. It would appear, the Chamber observes, from your letters, that you are about to found and establish a city at the Cape, and to lay yourselves out for the extension of the colony, but according to the views we entertain here, you may dismiss such ideas from your minds, and proceed with the garrison, and the few men you now have, without any further increase; for of what use would a large colony there be to us if we must always support it from abroad? besides, the men are more useful to us in India. You will, therefore, as we have often directed, keep all upon a reduced scale, which will be the most satisfactory to us. We are well pleased that the cattle trade is flourishing, but it is still complained that the meat is very dry and lean; you must consider whether this is to remedied, and the stock brought into better condition; particularly on your procuring sufficient rice and paddie from Madagascar; the worse time of the year, when the greatest number die, appears to be the dry season, during which the cattle must necessarily be fed. To all appearance some tribes will be found in the interior, with whom the Company may have some kind of trade, particularly should they be people, who, as is reported, reside in permanent cities; we are curious to learn the truth of these matters; you will, therefore, allow no opportunity of exploring the interior to escape; and, as you seem to have found the thread of the clue, by the discovery of a certain tribe of Namaquas, the rest will be found out in due time, provided some exertion is used. The fleet will this year consist of the following 15 ships, with 3,200 men. You must see to have a sufficient supply of cattle, &c. ready by the time of their arrival.

The Hottentots. 1661, August.

It is curious to see how much more justly the authorities, in Holland and at Batavia, estimated the value

Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1661, August. Commentary.

of the Cape colony at an early period of the possession of it by the Dutch, and how much more they feared an extension of territorial possession, as calculated only to lead to expense, than those things have been estimated and feared even in late years. Of the value of the Cape itself, as a half-way house to the East, no one ever seems to have entertained any doubt; but then, as now, the delusion appears to have possessed men's minds that something important was to be found in the interior; latterly the inquiry has resolved itself into one of scientific investigation, by societies or individuals, and they may have their reward; although a sufficient reward, in all probability, only awaits the enterprising and enthusiastic sportsman. The Dutch would seem, from the first to the last, as a government, and as individuals, to have turned their attention exclusively to the profit and loss side of their account. With the former it must have been all loss; and with the latter, it may be questioned whether, even to this day, any individual has carried to Europe a large fortune amassed in South Africa; or whether an individual ever will do so to the end of time. It is natural, however, for the government authorities to estimate highly those concerns entrusted to their charge, and to encourage the onward progress, or even the unreasonable expectations of those living under their rule. Foreigners, accustomed to the discussion or consideration of such questions, would probably entertain juster views of the matter, and see that, as has been the case through all ages, Africa is only suited for the abode of man in an inferior degree of advancement; coupled with a glance of the difficulty which the richest and most civilized nation of the world must experience in her endeavours to raise either the country or its inhabitants, in even an ordinary degree, beyond the con-

dition in which both were originally found; and in which Providence would appear, in its inscrutable dispensations, to have ordained that the Southern and Central portions of this quarter of the world should continue. Why should not a whole region as well as a single field be destined to sterility? The Hottentots. 1661, August. Commentary.

Proclamation.—The complaints of ships' crews showing that the cloths and linen which they bring on shore to wash, and spread out on the ground to dry, are stolen and carried off by the savage natives of this country, even in the presence of the owners, and as the natives, from their swiftness in running are not to be overtaken, and as Netherlanders residing here harbour them, and purchase from these savages the stolen property at low prices, instead of setting a good example to the savages, stimulate and excite them; aye! so far that the savages even presume to snatch and run off with the hats and caps from the sailors' heads, and to sell them to the Netherlanders; and as such matters are not to be tolerated in a young and growing colony, the Commander and Council having considered the great boldness of the said savages in stealing the said articles; and also the base, foul, and disgraceful harbouring of the said natives by our Netherlanders, and the purchasing from them the said plundered or stolen articles, do hereby interdict all persons from buying or receiving from the natives any goods, which all must at once perceive they must have taken or stolen, as such goods are neither manufactured by them nor brought by them from the interior; those so offending shall receive public bodily correction; and those informing, shall receive a reward of ten *reals;* the informer's name being concealed. August.

J. VAN RIEBEECK.

The Hottentots. 1661, September.

The Chamber inform the government that they notice with some surprise, the accounts given in their letters of May, of the harsh treatment and other irregularities experienced by the Goringhaiquas, at the hands of their people, in consequence of which, in an especial degree, the natives rose and resorted to the recent hostilities. They call upon the government to take care and establish such orders that the like may not again happen; but that, on the contrary, the Goringhaiquas and all other native tribes are kindly and civilly treated, so that instead of an aversion they may acquire an attachment, and become well-disposed towards us—and you will establish for the prevention of such conduct, such pains and penalties as you may find to be suitable to the circumstances. We observe with pleasure the notice of the Namaquas and other Northern tribes and natives, and that there is some prospect of a trade with them in gold and ivory.

October—November.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, another journey to the Namaquas is sanctioned, under a sergeant, who is also a member of council, and has served in India, and who is expected to attend better to the maxims and honor of the Company than one of inferior rank. Meerhoff again goes as second in command, but is relieved from the duty of keeping the Journal of the party, and another is appointed. One of the grounds stated for despatching the expedition forthwith "is the good terms now subsisting between us and all the native tribes, and the safety of travelling among them in all directions. The expedition appears, by the Resolution of Council of 16th February, 1652, to have failed, although the party went further than the others, yet the Namaquas had removed to a great distance over an arid and sandy country, which in the dry season it was impossible to pass, for want of water.

The rewards were paid notwithstanding, as the party "though only provisioned for 1½ month, had remained absent three months." The Hottentots. 1661, November.

The Chamber observe in a letter to commander Van Hoen and council—In a memoir which was drawn up by commander Van Riebeeck, in order to be handed over to you for your information; upon his departure we have among the rest observed that you are strongly recommended to maintain friendly relations with the Hottentoos and other native tribes, to treat them well, and to prevent their sustaining any annoyanee from our people; which directions we declare to be, in several respects, according with our sentiments and intentions. 1662, March.

In a dispatch from the governor to the chamber they report:—That they will hardly be able to do the duty of the Cape colony with the 120 men which have been granted, as will be shown by the annual distribution list, pointing out how and where each man is employed. The inability to occupy Saldanha Bay will render the 12 or 14 men who were allowed for that service disposable for the land expeditions, and for journeys to procure more cattle than are to be had here; from our neighbours the Goringhaiquas and Goraehoquas nothing is to be had, although they are well supplied with cattle. April.

Mr. Van Riebeeck's cattle-dealings with the natives never bore the character of a free trade, but were conducted in the spirit of attempted monopoly and compulsion, through requisition, which system so entirely governed all his transactions with his own people, in the one case as in the other, in all probability, for the individual profit of this farmer-governor. There was, of course, always a good reason why the two neighbouring tribes to which he has just referred, should not sell him cattle, since they must be pastured Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1662, April. Commentary.

on their lands. But it will be observed that the other tribes were always reluctant to sell, and that the chiefs constantly represented that they could not force their people to sell. It was VAN RIEBEECK's policy to render those chiefs as supreme over the private property of their subjects as he had rendered himself over the private property of those living under his own rule—thus rendering himself and his requisitions on the chiefs for long horns, necessarily obnoxious in the eyes of those people, and in the eyes of the chiefs too, unless they were as great tyrants and oppressors as himself.

April.

The commander VAN RIEBEECK paid a visit with 21 horsemen to the Saldaniers under the Leopard's Berg, which excited among them the greatest joy, as convincing them that until then peace had not been firmly concluded—yet they must be closely watched, notwithstanding, so that no estrangement may arise out of the weakness of the authority which the chiefs possess over their people, and the consequent disputes with our people, who live at some distance from the fort, for if they reside too near, they do give considerable annoyance to persons who sometimes go alone in exposed situations.

Commentary.

Your scheme begins to develope itself, Mr. VAN RIEBEECK; you now propose openly to support the chiefs in an authority which you wish them to possess over their people. If they did possess that power, as you suppose, in the last cited passage, where the necessity for your interference? All this, be it observed, that you may the more readily obtain the long horns of their people, and that you may enlist the suffrages of the chiefs on your side against their own people, and in favor of your people, who live at some distance from the fort. The last commentary was written before I had read the last passage of the despatch.

It may be observed, continues the despatch, (referring to the Journal, which Mr. MOODIE says, is wanting from July 1661, to April 1662, probably purposely destroyed by VAN RIEBEECK,) that from the 21st of November to the 8th December, the Saldaniers would entirely oppress the Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas, keeping them so closely hemmed in as to allow them no access whatever to us. We have always entertained an idea that this was concealed among them, in order to try whether they could not expel us by an united effort, for they lay close to our fence, on the outside of the cultivated lands, with their encampments, so disposed that we were enclosed within them in the shape of a half moon, and could go in no direction except through their camps; which they very readily and kindly allowed us to do, as between mutual friends, while we kept the better watch so as not to leave them any favorable opportunity. (Little reciprocity in all this, Mr. VAN RIEBEECK—you occupying their lands too.) Meanwhile entertaining their chiefs daily, and they sometimes entertaining us with kindness and liberality. The Hottentots. 1662, April.

One of your errors from the first is that of thinking that tobacco and brandy were sufficient recompences to the native chiefs for every insult and injury under the sun; it is only wonderful that these free denizens of the plains and forests should ever have entered your houses, defiled as they were, and contaminated as you yourselves were, by such things. Commentary.

At length, on the 8th of December, the Saldaniers, the great and little Chainouquas, under SOUSOA and OEDASOA, left us and fell back into the interior, after apparently levying some contribution—though without resorting to force—from the Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas, and that may have been their object, if they had not, as we suspect, an eye April.

The Hottentots. 1662, April.

upon us. They expressed themselves, however, as if this visit was in compliance with one of their customs, namely, that when two friends have made peace, they should live so close together and intermixed, to prove by the absence of any dissention, their mutual confidence and friendship—so that it would appear that there is to be no future breach of our friendship, aye! that they would assist us in resisting any foreign invasion by sea, if we should only desire their help; of this disposition there was some appearance when the French were wrecked here, when the natives begged that that people might not be allowed to reside here, alleging that we were enough for them, and that if other nations should come here they would lose all their pasture lands, and therefore expressing themselves as if they would rather aid us against others, than allow still more to come hither, which disposition might, in the case of necessity, be turned to advantage; and should they continue faithful, our horses increasing at the same time, we might give some trouble to an invader.

Commentary.

There is, of course, every probability, as supposed by Van Riebeeck, that the two great divisions of the Chainouquas, under their chiefs Sousoa and Oedasoa, had combined with the Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas for the purpose of expelling the intruders. But this, with their lines of circumvillation, to effect that purpose, shows a much more advanced condition of society than might have been expected amongst such people; although, indeed, their resistance had always been of a passive or defensive kind. The breaking up of the confederacy, by the withdrawal of the Chainouquas, may, of course, have arisen from necessity, for there could not be pasture enough for all their herds in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dutch lines; or they may have lent men, as they

formerly did, for the support of their allies, whilst the chiefs, with their women and cattle, withdrew to some distance; and as these men would be for the defence of their allies, who alone were encroached on by the Dutch, the contribution of which Van Riebeeck heard, was probably for the payment of this contingent. It is curious to find the chiefs of the Chainouquas assigning as a reason for their coming to the Cape, the custom which existed among themselves, when peace was made, of intermixing in proof of mutual confidence and friendship; and their proposal to unite with the Dutch in repelling any future invasion by sea; not that they loved the Dutch, but that they feared the encroachment of other intruders on their pasture lands. Van Riebeeck's proposal to take advantage of this disposition, on the part of the natives, might at least have been turned to good account by succeeding governors of the Cape, if not for the purpose of repelling European aggression, at least for the purpose of frontier protection against native intruders. Yet, with the exception of the Hottentot regiment, arms have never, I believe, been put into the hands of, or military organization effected, in any of the native tribes; although, as I have understood, even the Hottentots, not, certainly, as we now find them, the most martial of the native tribes, did better service than even the Dutch, when the colony was invaded and taken by us in 1806.

The Hottentots. 1662, April. Commentary.

As to giving to each of the free men a piece of land on which each may keep his own cattle apart from the rest, the thing is not practicable, nor can we make enclosures here as in the Fatherland, on account of the hillyness of the country, and other obstacles. But, besides their own lands and gardens, they are allowed the whole country, in every direction, as common pasturage, and each may keep for himself as many

April.

The Hottentots. 1662, April.

cattle as he pleases; it were much to be desired that they would keep more, so that out of what they could spare we might supply the ships with better stock than we can procure from the Hottentoos. We, therefore, hope that your Honors will be satisfied with all our proceedings; we have always endeavoured to conform ourselves to your views and intentions, and where we may have misapprehended them, which in such new work may easily happen, we have instantly, on being apprised of our mistake, endeavoured to remedy it.

Commentary.

The false principles here propounded by VAN RIEBEECK, seem to have taken such firm hold of the Dutch authorities and people, that they have never escaped from them to the present day. It will be readily allowed, that in this case, as in other cases, of planting new colonies, great difficulties must be experienced, when neither capitalists nor agriculturists come from the mother country, and where the only selection of farmers is from amongst the drunken and dissipated soldiers and sailors, who come out for the purpose of making the conquest. Such men are necessarily unsuited for laborious or continuous field labour; and there must be great difficulty in keeping them steadily to such work. But to allow them "the whole country, in every direction," for common pasturage, was a bad beginning, and in the end has proved destructive both to the true interests of governments and colonists. There was of course no limit to such encroachments on the rights of the native tribes, nor any limits to the heart-burnings and massacres thereby produced. I do not see through the whole "Record" that there was any immigration of either capitalists or agriculturists from Holland, except the hundred and fifty French refugees, and those of the *Valles de Piedmont*, who landed at the Cape in June, 1690. The ranks of the farmers appear to have been recruited by slow

degrees from discharged sailors and soldiers, and deserters from the branches of the public service. Supported, as they always were, by the government authorities, such characters were not, of course, slow to pasture what herds they could procure "over the whole country, in every direction." The evil is not yet checked, and will not be for years to come, unless some more vigorous measures are adopted by government to check this perpetual encroachment by the colonists on the pasture lands of their neighbours. The Hottentots. 1662, April. Commentary.

As to laying ourselves out for the erection of a new city here, our views have always been very limited. We feel the burthen of having free men who are not farmers, and shall therefore allow no more than we have at present; whose dwellings we have indeed arranged in regular order, as in the commencement of a city, 50 roods beyond the walls of the fort; but had we not resisted it all the farmers would have come out of the country to reside at the fort. We have always used every possible exertion to prevent the ill-treatment of these natives by our people; and we trust that we shall not neglect, in obedience to your directions, occasionally to enact or renew such further orders as may be necessary to render these natives more and more attached to us, to keep the roads safe for trading in every quarter, and to keep the trade open. As the Commander Van Hoen died on his voyage, and the Commander Van Riebeeck has been prevented from availing himself of his long looked for release, at last granted, reasons are stated why Van Riebeeck did not avail himself of the leave; that he might the sooner reach Batavia, he applied to the Governor-General and Council of India, and they sent by the last fleet from Batavia, Mr. Zacharias Wagenaar as his successor, to whom, after the dispatch of this letter, the transfer shall be made. Mr. Wage- April.

The Hottentots. 1662, April.

NAAR went to Robben Island, where he found 170 very fine sheep, four goats, and 300 pigs, living wild. The first apples were plucked.

May.

VAN RIEBEECK's Memorandum for the information of, and guidance of his suecessor:

The Goringhaiconas.—HARRY has been generally called the captain; these are Strandloopers, or fishers, and are not above 18 in number, besides women and children; they have no stock, but subsist by fishing from the rocks along the eoast.

The Goringhaiquas.—GOGOSOA is the chief; they are, exclusive of women and children, about 300 men eapable of bearing arms, supplied with eattle enough for their own wants, but they begin to be somewhat fond of mereantile gains.

The Gorachouquas.—CHOSO is the chief; they have, besides women and ehildren, 600 or 700 men capable of bearing arms, and are fully six times as rich in cattle as the Goringhaiquas; both tribes have since the war eome armed; lived about a day's journey to the North-east, behind the Leopard's Hill, not far from, and as it would seem under the wing of the Saldaniers. But this month both tribes have come baek to live at the foot of the Boschheuvel, under our protection, in consequenee, as it would seem, of some differenee whieh has arisen between them and the Saldaniers or Cochoquas.

Little Chariguriquas—a people as numerous as the Goringhaiquas—who reside chiefly between Saldanha Bay, and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about four or five hours' walk from the sea eoast; subject to OEDASOA, though they have rebelled against him; they were aceustomed to be his stock-keepers, but appropriated his cattle to their own use; and, therefore, they are not recognized by any of the Hottentoos as a people who have a Chaeque or

Hunque, that is a hereditary king or chief; they seem, however, to be able to take their own part, as it now begins to appear, through the fear which Oedasoa entertains of the Namaquas. The Hottentots. 1662, May.

The Namaquas.—They have lately been found by us after long search. They are very rich in cattle, and almost half giants in stature; dressed in finely prepared skins, without hair. The great Chariguriquas have sought and formed an alliance with them. They use rushes to sleep on at night. Their own hair, although like that of the Kaffers, is worn long, and plaited in an ornamental manner like locks, and ornamented with copper, iron, and red beads, also with caurys and bougrys, they are very eager for these, for red caps, and for red cloth to make them with. (See for this jealousy of Saldaniers.)

There is no doubt that Oedasoa, who is the greatest among the natives, who live near the Cape, is now as jealous when we endeavour to become better acquainted with the chiefs of other tribes, as the Goringhaiquas formerly were when we endeavoured to become better acquainted with him. We have already begun to perceive this in Oedasoa's demeanour; but we endeavour to remove his apprehensions by friendly and affable treatment; and this course should be continued, for no profit to the Company can arise out of any coolness with him. He has, just like the Goringhaiquas, endeavoured to hoodwink us, and to lead us to believe that he is the greatest Heer in this country. But now, seeing that we have discovered the Namaquas, who are a different race, and more active than the Hottentoos; hearing also that we have been well received by them, and that they have promised to come hither, whether he likes it or not, and they having first shown a disposition to be reconciled to him, and offered to send a mission with

The Hottentots. 1662, May.

our party to effect this purpose, and to settle old disputes, for the Namaquas did not dare to attack Oedasoa here, fearing that we should assist him, Oedasoa allowed himself to be so far persuaded by us as to send commissioners to them with our return party, we agreeing to act as mediators between them. The result has been, that the Namaquas and the Saldaniers not only leave each other unmolested on journeys, and in trading with us, but that they carry on a friendly intercourse and traffic with each other. It would seem that ivory is much more plentiful among the Namaquas than among the Hottentoos, from the very thick braeelets of that article which they wear, and from the very singular plates of ivory which they wear over a finely dressed skin worn as an apron. It may therefore happen that a trade in ivory, and other artieles, may be opened with the Namaquas to the relief of the Company's expenditure here. Two of the ivory plates have been sent to our masters in Holland, and two are reserved in the office here. They appear to reside not far distant from the coast, near the bay called Angra das Voltas by Sinschoten, between 29 and 30 North latitude. It is above all things desirable to live in constant peace with the Hottentoos, that the roads may be always safe, that the making of further discoveries may be thus facilitated, and that all the tribes may bring their cattle without apprehension for the refreshment of the crews of the Company's ships. A liberal reception of the native tribes, and the not taking up too seriously little squabbles between them and our people, particularly the ships' people, even the passing over occasionally, as if in ignorance, such squabbles, will contribute to this end; for, otherwise they will become shy and flee inland with all they possess, making the other tribes so shy likewise, that they would keep away altogether. The last advice I

can give you, therefore, is to live on good terms with your neighbours the Goringhaiquas and the Gorachouquas, as well as with Oedasoa, the king of the Saldaniers. You must, however, keep a sharp look out after the Company's and the free men's live-stock, through mounted and other guards, so that a fair opportunity may never be afforded to the natives to drive them off without exposing their lives to danger. When they see some simple green-horn from the ships in some retired spot, they will rob him of his tobacco, bread, and brass or iron buttons, but that is not a matter of such mighty importance that it may not be easily arranged. The quarrels which occur, more between the natives and the ships' people, than with those on shore, ought not to be too gravely regarded; these quarrels sometimes proceed to the length of pelting each other with stones; or our men, when playing or wrestling with them, sometimes get a thump a little harder than they will bear, and are thus provoked to abuse the natives, calling them black and stinking dogs. The natives, who fully understand these, and other Dutch words, reply that they are men as well as themselves; so that our common people, when out of our presence, are often found to be the cause of many disputes, which are sometimes attended with trouble, before tranquillity is restored among these natives; and this may be best accomplished by a show of injustice towards our own people, paying the others by a friendly promise of inflicting some kind of punishment on our own people on board of their ships. The Hottentots. 1662, May.

You had not in your Dutch school, Mr. Governor, been taught the old maxim—"Do justice, rue it who may." Commentary.

This course, although it appears to many of our people somewhat improper, is nevertheless most absolutely necessary, that we may live in peace and quiet. May.

The Hottentots. 1662, May.

I have therefore always pursued it myself, and enforced it upon others. Any better course which you may be able to adopt cannot fail to be still more serviceable to the Company; for, in the event of disagreement, you will not be able to keep a single Hottentoo here, or hereabouts; therefore, to keep friendship with those who have been named, should be one of your principal maxims, when trade will flourish more and more, and the roads will be safe for travelling in every direction, to search for what has not been hitherto found; when, as before observed, the Directors, and their Honors of Batavia, will be best satisfied. Continue to plant the hedge; oblige the Hottentoos to confine themselves to the roads through the barriers, which will tend to security and prevent the free men from interfering with the cattle trade. Do not grant any more land within the Leesbeek, or between Uytwyck and the fort, as that must be kept for pasture. Prevent people from injuring themselves by trying to grow corn when the South-east wind would ruin them, and where they wish to live, not to cultivate corn, but to lie in the passage by which the Hottentoos approach, that they may barter cattle from them out of sight. Sell cattle to the farmers for the purpose of being fattened. I would most earnestly recommend you to prosecute journeys of discovery with vigour at fitting seasons of the monsoon, (Hindoostance word "mosum," or season; generally, by Europeans, applied to the season of tropical periodical rains); it may be seen from the public and private letters of the Directors, and of their Honors of Batavia, that these journeys are expressly ordered to be proseeuted with every assiduity. It is quite unadvisable to give out any lands beyond the Company's enclosure, on account of the expense attending the protection of the free men; we have never dared to venture upon this, should

they even be disposed to live out there at their own risk, for they would instantly lose their cattle by robbery, even by the hands of our best friends; for the Hottentoos, upon seeing the least opportunity, could not abstain from stealing the cattle, as we have at full length and breadth explained to the Directors. No one will be mad enough, and no one is rich enough, to hazard his own capital; and as the free farmers here have been set up with the Company's means, the thing would be entirely wrong, and ought never to be thought of; for the same reason I would not venture to sell cattle, even for ready money, to any one who was about to farm there, for he would forthwith lose them, and would then be troubling the Company for more. Mr. Moodie says in a Note, that in the following year a return was made of 13 farms, possessing in frechold 384 morgen of land, (30 morgen each) of which 125 were sown with wheat, barley, or rye. The Hottentots. 1662, May.

Van Riebeeck was the first, when he ruled at the Cape, to propose the extension of free farms beyond the Company's enclosure—perhaps because his own farm at Boschheuvel was within that enclosure, and would thereby have been rendered more secure. What would he have said in later days when the system was regularly adopted, and followed out by his countrymen, of the farmers going beyond the government, and then the government going beyond the farmers; until, on the Western coast, by moving in this circle, the Kousie or Sand River became the boundary, and through the centre of the peninsula the great Orange River almost was reached—displacing the aborigines from a country of much value to them, but which, to Europeans, is less than valueless—or if, in still later days, he had heard a ruler proposing, on the Eastern Coast, to extend the British frontier beyond the Kei River. Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1662, May.

The slaves here learn nothing but Dutch, and also the Hottentoos, so that no other language is spoken here—and if this can be continued it will be a desirable thing, as it will always keep the Portuguese and others from communicating with these tribes, so that they will be the less liable to mislead them. HARRY and ANTHONY live chiefly here at the fort, as interpreters and advocates, the first as it were for the Gorachouquas, the other for the Goringhaiquas; they get their food and drink from us, and they should continue to be thus supported, to bind them to the Company, and to keep mischief out of their hands; though, indeed, now that we are so well supplied with horses, I do not think that they will be easily inclined to undertake any thing against us, so long as our attention is paid to the mounted guard and the outposts. How the interpreter EVA is retained and treated has been already mentioned, and verbally communicated. She acts chiefly for the Saldaniers, and others who come from a distance. I cannot but think that every thing has been detailed at sufficient length, and hardly know what more to say. Live and trade in peace with the native tribes; penetrate, by parties of volunteers, further and further into the interior; keep refreshments ready for the shipping; increase your stock of cattle, sheep, and pigs; keep up the cultivation of corn; and, as far as possible, extend it more and more—so that you may have provisions for your residency, and the less require food from abroad. Cultivate the olive, as urgently recommended by the last letter from the Directors. All supplies to be refused to English and other foreigners, on the plea of our own necessities; take care of the French cannon afloat, and of the Company's fortifications on the shore. There remain on hand, belonging to the Company, 278 cattle, 659

sheep and 300 pigs—to the free farmers 300 cattle, 800 sheep and pigs. Wax and honey begin to be brought by the Hottentoos; tobacco the best article for trade; rabbits not to be reared on the main, but on Robben Island. We have 43 horses in all, 18 fit for the saddle—mounted force impress much respect on natives. Send oil, ostriches, and paint to Batavia; collect skins; and make the free men work out the boundaries of their land. The Hottentots. 1662, May.

And now, trusting that I have sufficiently explained the objects of our honorable masters, I shall conclude by recommending you to the merciful protection of the Almighty; and by recommending to you the command and management of affairs here in the manner most serviceable to the Honorable Company.

In the fort of Goede Hoop, ady 5th May,
Ao. 1662.

JAN VAN RIEBEECK.

So end the ten years and months' rule of the ex-surgeon, ex-Greenland whale-fisher, and ex-governor of the Cape; and before bringing his successor on the boards, I shall endeavour to sum up briefly what was bad and good in his administration of the colony. Commentary.

His first error was his thought of trying to coax HARRY, with wife and children, and all the Water-people, in order to send them to Robben Island, because he suspected that HARRY obstructed his cattle-trade with the Saldaniers. 1652, November.

2nd. If we cannot by any friendly trade get the cattle from them, why should we suffer their stealing and carrying away without taking vengeance, which would be necessary only once—and, with 150 men, 10,000 or 11,000 cattle are to be had without danger December.

The Hottentots. Commentary. 1652, December.

of losing a single man, and we might make prisoners, without a blow, of many savages, in order to send them as slaves to India, as they still constantly come to us without arms with their cattle.

3d. It is vexatious to see such an immense number of cattle, so necessary to us, for the refreshment of the ships, and of which so few are to be had for merchandize and friendly treatment.

1655, April.

4th. To find out the individual guilty of the murder is impossible; to take only the same number of cattle that we lost, would create as much irritation and hostility as if we took all they had; they place such confidence in us that we could at any time get them, women and children, into the fort, and make them drunk; the Honorable Company would then have enough, from the increase, to supply the ships with fresh meat, and could get good service out of the men in killing seals on the islands, the flesh of the seals would be sufficient food for them, and the women and children might be sent to Batavia.

5th. To place the colonists sooner on their legs a good many slaves would be necessary for them, which could be easily fetched, as before stated, from Madagascar, or even from India, and given out upon credit, until the settlers are in a condition to pay for them; and we shall at all events send to Madagascar for some slaves for the use of the settlers, as well as for the Company's use.

October.

6th. Behind Table Mountain there is the finest weather in the world, with a pleasant atmosphere in the vallies, where the ground is very rich, watered by such fine streams that it is delightful to see it; wheat and other grain would, doubtless, thrive there, and many might gain bread by agriculture; if we get a few slaves we mean to try next year, but a house of defence must be built to protect the cultivated lands.

The prohibition against barter on the part of the free men with the natives is repeated, and they are forbidden to admit the natives into their houses, lest they should, by spying into and examining all the localities, burn down the houses, and murder the inhabitants at night. The Hottentots. Commentary. 1658, October.

It is painful to close with Mr. Van Riebeeck, after so long an acquaintance, and not to find one redeeming point in his administration; any one thing to set in balance against his iniquitous treatment of, and still more atrocious intentions towards the aborigines. The monopoly of all things, which he held in his own hands, and his prohibitions against private dealings or intercourse with the natives, got up mutinies in his garrison, and opposition on the part of the people; whilst the unlimited range of pasture rights which he gave them over the lands of the aborigines, introduced a spirit of hatred and revenge, on the one side, and a desire of encroachment on the other; altogether engendering evils, the effects of which are hardly, to the present day, entirely eradicated. But it is of no use further to pursue the subject; he is like the West India slave's wife, "all worse and no better;" so we must take him as he is; and, therefore, bring on the stage the Second Cape Governor, Mr. Zacharias Wagenaar.

Mr. Moodie says in a Note, page 254—that the natives were not held amenable to the Dutch laws published during the period of Van Riebeeck's command.

Extract from Journal, May 6th.—Commander Z. Wagenaar was duly installed; 7th, Commander Jan van Riebeeck embarked in the *Mars*, with his wife 1662, May.

The Hottentots. 1662, May.

and family, to proceed to Batavia. Mr. Moodie says in a Note, page 254—that he was Director of Malacca from October 1662, to October 1665; that he held other employments subsequently; and that one of his sons was in 1709, Governor-General over the Dutch settlements in the East Indies.

Instructions to Ensign Tullekenes—stated to have been issued in consequence of the increase of the garrison to 250 men. Since two of the guard-houses have been defended by only—the one two, the other three men—and the redoubt Santhoop, which lies close by, although it mounts four large iron cannon, has only one man. You will double the guards, and in the redoubt station 15 or 20 men under a corporal or lance-corporal. The mounted guard is deemed by every person very useful to the Company; you will, therefore, visit it now and then, and see that the men keep their arms, horses, and accoutrements in proper order. The Goringhaiquas having already free access, shall continue to enjoy the same, and they must not be called by the garrison, the cattle herds; or by the sailors, black stinking dogs; still less are they to be kicked, pushed, or beaten; in order that these poor people may not be rendered averse, or disposed to flee from us, this is most urgently recommended by our masters in the Fatherland.

Commander Wagenaar's Journal.—Four cattle and five sheep purchased for brass and tobacco from the Cochoquas. Sousoa, king of the Chainouquas, sent messengers to the Goringhaiquas to ascertain whether the new commander (Sourie) had as much brass, tobacco, and as many beads as the old, as in that case he would come with many cattle; and Oedasoa and Gonomoa, chiefs of that people, sent messengers to the fort to greet the commander on his arrival; they were entertained *a l'ordinaire* with

brandy and tobacco, and departed with a present of some tobacco for their chiefs. The Chainouquas brought nine cattle, saying their chief was far distant, that they could not bring more, but that they had brought these to see whether the new commander was as liberal as the old; they got a present of brass for Sousoa; they afterwards brought 14 sheep, and were treated with a little brandy. The Hottentots. 1662, May.

Commander Wagenaar and Council report to the Governor-General, that Oedasoa came with a great retinue of people and cattle; that he was well received, and that 32 tolerably good cattle and 36 sheep were bought from his people for beads, brass, and tobacco; thus enabling us to supply draught oxen to the farmers. Mr. Moodie states in a Note, that the same letter reported that a great part of the free farmers, some through poverty, others through indolence, were inclined to leave the plough; and, if allowed to do so, return to the Company's service, finding that all their crops were required to pay their debts to the Company. The *Penguin* returned from Dassen Island. She had seen an English ship, of 20 guns, which had lain at St. Helena Bay for six or seven days to repair, and which had bartered four or five sheep from the Hottentoos. The Chainouquas brought 33 cattle and 26 sheep. Oedasoa and Gonomoa brought 11 sheep, having joined them on the road; but the chief of the Chainouquas was still absent; the cattle and sheep were bought at a cheap rate. A present, chiefly tobacco, was given for Sousoa; and some tobacco and brass wire to Oedasoa and Gonomoa, to keep up friendship with them. June.

Nothing beyond the usual cattle and sheep-barter; Oedasoa, in person, selling 5 cattle and 10 sheep, and Gonomoa 18 sheep. July.

The Government inform the Chamber that the August.

The Hottentots. 1662, August.

Spreeuw arrived; she had been sent from Batavia to Holland, expressly to convey the very disastrous intelligence of the loss of the important fortress Zeelandia, in Tayonan, and the loss of the far-famed Island of Formosa. Commander Riebeeck, before his departure, made over the actual effects and outstanding debts, amounting to guilders 98,322. 3. 14. We have 300 pigs at Robben Island, which are fed without expense on penguins' eggs; the flesh acquires somewhat of a fishy or oily flavour, very perceptible to a fastidious palate—but the sailors, when the food is put before them, gobble it up without once tasting it, and thrive well on it. Mr. Wagenaar cannot concur in what has been hitherto written, testified and hoped concerning the free men; he sees daily proof to the contrary, and that there are not above six or eight who are, either in repute or in fact, either industrious or respectable men; the rest are depraved from their youth upwards, lazy, drunken fellows, who care as little for their Dutch servants as for beasts, as proved by the numerous complaints which are made on the subject; and besides their attempts in every manner to undermine the Company in the cattle-trade, in spite of prohibitions and punishments; they contrive so to secrete and make away with the grain which they ought annually to deliver to the Company in diminution of their debt, that it is hardly to be got at; and as the windows of the fort are covered with nothing but common coarse cottons, through which so much dust penetrates in the dry season, and so much rain in winter, that we can hardly read, write, or transact any business within; would most respectfully request that some coarse window-glass and lead may be sent by the next ships; we shall find here some one who can put in the panes; we would also most humbly request your honors

would take an opportunity of sending us some common paintings, or illuminated plans of the chief cities in the Netherlands, to cover the ugly bare walls of our front hall, in which we have evening prayers daily, and occasionally a sermon—as well as two or three of our desolate dwellings, for Mr. Van Riebeeck laid claim to those which were formerly here, as his own property, and carried them with him to Batavia. We have almost resolved to detain here the first good preacher whom your honors may send out, for our congregation begins to increase, and many children are springing up, whom the parents are anxious to have baptized. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note:—This account of the domestic comforts of the government house of 1662, may be compared with Landdrost Woeke's description in 1786, of the *vee boers*, but which stood upon the site where he was about to establish the Village of Graaff-Reinet. In complaining of the dust entering through the unglazed windows, Woeke compares himself to a Romish priest in the smoke of the altar. The Hottentots. 1662, August.

The Directors reply on the 22nd of December, that they are glad to hear that all is well at the Cape; they decline as yet to appoint a permanent clergyman for the fort, as it is so frequently visited by such functionaries. The necessary authority is given, in consequence of the constant falling down of the earthen walls of the fort, to build them up with brick, if it can be effected at a moderate expense, but otherwise to collect materials for, and to send estimates of the expense of a new fort. To the request for window-glass the Directors promise to attend—but no notice is taken of the paintings.

Commander Wagenaar's Journal.—Two cattle and 14 sheep were bought from the Cochoquas, for beads and tobacco; two days after another cow from

The Hottentots. 1662, August.

the same people. The Chainouquas begin to come in like last year with their cattle; their corpus lies about twenty days journey from this; they appeared at the fort to-day with 24 cattle and 33 sheep, which were bought for brass, tobacco, and beads. They said their chief Sousoa was not likely to come this year; he was so old and infirm; but they promised to bring as many cattle as before. The Chainouquas, according to their promise of the day before yesterday, brought 10 cattle and 16 sheep, and a cow was bought from the Cochoquas.

September.

The *Vlardingen* arrived from Goree, the 23rd of May; she saw, between the mouth of the Channel of the Spanish Sea, a fleet of 13 or 14 sail, steering to the North, and presumed that it was the English fleet conveying the princess of Portugal.

Mr. Commissioner Lairresse asks Commander Wagenaar:—Fourth query.—Whether, with the present garrison, the Company is sufficiently secure from sudden attacks—of the blacks; and if cultivation and rearing of stock can be carried on to the necessary extent by the Company, without great danger? And he answers—As no cattle can be driven through the hedge, there is no fear of robbing or other annoyance from the blacks or Hottentoos, provided the redoubts and stations of the mounted guard are occupied by the proper number of soldiers. Fifth query.—In what relations, good or bad, do we stand with the blacks—and whether they do not show their antipathy by secret depredations? Answer.—We are at present in perfect peace and harmony with all the Hottentoos, who consist of several distinct races of people; as long as I have been here I have never heard that they have committed any murders, thefts, or robberies, such as indeed occurred in the war of 1659; and they will continue to leave us undisturbed,

if our people do not, by ill treatment, give them any cause to take revenge by thefts or fire-raising. Mr. Commissioner LAIRRESSE leaves a Memorandum on the state of affairs at the Cape, in which, amongst other things, he recommends the revival of the expeditions to the Namaquas, to seek for articles of trade, and to Saldanha Bay to seek for horned cattle; and states that, after increasing the strength of the expeditions, by sending men from the Cape, only 120 will be left in garrison, including the sick; it is hoped, however, that that number will be sufficient for the fort, the four guard-houses, the mounted guard, and to protect the Company's and the free men's long horns. We need not fear for we are now secure with respect to the Hottentoos, who will no longer endeavour to steal the Company's or the free men's long horns—and who, indeed, could not, if they would—for your fences and barriers have cut off all the passages. Should you be attacked by any European power, then, indeed, your garrison would be rather weak; but even then you must abide by the orders of the Directors in that respect. The Hottentots. 1662, September.

The Chamber informs the governor—that they are glad to hear of peace and quiet with the native tribes; and desire them to continue in that state as long as possible—for the Company must have no war, nor any kind of disturbance with them; this end will be greatly contributed to if we do the natives no wrong, and protect them from all annoyance; rather allowing things which are not altogether insufferable, to pass unnoticed, than to don your armour, as they say, in such a cause—still keeping well on your guard. Our displeasure was not, as you suppose, expressed at your imposing high prices upon certain eatables which the free men might purchase from the Company; but we considered the prices of articles, bought and

The Hottentots. 1662, September.

sold among themselves, as too burthensome to the buyers; and that the settlers would be well paid by a lower rate. What highly coloured representations have you not made of the advantages of the Cape, and of the raising of grain there? aye! that we could feed India with your produce—and how ill it turns out at last! Why, you cannot even maintain yourselves; and this mode of procedure by no means pleases us. So we desire that you will henceforth send us true and faithful reports. Whether the case is the same with the olive and the vine? we shall expect to hear in your answer to this address. It seems also that but little has hitherto been discovered by those land-journeys of yours. These journeys must, however, be continued, in the hope that those cities may be reached, which either do lie, or are pretended to lie, to the Eastward of the Cape. According to your accounts the thread is in your hands, you may therefore pursue it until you have found the clue, and that only found, something profitable may follow. You must not, without further orders, keep more than a garrison of 120 men; indeed we should like somewhat to diminish that number, especially now, that we are likely to be at peace with all the nations of Europe. God forbid that new difficulties should arise—but if they should, we will not fail to give you timely notice, with authority to disembark a few men from the ships that may touch there. Keep your establishments low, else the expense will become high. Since the Governor-General and Council of India have been pleased to send Mr. Wagenaar to the Cape; and, as we now find he has arrived there, we will approve of that measure, and confirm him, as we now do, as the successor of Mr. Van Riebeeck, and in the rank of Commander, granting him the salary which his predecessor enjoyed—150 franks monthly—and entering

with him upon a new contract to serve for five years, from the date of his arrival there; and should he consent to this condition, we desire to congratulate him on his appointment. We intended this harvest to send a fleet of 20 ships to India, carrying about 2,900 men—God grant that they may all reach you in safety. You will do well to provide, and keep in readiness for them, a sufficiency of refreshments and live stock. The Hottentots. 1662, September.

Commander Wagenaar's Journal.—The *Orangie* arrived, having sailed on the 23rd of April—50 dead, 150 sick. The Chainouquas arrived with eight cattle, which were bought from them, and news was brought from the interior, that a ship had anchored in Bay False. Mr. Moodie says in a Note, that the rest of the month of September is occupied with details relating to the arrival of Admiral Lairresse, with six ships and 1,227 men, forming an expedition against Mozambique; that 125 healthy men from the garrison were exchanged for sick men from the fleet. A ship soon after required assistance, to fetch her from her dangerous anchorage in False Bay, to a safe anchorage in Table Bay, and the fiscal could only muster 30 healthy men.

Two hartebeests arrived, one took the water close to the pier, and swam out to this bay, with an assagai sticking in it; this was the work of the Hottentoos; it was pursued by a boat and taken. The other hartebeest was soon shot near the garden. One of the hartebeests was sent on board one of the ships; and each of the Hottentoos who hunted them received a piece of tobacco and a dram of brandy. A Resolution of Council having sanctioned another expedition to seek for the Namaquas, and to search for the River Vigiti Magna, and the fortresses and cities which, according to the maps, lie in that quarter; whilst the urgent recommendations of the Directors for October.

The Hottentots. 1662, October.

the progressive discovery of this African kingdom, and the assent of Admiral and Commander LAIRRESSE, then on the spot, fortified the government of the Cape in their resolution to undertake another expedition. So a party of volunteers, under Mynheers CRUYTHOFF and MEERHOFF, set out to-day, (20th,) again to seek the Namaquas, and the towns lying near the great River Vigiti Magna.

November.

Three ambassadors came to the fort from OEDASOA, with his compliments to the commander, and to inquire when he was coming into the interior to visit their chief, so that arrangements might be made accordingly; they were as usual regaled with a little brandy, bread, and tobacco, and dismissed the following day well contented with a promise on the part of Commander WAGENAAR, that he would visit them this week. One cow and two sheep were bartered from them. The day after this, the Commander ZACHARIAS WAGENAAR, with 10 horses, and 12 men on foot, proceeded inland to the *Negryen* of OEDASOA and GONOMOA, with sundry articles of merchandize to try (decayed MS.) God grant that he may return in safety. Six days thereafter the Burger-Councillor, HENDRIK HENDRIKS, returned on horseback from the commander's party; he had been hurt in the leg, and the leg had so inflamed as to require surgical aid. Our commander had experienced much bad weather; but, after a long and toilsome journey, reached OEDASOA's kraal at noon on Saturday, the 11th, the third day after his departure; he bought nothing on the first day, but on the next procured a good many sheep and a few long horns. The said invalid had set out yesterday morning, having left the commander and party in good health. On the following day, (15th,) and about an hour after sunset, a free man arrived, carrying a letter from the Commander, ZACHARIAS

Wagenaar, reporting that the party were all well, and that they hoped to reach the fort to-morrow evening. They had bartered from the Hottentoos a good many sheep, but very few horned cattle. The messenger left the commander near the kraals, about ten mylen distant. About three P. M. on the following day, (the 16th,) the commander returned with his cavalry, having left the infantry with the wagon and cattle a little way behind. His Honor kept notes of the principal occurrences during his journey. The Hottentots. 1662, November.

Notes of the events of the pleasure excursion of Commander Zacharias Wagenaar, undertaken into the interior of Africa, with 10 cavalry and 12 foot, for the purpose of procuring cattle. Early on the morning of Wednesday, the 8th of November, (decayed MS.) loaded the wagon, when the interpretess Eva, and the said infantry, were sent in advance. The commander followed at noon with the cavalry; in crossing the Salt River, the horse on which the above-named commander was mounted lay down in the water, first on his belly, and then upon one side, the commander, however, extricated himself from beneath his horse, without any hurt, except a little wetting; he mounted and rode on.

In India, the natives believe that horses lie down with their riders in water, from having, as foals, been fed on buffalo's milk; that animal being a sort of amphibious beast. Commentary.

The party halted for the night at Tyger Berg, and a rhinoceros was shot. The next day we saw many men and cattle approaching us from a distance; they were Goringhaiquas moving in search of pasture and water; and they unloaded their oxen and pitched their kraal close to where we lay. Went on again in the morning, and at noon came to the Goringhaiquas, and rested on the outside of their kraal while we took our November.

The Hottentots. 1662, November.

meal, and our horses and oxen were fed; in the night our covering was a good close rain. On the following day our oxen could not draw the wagon up the last steep height, close to OEDASOA's kraal, so all the Hottentoos, and those who were with us, as well as the horsemen, unyoked the oxen, and sent them to the pasture. The chiefs OEDASOA and GONOMOA came to us with an immense train of rude impudent fellows; we made them sit down with us to dinner, and entertained them according to our ability; they received after dinner a small present of tobacco and biscuit, and returned to their kraal; we followed, and in the evening entered the kraal of the said OEDASOA, encamping about a gun-shot from them. On Sunday, the 12th, some Hottentoos came to us at day-break with some sheep for sale, and we procured in all 61 sheep and — head of horned cattle. We found that OEDASOA and GONOMOA had little influence with their people; they seemed unwilling to let us have any more cattle, especially horned cattle. We gave presents of tobacco and other trifles to both chiefs, and they sent us the same evening two small oxen as a return present. We then resolved to depart as soon as possible, in order to escape from the ceaseless begging of great and small for tobacco and strong drink. On our way home the next morning we had a heavy fall of rain at an abandoned kraal, where was much dry rushes, with which we made several fires to warm and revive ourselves. In the evening we reached the kraal of GONOMOA, where we encamped for the night, and whence issued an immense crowd of gazers, but very few cattle sellers; we procured, however, 22 sheep, three of which were without tails, and five lean cattle. We set out next day, (14th,) exactly at 8 A M. and at noon reached the Goringhaiquas, from whom we procured seven sheep and two small cattle; they had

red paint which seems darker than vermillion, and we took a couple of napkins full, that we may send some to Batavia, and thence to Japan, in the hope that it may be saleable for painting porcelain. On the same evening we reached the Goringhaiquas mentioned on the 10th, and as we had to encamp here, we bought before dark 13 sheep and a little ox. This tribe perceiving that we were about to start for the fort, began to suspect..... with which to take all their cattle; they, therefore, forthwith drove away their women and children, who had brought us milk to barter, and assembled at some distance, apparently deliberating upon what they should do in such an event; and as we could perceive that these ignorant men were not to be convinced to the contrary, we pursued our journey, and about noon reached the place where we had left them on the 9th; there they came to us with their cattle, when our stock was increased by two sheep and one little ox. We had procured 107 sheep and only 17 head, large and small, of horned cattle, for with these the Hottentoos are very unwilling to part. The commander and his riders reached the fort at 3 P. M., on the 16th. The Hottentots. 1662, November.

Commander WAGENAAR's Journal.—A Hottentoo brought a letter from P. CRUYTHOFF, mentioning that the party were all well; that they had arrived at Oliphants' River on the 5th November, and intended to take the wagon six or seven days' journey further.

We received on the 14th, through one of the Namaqua race, and a Chariguriqua, good accounts of our travelling party. They had seen our people and received food from them about a month ago. GONOMOA came to the fort with some of his people, and 24 sheep, which we bought—entertaining him well. The commander went out with some friends to see a great sea-monster, shot near the Salt River; it was a December.

The Hottentots, 1662, December.

real sea-lion, 14 feet long, and thick as a legger, with frightful teeth, and stiff hair projecting from the nostrils. Bartered 40 sheep and 12 eattle from the Coehoquas and Chainouquas.

The Governor-General and Council advert to the Instruetions left by Van Riebeeck, and consider them useful as showing how matters were conducted in former times; as well as in explaining the objeet of the Company in taking possession of the Afriean Cape—observing that experience has taught that any higher speculations, or greater opinions of the Cape were rhodomontade, and have led the Company into much needless expenditure. To find the shipping in good water and refreshments of live stock and vegetables, and to produee enough grain to support themselves without foreign supplies; to these objeets you should confine your attention, and they will give you enough to do, for in ten years you have not fully accomplished so much—and this is far from the great advaneement which has been heretofore imagined, but we trust soon to witness more solid results. We have furnished Mr. Kleneke, late Advoeate-Fiseal in India, and in charge of the homeward bound fleet, with a eommission, according to the orders of the Company, to inspeet and report upon the state of affairs at the Cape. We think with you that 25 good Chinese could do more for your agriculture than is now done by 50 of our lazy and unwilling farmers; but we see no means of furnishing the remedy from this quarter. The Chinese are not to be induced to emigrate by fair measures, for they have no disposition whatever to take up their abode at that remote and solitary Cape; and to compel them to do so by force, would be utterly unreasonable. We have a fleet of 12 ships and 500 soldiers out against the pirate *Coxinga;* our force has arrived in safety,

and has been well received in the Bay of Hoksicu, on the coast of Tartary. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note— *Coxinga* is frequently called the *Mandarin*, and was the conqueror of Formosa. This dispatch gives the only intelligence of the fate of four large ships separated from the homeward bound fleet in a gale on the 11th of February, in the lon. of St. Brandaon. The *Arnhem* had gone down with 40 or 50 seamen—106 of the crew had, after eight days' sail, reached the Mauritius in the ship's launch—eight died during the passage, and thirteen had been thrown overboard to preserve the rest. The Hottentots. 1662, December.

Would have discharged the cannons on the wall, according to custom, for they had been for months loaded, but could not venture on this, for the South East wind blew so strong all day that no one could walk in the streets without danger of being blown to a distance, and the houses being thatched with straw, we were afraid of fire. We heard that the Hottentoos had come with their cattle and families, and encamped outside under the Boschheuvel; the commander went to see whether they had not come too near the pasture and corn land. He found they were Goring-haiquas, with their old captain Gogosoa, and that, although they were within the fence of bitter almonds, yet, as they were far enough from the cultivated land, nothing was said to them. 1663. January 1.

Whether the ex-governor-farmer would have relished their being so near his Boschheuvel? Commentary.

Information was brought that the Saldaniers also had come with their cattle, and encamped about half myl off, on the other side of the Liesbeek, where lies the pasture of the Company's horses; and the commander with some riders went to Gonomoa's kraal, which lay close by; their cattle had trodden the plantation of bitter almonds, but he could not perceive January.

The Hottentots. 1663, January.

that they did the farmers any injury, or caused them any hindrance. Bought two sheep and two little oxen from the Saldaniers who lie close by; but Gonomoa himself, with a large retinue, is more frequently to be found in the fort than at his kraal, for he well knows that there is more here for his empty paunch and thirsty gullet than at his dry kraal; and as the big savage brings us daily, besides himself, such large troops of impudent beggars as are constantly buzzing about our ears, we shall be obliged to show these shameless fellows the way to their own camp, where they have abundance of fine cattle. The rude Gonomoa, who is still squatted with his kraal close by, came with 12 lean cows and 17 sheep, in no better condition, for sale, and they were purchased to his satisfaction, but he stayed, retainers and all, with us all night—and three days after the Cochoquas, or Saldaniers, who still lie without their cattle, brought 3 cattle and 14 sheep, which were bought for tobacco and the customary trinkets. We have thus now 372 cattle and 750 sheep for the daily expected return fleet. Gonomoa, his people, and cattle, set off for False Bay. The fleet, under Admiral Lairresse, which sailed from the Cape in September, returned on the 19th, not having been able to reach the place.

February.

The party of 13 persons, who, on the 21st of October, set out for the interior, returned about noon (1st,) to the fort in tolerable health. They reached the Oliphants' River on the — November, and were obliged to cross it three times; and then, on the 24th, Cruythoff himself, with four men, victualled for ten days, set off in hopes of finding the great River Vigiti Magna. On the 28th they fell in with the before discovered Namaquas, who instantly requested his assistance against their enemies, called the Numakee; they were the last Hottentoos, who, on this side, were

willing to conduct him to the said river; but as he had only three days' biscuit he could not venture on it, and returned,—taking with him four of the most respectable of the Namaqua captains; on the 1st December he rejoined his men on the Oliphants' River, rewarded the captains for their trouble, and two of them departed. The Hottentots. 1663, February.

A poor sample this of Dutch enterprize; four days devoted, with guides at hand, by this important mission, in the advance from the Oliphants' River to discover the Vigiti Magna; probably, or rather almost certainly, the great Orange River. Commentary.

On the 8th December Cruythoff set out with the two captains and all his own party in search of the Namaqua kraals; but before reaching them, he was met by the natives who had before requested his assistance against the Numakee; this request they repeated, but as he could not at once grant it, or make any promise of assistance, they would not conduct him any farther, or allow him to go to the great river, for which purpose he set off early on the 15th; they followed, and overtook him in the evening, and threatened him, unless he turned back. It was not deemed advisable to have any quarrel with these people, so he turned back. With the aid of three Souquas, he managed to find a passage behind their kraals. The Souquas are subject to the Namaquas, and are always on guard a long way from their kraals; he took the three men with him, but they also tried to mislead him, and run away the next day; he, however, went on three more days with eight men and two pack-oxen. On the evening of the 24th, some armed Namaquas joined him, desired that he would turn back and go no farther. He saw there was no further hope, and halted for three days with one of his sick men. On the night of the 27th, whilst they February.

The Hottentots. 1663, February.

were all standing round a fire, a party, as they believed of Souquas, stealthily approached, and wounded four of his men with assagais. Next day some Namaquas came with cattle for sale, which were bought for trifles, and they departed. It was rather thought that they had come to ascertain whether any of the men had been killed, than for any other purpose. On the following day the party came to some Souquas' huts, in which were some women and children, and CRUYTHOFF would have revenged the wrong done to his party by massacreing them, and destroying their huts, but his men would not agree to the proposal on any account; stating that they were not willing to take revenge upon these poor creatures; and so after halting three days in consequence of wounds, again set out on the 2d of January, and reached the fort on the 1st instant February.

Commentary.

Commander ZACHARIAS WAGENAAR doubtless deserved that this second expedition of 113 days in search of the Namaquas and the River Vigiti Magna should fail, from following the example of his predecessor, and entrusting it to the guidance of such a person as CRUYTHOFF, when Mynheer MEERHOFF was present with the expedition; but such a failure, such folly, and such proposed atrocity, would hardly be believed were not WAGENAAR and CRUYTHOFF themselves the historians.

February.

The *Museum* arrived, all well in Holland; and peace concluded between the neighbouring Kings of France and England. We bought for brass and tobacco 32 sheep and eight lean cattle from OEDASOA's people. The Commander WAGENAAR reports to the Governor-General and Council at Batavia, the return of the volunteer travellers and explorers, with a wagon and team of six oxen, who accomplished nothing on that side, although they were out three months and nine days;

he recapitulates for the information of their Honors, the proceedings of the party, observing, among other things, that CRUYTHOFF, the chief and commander of the little party, because the Namaquas asked for assistance against their enemies, and did not forthwith obtain their request, and would not in consequence consent to his passing through their country, thought proper to endeavour to find a different road towards the river, by passing behind their kraal. The Namaquas overtook him in the evening, and being armed, in a manner compelled the party to turn back, which they deemed advisable rather than at present offer any opposition to this savage horde. The horde was, however, so far annoyed, that they crept up to the party one night while standing round a fire, and severely wounded four of them with assagais and arrows, so the party was afterwards obliged to be more on their guard at night; notwithstanding this "untoward event," having now found the thread of the clue, we may at last reach the end, and we shall this year resume the attempt. We continue on the best terms of friendship with all the inhabitants within many miles of this place, and have thus obtained many large and small, but very lean cattle. The fleet from India cannot, on this account, be very well supplied, but we shall be able to reserve a good many for the ships which will this year arrive from Fatherland. An eland killed by the game-keepers was brought into the fort; it was nearly as large as a horse, with black horns, sharp, and approaching at the points, and not branching like those in Europe.

The Hottentots. 1663, February.

The governor of the Cape does not seem to have known that antelopes never have branching horns, and perhaps did not know that there are no deer in Africa; that antelopes never shed their horns, whilst deer do so annually.

Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1663, February. Ten sheep died last night; and from three to six die daily, solely from the severe South-east winds and great drought, and as there is no more food to be found for them.

March. One thousand roods in length of the Bosehheuvel dry bush fence was destroyed by fire; it was not known how the fire originated, but the high wind made it impossible for the soldiers to extinguish it. R. DE MAN, the seeond in eommand, died. Our English friends being unable to proeure a slaughter-beast for their erew from the free men, we let them have a young eow out of the Company's herd. The homeward bound fleet of nine ships arrived, under Admiral KLENEKE—and a ship brought the glorious intelligenee of the surrender to the Company's arms of the town of Coehin, by our enemies the Portuguese. There are now 14 ships in the Bay, and the Admiral and officers of the fleet rode out with their wives to see the Company's farm-yard, and to take a look at the mode of life of the eommon Cape farmers. WAGENAAR's Journal gives a daily list of eattle and sheep purehased from the Chainouquas and Coehoquas, mostly lean and old. The soldiers intended for St. Helena Nova embarked in the fleet, and some cattle, sheep, and pigs were also shipped.

April. Memorandum for Mr. Z. WAGENAAR, eommanding the Company's Fort at the Cape of Good Hope, on the Southern side of Africa—by Admiral HERMAN KLENEKE VAN ODESSEN.—The abundant refreshments supplied to the fleet under my eharge during our stay here, afford proof of the industry which has been exerted, and which must be eontinued by Mr. JOAN VAN RAITBEECK, who was sent hither a few years ago by our masters to seeure a supply of the necessary refreshments for their shipping. The only mode to procure an abundance of cattle is, a gentle

and friendly reception and treatment of the several tribes of Hottentoos; and, therefore, according to the repeated orders of our superiors, and according to our practice hitherto, they should be received with all imaginable kindness, and not subjected to any description of wrong, slight, or contempt, which would create aversion, and thus prevent them from bringing any more cattle. The Hottentots. 1663, April.

The Admiral could hardly have read the proceedings of the former governor, in the matter of proposing to send a whole tribe—men, women, and children—as slaves to Batavia, and to seal catching in chains on the Island, for the benefit of his honorable masters, and of the usurpation of their lands—else he would hardly talk of the practice having hitherto been to treat them with all imaginable kindness, and not subject them to any description of wrong, slight, or contempt. But, as might be supposed, the principal object of the Admiral-Commissioner, was to obtain a sufficient supply of long horns for his fleet. Commentary.

But I cannot perceive any advantage to the Company in journeys to the interior, in order to barter cattle, or in trying to bring any more such large herds of 100 to 200. I should, therefore, deem it inexpedient to continue such journeys on account of the useless expense. Journeys of discovery, to extend our knowledge of the country and people, and for the purpose of inducing other tribes to visit our fort with cattle, ought, on the contrary, to be continued. The free men, or inhabitants, have better hopes of success under your government than under that which preceded it, for if the chief authority derives profit from every thing, it is impossible that any thing can remain for the free men. This creates a state of discontent, very injurious to themselves and the Company. You will therefore continue, as at present, to allow them April.

The Hottentots. 1663, April.

to keep every kind of profit which can accrue to them without injury to the Company. The admiral observes, that by smoking tobacco in the hall, fire might be communicated through the rotten planks to the brandy cellars, and that, therefore, the Hottentoos who come from a distance with cattle, should, though not suddenly, or abruptly, be kept out of the hall, and thus kept from smoking there.

Commentary.

The Dutch admiral endeavouring to introduce the discipline of his gun-room into the Cape government house!

April.

It were indeed much to be wished that these Hottentoos took their three or four days rest outside of the castle, so that we might be free from their filth, and not incur the risk of murder as well as of fire; they might be well entertained outside. It has happened before your time, that when the soldiers are all out at work, and there is no proper guard at the gate, the castle has been exposed to great danger of surprise from the number of Hottentoos admitted into it; you are therefore recommended not to place your fort in peril by leaving the gate without due defence; still you must not, without express orders, or the most urgent necessity, increase the garrison beyond 120 men. No needless repairs should be done to the redoubts, but they should not be allowed to fall down, and should be kept duly occupied to guard the Company and the public from injury; no new redoubts should be constructed; at least without orders from Holland; for, as I trust, we are at peace with all the European powers, no external attack need be apprehended; and your present strength is sufficient against the Hottentoos.

Signed, (By the Admiral.)

Mr. Moodie observes in a Note, that the proceedings of this Commissioner, while at the Cape, formed

the subject of a strong remonstrance to Holland and to Batavia, upon the inconvenience of investing with the temporary command, every stranger of rank who might touch at the Cape for a few days; and who, in general, impeded the public service by issuing orders which only tended to produce confusion by their multiplicity. The Hottentots. 1663, April.

The resolutions, in former times, of the Bombay government, were said by a general officer commanding one of the divisions of the army, to lead to—order, counter-order, and disorder. Commentary.

A ship arrived from the fleet of Admiral Kleneke. The search for the Island of St. Helena Nova had failed for the 4th time. The fiscal rode to the Tygerberg to see whether the report was true that some of our country farmers were bartering cattle with the Hottentoots. The Company can procure no more cattle from the natives. Ensign Everard went to the kraals of Oedasoa and Gonomoa, which lay two days' journey off, and on the way home visited the Goringhaiquas, but procured only seven cattle. They said that they could not only get more tobacco from the free men for cattle, but also rice and brandy enough; we trust, however, that we may soon be able to check this interloping. Mr. Wagenaar, in a despatch to the Directors, urges them to send some bakers of earthenware, for that he is ashamed when passengers by the ships see the garrison and the greater part of the farmers, without spoons, and eating with shells, or with their hands from the pots in which rice or other food has been cooked; two bells are required to call home the herds with the cattle, and to enliven the farmers who live in that lonely place, the Schuyr; these bells might also, in time, serve to collect all the inhabitants to hear divine service there. Mr. Moodie states in a Note, that part of the despatch is occupied in detailing an outrage June.

The Hottentots. 1663, June.

committed, by order of two captains of the Company's ships, upon an English crew. The captains and ten persons are stated, after examination of the witnesses, to have been put to the torture by lighted matches being put between their fingers, in order to force them to tell where their money was concealed. Mr. Wagenaar states, that he has been particular in his details, as the event may easily create new disputes between us and the easily excited English nation.

July.

In this northern monsoon the South-east wind continues to blow to our general astonishment; it blows through the men, so that we can keep no workmen, and still less these poor slaves, exposed in the open air either in the great garden or as cattle herds; yet, notwithstanding of the cold, the Cochoquas, perhaps spurred on by the tobacco hunger, brought 17 sheep for sale. Received from a Hottentoo a letter from the fiscal, written at Hottentoos' Holland, a grassy plain seven or eight mylen off, by which we are glad to learn that he had succeeded in collecting a good lot of cattle. He brought 80, three of which are pack-oxen, the rest chiefly fine young cattle, also 43 sheep; they left behind one pack-ox and 14 sheep; for on the high, steep, stony country they had no want of cold snow, hail, or rain; but, thank God! they all returned in good health. Sousoa's kraal lies about four mylen from the shore, nearly East by South from the fort, and about 31 mylen distant, on and among the mountains, behind the high mountains of Cape False, at present almost all covered with snow. Their cattle are very fond of chewing bones and stones, to which they are, apparently, habituated by hunger. It has always been supposed hitherto that these Chonouquas were very numerous, and rich in cattle, but it has been found to be quite otherwise, for the kraal in which Sousoa, the great captain, lives, has only 21

houses, and scarcely 400 or 500 cattle, though it may be supposed that they have other kraals more in the interior; Sousoa was on his way hither with our party, but fell ill on the way, and went back to his kraal with his Hottentoos. Our party left him some spices, which they esteem a preservative. The Hottentots. 1663, July.

There need be no longer any doubt, but that the King Sousoa, of the Chonouquas, or Hancumquas, as described by Van Riebeeck, belongs to the Hottentot and not to the Kaffer family; and may therefore, from this period, as Oedasoa and Gonomoa, the chiefs of the Cochouquas, were before, be transferred from the Kaffer to the Hottentot paper. Commentary.

Despatch from the Chamber to Commander Wagenaar.—Supplying you regularly with rice from Batavia becomes rather expensive, when you can procure your rice from Madagascar. We trust that you may be able to get slaves also, by which means your people will be better and cheaper served than by servants drawing wages, provided that the slaves are made over to such men only as are in good circumstances, and as are trying to get on in the world; as to the others, we must wink at their conduct for the present, now and then encouraging them, or stimulating them by threats; to replace them by industrious farmers from this quarter of the world would be difficult; such are not quite so easy to be found; we shall not, however, lose sight of your proposal, and shall see what can be done, and particularly whether we cannot now and then send you some young women. We have seen with great satisfaction that you still continue in peace and friendship with the Hottentoos, and that you procure some cattle and a good number of sheep by barter. We would be still better pleased if they would sell us their fat cattle, as readily as their rubbish; but we cannot on any account permit that they should August.

The Hottentots. 1663, August.

be forced to do so; or that any injustice, injury, or annoyance should be done to them. Should they again come into our outer pastures with their cattle, you may civilly request them to go away; or you may even go to some little expense to induce them to comply, which we have no doubt they will do.

September.

Twelve children were baptized, one of whom had Christian parents—the rest were the children of the Company's female slaves. Thirty men were landed from the ships and sent to the wood, with three days' provisions; of these 26 went a head with only their bedding, the corporal and the others following in an hour. Near the fishermen's hut, at Salt River, they were assaulted by some Hottentoos, who first took from them their salt pork and biscuit, and then pelting them with stones, compelled them to return to the fort. These rogues committed a similar piece of insolence yesterday, in taking from two ship's boys their bundles of clothes—probably thinking they contained bread and cheese—striking one of the boys, who resisted, on the head with a stone. We must take measures to prevent such violent breaches of the peace.

November.

The Company's interpretess Eva set off this evening with both her children, procreated by a European; the cause of her departure is not known. She is indeed sprung from Hottentoo parents, but she has been brought up from her childhood in the house of Mr. Commander Van Riebeeck, and brought to christianity, and upon her profession of faith was last year baptized; it is therefore to be feared that, when she joins her brother-in-law, the chief Oedasoa, she will do us more harm than good in the cattle-trade. In a despatch to the Chamber, Wagenaar reports—that the fiscal having accompanied Sousoa to his kraal on his return from the visit which Sousoa had so

courteously paid to him at the fort, the kind creature had died on the way. As to the conduct and proceedings of these free farmers or *Caepse boeren*, and the advantage and service the Company may expect from them, we still continue of opinion that six or seven, or more of these farmers, with some of their servants, ought, on account of their indolence, and their irregular and debauched lives, to be called up and sent away from this place, and we would wish to be furnished, in their room, with some more suitable and more industrious people, who would prosecute agriculture with more zeal. There are great parcels of the lands granted seven or eight years ago to these farmers, which still lie as uncultivated as when they were granted; from the want of servants and working cattle, and manure, they have been unable to cultivate one half, indeed some of them scarcely a third or fourth of such extensive tracts of land. The Hottentots. 1663, November.

Journal continued.—Oedasoa and Gonomoa came with their kraals, and encamped beyond the great Salt Pans, about two hours distant. Our interpretess Eva, who took herself off quietly with her two children, is said to be cared little about by her brother-in-law Oedasoa; we are doubtful whether to send for her or let her stay; the thoughtless wench has often played us the same trick before, throwing aside her clean and neat clothing, and resuming old stinking skins of animals, like all the other filthy female Hottentoos. She returned after an absence of eight days, pretending that she never meant to run away, and had only gone to see her niece at her brother-in-law's.

In a despatch to the Chamber the governor reports, that Georgius Fredericus Wreede, a student, and native of Brunswick, who came here in 1659, having acquired a knowledge of the Hottentoo language, has prepared, in the Greek character, a vocabulary, or, as

The Hottentots. 1663, November.

he calls it, a compendium of the Dutch and Hottentoo language, which work he dedicates to your Honors, trusting that you will be pleased to have it printed, and to send some copies here. Mr. Moodie says in a Note, that the copies were transmitted in 1664, but that the Directors at the same time laid down the important precept—"The natives should learn our language rather than we theirs."

An ensign was sent to the Saldaniers at the Salt River, accompanied by Eva, and with a four ox wagon, to endeavour to buy some live-stock, particularly horned cattle, and returned with eight cattle and 23 sheep. He said that there was among all the Saldanha Hottentoos an infectious or contagious disease, which had, for some time back, carried off many people, and that they were in consequence much afraid of the Souquas, who had threatened to make war on them, and that they meant to come a little nearer to us, and, if necessary, to request our assistance. The purchase of cattle and sheep from the Cochoquas, the Gorachoquas, the Chariguriquas, and the Goringhaiquas, for the usual articles, brass and tobacco, continues to be entered as formerly in Wagenaar's Journal. The lion killed another milch cow in the Table Mountain. The Company's interpreter, Anthony, died in a Hottentoo's hut, outside of the fort, and none of us have cause to grieve, as he has been, in many respects, a mischievous and malicious man towards the Company. The kinds of timber cut in the woods of Table Mountain are els, peer, boecken, assagay, and geel hout; the last the scarcest, and the whole quantity inconsiderable, apparently, but not likely to be exhausted in the first half dozen years. A regulation provides that a school-master, who has been industrious in teaching and catechising both Dutch and black children, shall receive for each of ten Dutch

children half rix-dollar per mensem; the children of Hottentoos, and all the children of baptized slaves, to be taught *pro deo*. A resolution of VAN RIEBEECK's, of 1661, Mr. MOODIE says, raised the wages of a *sieckentrooster* from 36 to 43 guilders monthly, upon the ground, among others, that he had been advantageously engaged in instructing slaves and Hottentoos in the Dutch language and Christian religion. Six strange, or at least to us, unknown Dutchmen, appeared at the fort, they had left St. Helena Bay with seven others, six days before, and two of the party had been left behind from thirst and fatigue. The ensign was sent with two horses and three Hottentoos to meet these poor men on the beach, carrying with him food and Cape beer; and he returned the same evening, bringing with him the six remaining soldiers, whom he had found at the redoubt Keert de Koe. The Hottentots. 1663, December.

Seventeen Hottentoos were induced to go with the commander to Robben Island to carry shells. The commander will continue his excursion to Dassen Island and Saldanha Bay, returning by land, touching on the way back at some Hottentoo kraals, to endeavour to procure some horned cattle, now much wanted. One ox was procured from the Goringhaiquas. An assistant went with a wagon and four men to the kraals of OEDASOA and GONOMOA to endeavour to procure cattle, taking with them brandy, which the Hottentoos swallow with great avidity, in hopes thus to get more cattle; he got with much difficulty 10 cattle and 30 sheep. The commander returned from St. Helena Bay; he made a quick but fatiguing journey, and visited on the way some kraals of Hottentoos who would sell no horned cattle. The 17 Hottentoos, taken to Robben Island received three meals daily, and a dram of brandy every morning to make them the more willing. The Chariguriquas came to us, offering 1664, January.

The Hottentots. 1664, January.

to sell sheep, but saying they could spare no cattle. Elephants and the spoor of lions were seen daily. The Council met, attended by the Burger-raden, concerning the free men who were accused by the fiscal of having lately stolen a fine cow from the Hottentoos, slaughtered her, and divided the flesh among them; when the Hottentoos complained we were obliged to satisfy them with one of the Company's cattle. Mr. Moodie refers, for the singular judgment given in this case, to the abstract of convictions from 1662 to 1672. But there were only five cases recited in 1644, (No. 58, 9, 60, 61, page 312,) and this is not one of them. Oedasoa came to the fort, and was led into the commander's room with five or six of his chief people, and said that he was disposed, with all his people and neighbours, now 18 kraals strong, to make war upon his enemies, the Heusaquas and their allies, as he could no longer suffer them to try to play the master everywhere. He requested that we would assist him with some soldiers from the garrison, whom he wished to march with him to the war; adding, that we would do him a kindness if we would take charge of 2,500 head of horned cattle until his return; offering to deliver, in the first place, for this service, 600 head; and, as a further inducement, in the event of his returning victorious, 600 more. If the fortune of war should turn, and he should have to retreat, he would then only present 300 head; after consulting the Council, the commander civilly, but explicitly declined the first proposal, to send any of our people to the war. But he agreed to the second proposal, provided Oedasoa would leave eight or ten of his people to assist in herding the cattle. To this he would not consent, stating that all the males, including boys, must accompany him to the battle. When Oedasoa was told, that the cattle would, for the

promised acknowledgment, be taken care of until he should return to receive them, he did not seem quite satisfied, but adhered to his request for people to assist in the war. On being told, however, that men would never be granted to him, or to any natives, he requested to take leave, promising to deliver the cattle next new moon. Having received his presents, and been entertained, he departed to his kraal towards evening, with his captains and councillors. The free sawyer's dwelling in the wood was broken open by the Hottentoos during their absence; the locks were knocked off, five of their chests, and all their little moveables were stolen; they offered to point out the Hottentoos who had done this, but the commander being absent, we did not venture to meddle with the affair. The Hottentots. 1664, January.

When the bell had been twice rung for Divine service Oedasoa, with more than 50 men, women, and children, came trotting in again, and the greater part of them squatted down in the hall, between the chairs and the benches. The commander civilly requested them, through Eva, to go below until our worship was performed, which they instantly did, and sat down on the esplanade. After service was over Oedasoa and some of his chief men was called into the commander's room, and asked if he had brought with him the cattle he had promised—he said no, and that he was not disposed to give over to us, or out of his own possession, any cattle, until we would promise to give some of our people to go out with him to fight his enemies. Upon his being reminded of the former reply given in this matter, and upon his desiring to know why men would not be given, he was told that the Heusaquas, the Namaquas, the Chainouquas, and other tribes to the Eastward, were fully as great friends and good neighbours as himself, February.

The Hottentots. 1664, February.

and his people, especially Sousoa, from whom we had lately procured, at his friendly invitation, 80 horned cattle and 60 sheep—whilst from him and his people we had never procured 20 at any one time. He said he had brought five sheep as a present, we might send and fetch them; the gift was declined, but they and three others were paid for abundantly; still he was not satisfied, and asked for some biscuit and rice for his wife and children, and for himself and his companions some brandy and tobacco, to be used on their way home; after filling within, the hungry stomachs of these incomparably greedy and beggarly men, and without, their filthy bags, they set out in the evening for their kraal, which is scarcely an hour's walk from the fort; when about to set down to dinner, just at noon, Oedasoa and Gonomoa, with more than 50 men, women, and children, squatted themselves in the hall, asking in the usual mode of begging for food, drink, and tobacco, which were the more readily given to them, because they brought for sale eight lean cattle and 14 sheep; but on going out to buy these, they asked twice the usual price, or for each cow four chains of round copper beads, and a piece of tobacco, long enough to reach from the point of the cow's tail over the back to the horns, and in the same proportion for the sheep, which was not given, and they went to their kraal with their cattle. Meerhoff, four soldiers, three Hottentoos, and three oxen, were sent with merchandize to the kraal of Sousoa, to try whether a good quantity of cattle might not be procured from his son, as we are now in want, and no dependence is to be placed on the promise of Oedasoa to enter into a profitable contract for the delivery of a great quantity at the fort. The boat returned from Robben Island, bringing back all the Hottentoos, who have thus long helped us in carrying shells to the

beach. One of the hunters shot an ostrich near the Salt Pans, the two legs were as much as a horse could carry home. The cattle traffic gets on very badly indeed. The Hottentots. 1664, February.

Some of the Hottentoos who live in the fort, and who are getting every day more insolent, assaulted, without provocation, two of our people, one by throwing stones, the other with blows of a stick; all the Hottentoos, who live at the fort, were summoned to appear, but only seven or eight came; these were told that if they committed any violence or robbery, the offender would be put in prison, and banished to Robben Island to carry shells for the lime-kiln. The admiral sailed with the whole return fleet of 11 ships; the value of the cargo is stated to be 2,387,580 guilders. March.

A despatch from the Chamber decides that the proposed voyage to the North should be postponed, as that coast is beyond our jurisdiction, unless the object be to find a navigable river, through which some further knowledge of the state of the interior may be gained. You may, occasionally, get rid of some of the lazy debauched farmers by sending them to the Mauritius to keep up the number of the garrison there. We doubt whether it will be practicable to supply their place with other industrious farmers. In our opinion the work must be chiefly done by slaves, for our people when abroad, are at all times with difficulty induced to work; besides, that servants are too expensive for your farmers, and you must see to get assistance from Madagascar. We have resolved to send to you, at their own desire, by the next ships, under charge of some females, some young girls for the advancement of the population.

Twenty-four of our best working oxen are affected with a disease in which the body becomes hardened, so that they cannot work, and the Hottentoos bring May.

The Hottentots. 1664, May.

us but few live-stoek. Three lions killed two of our best draught oxen at the Boschheuvel, so that we are not only plagued with the drought, but with these mischievous brutes also; and two leopards, the great enemies of the sheep, were shot and brought into the fort.

June.

The surgeon, Pieter van Meerhoff, of Copenhagen, was married to the interpretess Eva. As she has served the Company for many years without other reward than food and clothing, it is resolved to give her a marriage gift of fifty rix-dollars and a bridal feast; and further, in order to encourage the bridegroom, who has served out his time as surgeon's assistant, that he shall be promoted to the rank of surgeon. One of our oldest mares, after having done good service at Batavia and here, gave up the ghost.

July.

The eattle trade progresses badly; and in this cold wet weather, as is always the ease at this season, many die. The commander went out to plant the first hop at the orehard, from those growing in the garden at the fort.

August.

Six pack-oxen were sent to the fort by Oedasoa, who desired that if we were inelined to go to him to purehase cattle they might be used to carry our merehandize. The Hottentoos loaded the merchandize and provisions on the oxen aeeordingly, and set off, aceompanied by Mr. Pieter Meerhoff, his wife Eva, and three riders, but they only got from Oedasoa five lean eattle and 14 sheep, and as he would not lend the paek-oxen any longer, it was neeessary to send a wagon and six to earry the merchandize to other kraals. In 14 days the party returned in good health, bringing 75 cattle and 261 sheep, proeured from different kinds of Saldaniers or Cochoquas. So that this year we shall be pretty well off even should we get no more stock.

The *Roode Hart* arrived from Vlei, 14th May, bringing intelligence of an expected rupture between our States and England. Sousoa's son, now chief of the Heusaquas, (Chainouquas ?) sent five Hottentoos with six pack-oxen, requesting that we would this year visit him in the East, as we had last year visited his father; and adding, that if we sent round copper beads, flat copper, and brass bars, also plenty of good tobacco, we might purchase cattle enough. These things were accordingly sent with an assistant and seven Dutch. The Hottentots. 1664, September.

The assistant wrote from the kraals of the son of the late Sousoa, to say that there was no demand for bar or flat brass, but that the cry was all for small red beads, and requesting that a quantity might be sent by the Hottentoo bearer of his letter. He had for a few trifles procured 50 cattle and 50 sheep. October.

Despatch from the Chamber to Commander Wagenaar and Council. The last journey into the interior having produced nothing in the world, we have thought proper to discontinue such journeys for the present; but we would deem it suitable that a vessel should be sent along the coast to try whether cattle or anything else is to be had there. You were right to decline assisting the Cochoquas against their enemies, although they offered recompense; for we must not concern ourselves with the mutual disputes or wars of those inland tribes. A good quantity of grain has been reaped last season, but there is a scarcity of cattle. We will not entertain a doubt that the Island of Mauritius has been taken possession of, and we must not allow other nations to extirpate us there. We intend this year to send out a fleet of 12 ships with 2,814 men; and shall soon apprise you of our decision as to the commander at the Cape, and the urgent request of Mr. Wagenaar to be relieved.

The Hottentots. 1664, October.

Mr. Moodie states in a Note, that the Company ordered the Mauritius to be abandoned in 1657, to be re-occupied in 1663, and to be again abandoned in 1716; that the capture of the Dutch settlement of New Netherlands (New York), and of other injuries, by the English, had been recently heard of; and that the despatches from Europe are for some time chiefly occupied with orders arising out of the hostilities which soon ensued.

Journal continued.—The assistant returned from the kraals of the Chainouquas, bringing with him 121 large and small cattle and 123 sheep.

November.

The free men coming in for provisions complained much of the drought. A hartebeest was chased into a marsh and brought in; we trust to keep it alive. The Chainouquas brought 14 cattle and 25 sheep, and requested that we would again visit their kraals, which were assembled to the number of ten, about four days distant, and assuring us that we might now get a good many cattle, but we thankfully declined the invitation, requesting that they would bring the cattle to us. The *Waterhoen* arrived from Madagascar, having procured seven tons of rice, and one slave. The King Fille Horiva could not sell any slaves without the concurrence of his Grandees, for otherwise they would all run away and abandon him, which was the cause of this poor trade. The burgers and country farmers were all reviewed, properly armed, they were marched into the fort, when the senior sergeant was proposed as ensign, and they were, for the first time, presented in the Company's name, with colours, a schiarf, and a plume. We procured from the Chainouquas seven cattle and 37 sheep. Among these people was the son of the late Chief Sousoa, whom we entertained honorably, and presents were given to him, so that he might come again and bring cattle. The head and

skin of a furious lion were brought into the fort; he was with great danger shot by some farm servants among the Hottentoos' sheep. A free farmer brought in a young rhinoceros, the mother of which was shot behind the Round Hill, opposite Robben Island; we hope to keep it alive and send it to Holland. The fine hartebeest which was caught last week died. Arrived the small English vessel, the *Lion*, of 124 tons, 26 men, with 200 slaves; three weeks from Madagascar, bound to Barbadoes; 20 slaves had died. The commander, fiscal, and ensign, went on board with some burgers to try to buy some slaves; on getting on board they saw the slaves sitting on the orlop, the greater part of them very young, entirely naked, and perfect skeletons; notwithstanding which, the captain, Jan Houwart, yesterday asked the ensign £50 sterling, or 500 guilders, for each of his lean slaves; he now desired to be excused from selling any. The Hottentots. 1664, November.

Mr. Moodie observes, in a Note—the name of the English captain, was no doubt identical with that of the future philanthropist John Howard.

Several reports reached us of the desertion of servants from their masters, who assembled together, doing much mischief, and stealing provisions to save them from starving in this desert country; the commander gave orders to the Company's servants and farmers to seize and bring these vagabonds bound to the fort, particularly one Burgart Claas, of Bremen, who had lived more than six weeks in the bush, in order that these banditti may be punished, and the evil stopped before it goes further. Burgart Claas surrendered himself to a free fisherman, who lives on the Salt River; intending with the prodigal son to say *Pater Peccavi*, and requesting pardon of the commander, with marks of great contrition; this may somewhat mitigate his offence, but he was imprisoned for the December.

The Hottentots. 1664, December.

present, that it may be ascertained what had induced him to desert, and who are the farm servants who would remove into the interior with him. A soldier was dreadfully wounded with his own gun at the redoubt Keert de Koe, by some Hottentoos; it would seem that this was done because he had desired them not to break down, for firewood, a long wooden fence which had been put up to prevent our cattle from being driven away; some of Oedasoa's men, who the next day brought cattle for sale, were heard to say that one of them had been first struck by the soldier; they were asked what had induced them to treat the Dutchman so shamefully; they replied that they knew nothing about the matter; two of them were however detained, and the other five were permitted to return to their kraal with the brass and tobacco which they had purchased; it was clearly explained to these five that the other two would not be released, until they either confessed, or pointed out the perpetrators of that cruel outrage; the following day five Cochoquas brought 10 cattle and 11 sheep, which they offered to give to the commander if he would release the two Hottentoos who were detained in the fort; as there was no further proof of the guilt of these men, they were released. The cattle being received with this stipulation, that they should be restored to the owners upon their producing the real culprits.

1665, January.

The *Kemphaen* arrived, sent out with advices that the English were likely to attack us in India, and with authority to increase our garrison by disembarking more men from the passing ships. A party which had gone to the Tygerberg with a wagon to bring home a rhinoceros, which had been shot there, stated that they were surrounded and attacked by five terrible lions. A Hottentoo came to give information that a theft committed in the house of a fisherman, some

days ago, was by some of his coutrymen, and handed over 116 guilders, which had been given to him for the purpose of being restored, by the chiefs to whom the thieves were subject. The Hottentoos. 1665, January.

The Hottentoo brought £2 4 8 more of the stolen money. The Chainouquas brought seven cattle and 25 sheep, which were purchased for the usual articles, together with a cordial entertainment of meat, drink, and tobacco, as their pretended King, or Sourie, was with them. The commander went to Robben Island, followed in an hour by the large boat loaded with Hottentoos, whom he had induced to go thither to carry shells. One cow, four sheep, and four fine elephants' tusks were bought from the Chainouquas; and nine old mares, three foals, and five young stallions were sold by auction for 814 guilders. February.

The homeward-bound fleet, under Admiral P. DE BITTER arrived, he had a commission to visit this place, and called a council, when a burger and his wife were ordered to be removed to Holland for their scandalous and quarrelsome life. A farmer's servant had a fearful hole knocked in his head by a Hottentoo with a stone, was trepanned by the surgeon, and died the next day. March.

In consequence of which 20 Hottentoos, who are accustomed to reside here, ran off for fear of punishment. April.

The *Medenblinck* arrived from Texel the 9th December, with orders to resist an attack of the English, for which purpose we are authorized to disembark 300 soldiers with ammunition and provisions. A boat went to Robben Island with the Surgeon MEERHOFF, his wife, and children, to act as superintendent. The Hottentoos complained that some free men, particularly a person called FRANS DE CAPPER, had stolen, driven home, and killed three of their cattle; a com- May.

The Hottentots. 1665, May. mission was sent out to make strict inquiry among the free men. Heavy rains; the fort walls, according to their annual custom, falling down.

June. Cattle trade proceeding as usual. Marked out the new castle, which we have been ordered to erect, according to a plan received by the *Medenblinck*, in five great points or bulwarks, encircling the fort. A ship arrived from Texel, bringing intelligence that the English, without any previous declaration, had commenced war, having taken several of our ships when passing the Channel, and landed and sold their cargoes; orders were consequently sent to Batavia and others places to take revenge upon that nation.

August. A despatch from the Directors announces that the Dutch fleet of 90 sail intends leaving port for the protection of the homeward-bound Indian fleet; and that Admiral De Ruiter had recently returned with a good booty, having done extensive damage to the English settlements. Commander Isbrant Goske arrived with a clergyman, who is to reside here until further orders. A proclamation was issued, prohibiting the sale of any produce at private houses, to prevent the insufferable usury which has hitherto taken place, and directing all to bring their articles of food to the public market, there to be sold at the prices fixed by Council and Burgerraden. Mr. Goske assembled the Council; when, upon his proposal, and after much deliberation, it was resolved that the new royale fortress, which our masters intend to construct here, shall be placed about 600 roods to the Eastward of this fort.

September. The *Loosduynen* arrived from Rotterdam 14th April, our great fleet and that of England had not met. The *Royal Charles*, English ship of 12 guns, and 95 men, arrived from Surat. They were ignorant of the furious war that had, for the second time, broken out

between the two countries. Mr. Moodie says in a Note, that many pages of the Journal are occupied by an account of the endeavours of the garrison to make prize of the English ship by force or stratagem; a boat's crew was decoyed on shore and taken, but the ship cut her cable before the boarding party of 250 men could reach her. Two Hottentoos were sent to Saldanha Bay with a letter to warn a Dutch coaster to be on her guard against the *Royal Charles*. The Hottentots. 1665, September.

A despatch from the Chamber to the Cape government says,—The English fleet have now re-entered their harbours, and the river of London has been shut up and blockaded by our fleet of 90 ships of the line. We are glad to hear that all in your quarter continues in a state of tranquillity; but as the violence occasionally committed by some of the Hottentoos increases by always being winked at, we concur with you in thinking it necessary that an example should be made of some one of those most guilty when caught in the commission of a criminal act, in order to deter others. We can easily conceive that slaves are necessary to private farmers, and that without slaves they can scarcely maintain themselves from the number and expence of the free servants that are required. We shall not fail to fall upon some mode of supplying you to some extent; and hope that the *Voorman*, on her return from Mauritius, has procured you some slaves from the Bay of Antongil, in Madagascar, where you state that the English have procured two cargoes. The fleet of next harvest and spring will consist of 18 ships, with 3,000 men. November.

Journal continued.—A ship from Amsterdam (North about) July 2d, sailed with 203 souls; 33 had died, and of the remainder scarcely five could be called healthy men. We learned by letters of the 22d June, that our fleet had fallen in with the English for the

The Hottentots. 1665, November.

first time. Our admiral's ship, and several others, had been blown up; and out of our eight squadrons of 118 ships of war, 16 or 17 were missing; we had taken a 45 gun-ship, and some prizes loaded with ammunition, but how many of the enemy's ship were wreeked, burnt, or sunk, and how many were killed on either side is uncertain. JACOB ROSENDAL bought Mr. VAN RIEBEECK's lands at the Boschheuvel for 1,600 guilders.

December.

GONOMOA, chief of the Coehoquas, sent us seven oxen, requesting that we would stow our baggage on these and come to his kraal; but as we have scarcely tobaeco enough to buy what is brought to us here, and as he is too far off, we declined the proffered service, entertained the Hottentoos well, and dismissed them with a present to their master. Twenty soldiers, who refused to work, were put in chains, four of the ringleaders were chained in pairs as at Batavia, and nine were chained, each to a separate wheelbarrow. Sheep continue to be bartered for brass and tobaeco, but in Deeember only one eow.

1666, January.

As we elosed the last year with the desirable eattle-trade in this summer season—so we eommenced this year in the same way; the Coehoquas brought us for sale one cow and two calves, and fourteen sheep. After working for five months with about 300 men on the foundation of the new eastle, the eommander this day laid the foundation stone. Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note:—The Journal gives a detail of the number of oxen and sheep, and the quantity of Cape beer expended in a publie entertainment to the garrison on the occasion, and Mr. WAGENAAR inserts, as worthy of preservation, the following couplets, the spirit of which will ill endure the fetters of sworn translators. Being no Duteh seholar I cannot tell whether, if translated, they are worthy of transcription.—Some

days ago the Cochoquas under Gonomoa, encamped with one of their kraals under the Tygerberg, and he himself came to the fort with 30 of his greasy life-guards, bringing 36 sheep and 7 lean cattle. He asked for thin square bar-iron, in exchange for sheep, to make sharp points for their assagays, but this not being deemed advisable, was refused. Cattle and sheep-barter are noticed as usual in the Journal. The Cochoquas brought into the fort ten sheep, which, as soon as Divine service was over we bought for tobacco. As the pasture in Table Valley and behind the Lion's Hill, begins to get very dry and scanty, from the great heat, we sent 400 sheep through the Kloof, to be grazed for fourteen days at the foot of the mountains, on the other side, as very fine grass was seen there. A ship arrived from Texel, 21st August; almost all the crew, as is usually the case, affected with scurvy. Our fleet of 120 ships was again at sea, and the last homeward bound fleet had put into Bergen, in Norway, whither a powerful English fleet had proceeded. The Cochoquas are now trading with us as desired, and we got from them two cattle and fifty-three sheep. The Hottentots. 1666, January.

Sent the *Crowned Herring* to Saldanha Bay, to fetch a load of sea-bird's dung for our gardens. Much thunder and lightning—a thing which very seldom happens here. The fiscal went with a wagon and six soldiers and some merchandize to Hottentoo's Holland, to try to purchase some horned cattle, as there are hereabouts 7 kraals of the Cochoquas lying in a row—and returned with 44 cattle and 110 sheep, purchased chiefly from Gonomoa, their chief. February.

Sent a party of men into the interior, for ten days, to catch young horses, asses, deer, rhinoceroses, and other rare animals, to send with the next fleet; they saw several wild horses, but got none; also, flocks of March.

The Hottentots. 1666, April.

hartebeests, steenbocks, more than 200, and shot several for food.

A ship arrived from Amsterdam, 17th November; there is a likelihood of war with France. A wild buffalo was shot at the Boschheuvel, which was offered for sale in the market—but as no one would buy it we had it salted for the slaves. Lieut. SCHUT was sent with ten men, one ox and two mules laden with merchandize, to purchase cattle and sheep from the Cochoquas to the Eastward, and returned in 17 days, with 14 cattle and 29 sheep, purchased in the kraals of OEDASOA, far to the Eastward; he was detained by the swelling of the rivers, and was obliged to make wooden floats to ferry over the cattle and themselves.

May.

Despatch from the Government to the Chamber.—According to your orders we have increased the strength of the garrison, from the homeward bound fleet, with 300 soldiers, and a master gunner and 12 gunners, to be in a better state of defence against our expected enemies. The chief of the Cochoquas, OEDASOA, has not been at the fort for fully two years; he does not seem over well pleased, but in his way grumbles, because we have declined to assist him against his enemies and our friends the Chainouquas. His refusal to come here is principally of consequence, because he tries to evade his promise to EVA, now that she is married. She says she ought to receive from him 100 cattle, and more than 500 sheep, but seeing that she is now married to a Hollander and a Christian he withholds the cattle; otherwise she would have gladly sold and delivered them to the Company. This does not, however, particularly concern us, and we shall allow the matter to take its own course, and have nothing more to do with it; of the other Hottentoo rabble who have always lived at the

fort, we have at present nothing to complain of, but for any theft or breach of the peace of which they may be guilty, we shall, as your honors think this necessary, punish the guilty party. The remainder of the despatch is filled with complaints of the desolate and idle character of the Dutch farmers, and still more of the Dutch farm-servants—of the impossibility of getting them to attend to such work, and of their disposition to join the English in an attack on the colony, if the English fleet should come. All the Company's servants, and the servants of free men who tried to conceal themselves in the ships, are sentenced to two or three years hard labour in chains, without wages, and six of them are sent to Robben Island. The Hottentots. 1666, May.

A carpenter was sentenced to be beheaded with an axe, for a murder committed with that instrument—but at the intercession of the culprit's wife and of the clergyman, the sentence was commuted to being shot to death. June.

The Goringhaiquas brought for sale two cattle and two sheep, an unusual circumstance; one of them said that they were going to remove to another country and never to return. It is, however, our firm belief that these chiefs are, out of pure jealousy, inclined to attack the Chainouquas, our friends; as from them we get most and the best cattle; when this becomes certain the attack must be prevented. July.

Whether the object of the Goringhaiquas was not to prevent their neighbours from selling cattle which must be pastured upon their lands? Commentary.

An ensign sent with ten men to purchase cattle in the interior, returned in four days with 14 and 33 sheep. A complimentary message, and a proposal to visit us, was received from the son of Sousoa, of the Chainouqua race; it is the intention to send a mission August.

The Hottentots. 1666, August.

to him, and his messengers were well entertained, that they may show our people the way. The fiscal with 11 men, five oxen, and two mules, were accordingly sent to try to buy a good lot of cattle and sheep. Mr. Cornelius Quaelbergen arrived at last to relieve Commander Wagenaar. Out of 294 men who accompanied him in the *Dordrecht*, 112 had died.

September.

The Cape burgers were mustered under arms in the fort. The fiscal and his party returned, having been absent 21 days; they brought 70 cattle and 200 sheep; 10 of each kind died on the way, being too old and poor to get over the mountains. The *Walcheren* arrived; 62 men died, and 120 were sick in bed.

Mr. Wagenaar's Memorandum for the information of his successor, drawn up by order of the Directors:—

Although Mr. Van Riebeeck has written very clearly upon every point, and in particular has given a good sketch of the disposition, character, and habits of these greasy Africans, commonly called Hottentoos, that I might well be excused from making any allusion to the subject, I shall, nevertheless, take a brief view of these savages, *en passant*, that I may let you know, by way of warning, from what kind among that people the Company has to look for the greatest advantage, in that very essential point, the cattle trade, (without which there would be very little for us to do here,) and who, on that account, ought to be well treated and gratified in preference to others. These Hottentoos, who usually reside inland within 40 or 50 myles of this African Cape, wander from one place to another with their cattle, for the sake of pasture; they are divided, in so far as they are known to us, into nine hordes, or assemblages of families, or rather of villages, members of the same kraal. They are named Goringhaiconas, Goringhaiquas, Gorachouquas, Co-

choquas, Chaiguriquas, Namaquas, Chainouquas, Hensequas, and Hancumquas. The Hottentots. 1666, September.

The Cochoquas live to the North, towards Saldanha Bay, whence their name of Saldaniers; and from these we procure the greatest quantity of live-stock, chiefly sheep. They are in two divisions, under separate Choques, or Chiefs—Oedasoa and Gonomoa. Formerly they might have mustered 3,000 men capable of bearing arms; but some time ago, they were very much melted away and diminished by a sickness which prevailed among them.

The Goringhaiquas, called Caepmans, because they at first made pretensions to a right of property in this Cape land; and the Gorachouquas, nicknamed Tobacco Thieves, can scarcely together make out 800 men, exclusive of women and children; both tribes are now nearer to us, but the last is much the richest in cattle; they bring us now and then a lean cow or ox, or a few sheep equally lean; these are of little use to us, but we receive all they offer, large or small, young and old, fat and lean; giving them instantly what they desire in exchange, such as copper in plates, brass in bars, or beads of various kinds, but chiefly those of a small blood-red sort; the first thing they ask for is tobacco; and in addition to the merchandize exchanged for their cattle, we give to each a dram of brandy; or when they bring many, or very fine fat cattle, they get biscuit and boiled rice, and are thus dismissed well satisfied. It is necessary, in this manner, to attract these strangers to us, and to keep the trade alive. But to sell them thin square bar iron, as the Cochoquas have recently wished, is not adviseable, for they know now how to harden it very tolerably, and to beat it into sharp points for their arrows and assagais.

Among the ugly Hottentoo race there is yet another

The Hottentots. 1666, September.

sort called the Goringhaiconas. HARRY was the chief or captain of these; we have them daily in our sight and about our ears, within and without the fort; they possess no cattle, and live by fishing from the rocks; a few years since they were only 30 in number, now they consist of 70 or 80, including women and children, having been joined by similar rabble from the interior; by night they live in little hovels in the sand hills, by day they may be seen, sluggards as they are, assisting the burgers in scouring, washing, cutting wood, fetching water, and herding sheep, or boiling a pot of rice for the soldiers; but they will never work, or put one foot before another, until they have been promised a good quantity of food, tobacco, or drink. Others of the lazy crew who will not work at all, live by begging, or seek their subsistence by stealing and robbing on the common high-ways, particularly when they see these frequented by any novices out of the ships or from Europe. A strict eye should be kept upon these idlers, and the maintenance of peace with these idlers must be attended by a proper degree of caution.

The Chainouquas.—They live to the Eastward, and in the last six years we have begun to get acquainted with them; we have always lived, and still live in perfect friendship with them; they are very rich in cattle, and through two missions I procured from them 170 fine cattle and 400 sheep.

The Cochoquas were excited to jealousy by the Chainouquas inviting us into their country, and sending oxen to carry our provisions; and accordingly their Chief OEDASOA came to the fort, apprised us that he meant to make war upon SOUSOA, requesting aid in troops, desired us to take charge of his herds, and promised us remuneration in cattle.

The Namaquas.—These are a very robust people, but respecting these, and the tribes bordering on them

to the Eastward, who are all very rich in cattle, I am unable to add anything to the remarks contained in the Memoir of Mr. Van Riebeeck. The Hottentots. 1666, September.

The remainder of Mr. Wagenaar's excellent Memoir is filled with observations on the character and prospects of the Dutch farmers and free men. He appears to attribute their failure to the impossibility of supplying them with a good number of labouring slaves, and to the necessity under which they were of employing hired Dutch servants, who either will not work from indolence, or who, instigated by others, take themselves off when their services are most required. Commentary.

Journal continued.—The commission of Mr. Van Quaelbergen was read with due ceremony; and Mr. Wagenaar embarked for Batavia.

The party sent to the kraals of Oedasoa returned with 66 horned cattle and 469 sheep; eight of the former, and 62 of the latter, being presents from the several Hottentoo captains for the commander, to welcome him on his arrival. The Company's 58 cattle cost *f.* 208, and the 469 sheep cost *f.* 407. October.

Despatch from the Chamber expresses high satisfaction in receiving good accounts of the Residency, but regret at hearing the number of deaths in the outward-bound ships before their arrival at the Cape, which will be very inconvenient in India, where men are so much required. We are disposed to raise the salary of Commander Wagenaar to 150 guilders, if his health would permit him to remain. Since it is thought that 10 or 12 years, and a garrison of 400 or 500 men, will be required to complete the new castle, unless you are supplied with a sufficient number of slaves, as the necessity for so strong a fort will probably be over before that time, you may discontinue the work until further orders. You will keep the old

The Hottentots. 1666, October.

fort in a proper state of defence, and send all the men who are not required against sudden attack to India. It is not likely, from the present state of the enemy's force, that he will venture so far from home; and we shall give him so much to do along his own coasts, that he will be forced to abandon foreign enterprizes. We are satisfied that, in many respects, slaves are absolutely necessary to you, and shall consider how you can be supplied with a good number. As firewood is becoming scarce, you should turn your attention to planting. The wine sent as a specimen we found, contrary to expectation, very well tasted. The fleet of the season will consist of 20 ships and 3,227 men.

November.

Journal continued.—The *Oijevaer* arrived, from Texel April 29; out of 157 men 48 died, 90 were sick, and there were not six healthy men in the ship. Received the agreeable news that our fleet, after a fight from the 11th to the 14th of June, had obtained a victory over the English, upon which we held a thanksgiving, and fired a *feu de joie*.

A ship arrived from Madagascar; she could not get a grain of rice or a single slave, though both are much wanted here. The natives said that, as last year, they were engaged in a furious war with their neighbours, and that they were laying waste and destroying on both sides.

December.

A party which was sent out to catch wild horses, caught a foal near Van Riebeeck's Casteel; the mother feeling herself caught in the snare, after biting off her own tongue, strangled herself by getting the snare round her neck. Sent a corporal and six overland to take possession of Saldanha Bay, as it was said that the French intended to take possession of it. The fiscal returned after an absence of twenty days; he had marched eight days before he could find a single

Hottentoo kraal. On his way home he brought 67 cattle and 450 sheep. Cattle and sheep continue to be purchased at the fort in small quantities for the usual merchandize. The Hottentots. 1666, December.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that there are no Journals in the Colonial Office from 1666 to 1672. 1667, January.

Proclamation.—No one shall with malice prepense beat or strike any of the natives, or Hottentoos, even although they may have stolen or carried off any thing, their habit on all occasions, and against which every one must be on his guard; and any one catching any of them in the act, may, should he deem it worth while, deliver him to the fiscal, or officer on guard; an officer shall forfeit a month's pay, and a soldier or sailor be caned on the spot for such offence. No one belonging to the ships shall barter, purchase, or exchange from the free men, any oxen, cows, pigs, sheep, or corn, without the express consent of the commander.

These repeated prohibitions against free trade, besides being in the spirit in which the Dutch government always endeavoured, in their colonies, to hold a monopoly of all things in their own hands—had, of course, at the Cape of Good Hope, the additional object of recovering from the soldiers and sailors, whom they endeavoured to raise to the condition of farmers—the money which they owed for slaves, cattle, seed-corn, and other things. Commentary.

Despatch from the Chamber.—We communicated our intentions with respect to the new fortress in a former letter, and in these we still persist. We expected to have furnished you with some slaves from the coast of Guinea, or thereabouts—but as it does not appear that they are to be had there we must think of other measures. We can well conceive that without slaves little is to be done in several respects, May.

The Hottentots. 1667, May.

especially as far as the free men are concerned. You have sent the *Hoogh Casteel* to Madagascar, and slaves may be brought from that place, or from some other quarter. It is out of the question that you should be supplied with timber from Holland or from India. It may be found, and you must seek for it, in some place in your neighbourhood; or possibly good timber might be had at Mauritius. We once more recommend to you the planting of the olive-tree as a necessary work. We can send you easily enough an account of the mode of extracting olive oil, but the apparatus is too bulky to send until we shall have heard from you that the quantity of olives grown is sufficient. Affairs in England now tend towards peace; ambassadors and plenipotentiaries from both parties, as well as from France and Denmark, who are engaged in the same cause with us are to assemble at Breda; indeed (excepting those of England, who are on their way) have already met. The enclosed letter, dated ..... April, from the king of Great Britain to the States, will show what is the inclination of Great Britain towards peace; for it does not appear likely that they will soon be able to equip a large fleet; while on the other hand the armada of these States is just about to sail. May the Almighty bless us with a good and firm peace. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that a letter of the 27th September informed the Cape authorities, that "by God's unmerited mercy, peace had been concluded on the 31st July, and ratified on the 24th August,"—but as hostilities were to continue in all places in the southern hemisphere until the 24th April, 1668, the Cape was to be kept in a posture of defence; "and although the 6th Article of the Treaty provides for the restitution of every place possessed by either party on the $\frac{10}{20}$th of last May, (thus giving us reason to suppose that we

have no attack to expect there,) still you will by no means rely upon that eireumstanee, but maintain a full posture of defence. The Hottentots. 1667, May.

Proclamation by CORNELIUS VAN QUAELBERGEN and Council.—Since it appears that the free inhabitants do not desist from bartering cattle from these native tribes, so that scarcely any more cattle are brought in by the Hottentoos for sale to the Company, and since the praetice is only to be deteeted by the extirpation of the breed of sheep,—it is ordered that every one shall, within fourteen days, deliver to the Company, at a certain price, all the Hottentoo rams and wethers still in their flock, and make an exact return of all their ewes in lamb, so that these also may be delivered as soon as they have lambed. June.

Mr. MOODIE, in a Note, refers to a similar attempt made in 1774, to extirpate the breed of Kaffer cattle.

Proclamation.—The free inhabitants still begin to oppose themselves more and more to the orders against the purchase of cattle and the admission of natives into their houses, and have become so refractory and presumptuous as to go into the Hottentoo kraals, and to purchase whole floeks of sheep, and to employ for the same purpose Hottentoos whom they have in their houses; giving for the cattle and other artieles of trade five times as much as the Company. To provide against these evil praetiees, and to check them as far as possible, six separate ordinanees are issued, prohibiting any person from going to the Hottentoos' kraals, or entering into convcrsation with them; also from employing Hottentoos in their houses to do so—under a penalty of standing in the pillory, and paying a fine of 50 Rds. No free men's cattle shall be grazed out of sight of the redoubts, or further than the Salt Pans and Riet Valley. No one shall go out either shooting or for pleasure, further October.

The Hottentots. 1667, October.

than the mounted guard, or the Tygerberg at furthest, without consent of the commander, under a penalty of 50 Rds. upon each person offending, and for each offence. No one shall slaughter any cattle without the commander's consent—penalty of doing so, 25 Rds. for the first offence, 50 for the second, and for the third arbitrary correction, in addition to the last-mentioned; these penalties shall be applied, one-third to the informer, one-third to the fiscal, and one-third to the poor.

November.

Despatch from the Chamber.—You will discontinue the construction of the fortress; if it must be resumed we must furnish you with slaves, as the labour of our own people is too expensive. We are of opinion that you can, in these peaceful times, dispense with more men. You must, after the 24th of April, send 150 of the present garrison to India or to Ceylon, for men are much wanted in India, where the preservation of our possessions is of much greater importance than at the Cape. We are much dissatisfied that, besides the kind reception and caresses bestowed upon the French, during their stay at the Cape—the commander, by way of returning the civility of the French Admiral or Viceroy, quitted his post in the fort, to welcome the admiral in his ship, in direct opposition to all military law—that he supplied them with necessaries, entertained and lodged a great number of them in the fort; all of these we regard as inexcusable faults—and direct, that on the arrival of commander Jacob Benghorst, whom we have appointed to succeed Mr. Quaelbergen, he shall resign his command, and proceed by the first opportunity to Batavia, to earn his living there or elsewhere, as a free man, out of the Company's service—or to proceed to Holland, as he may deem best. In future, on the arrival of Europeans, you will not refuse them water, but giving them

as little refreshments as may be in any way possible—giving them, in partieular, no provisions, ships' stores, or the like, but deelining all under the plea of your own wants and neeessities—thus allowing them, as we have often direeted, to drift upon their own fins—for, instead of rendering the plaee unpleasant to them, and thus keeping them away from it, pains have been taken to entiee them more and more, doubtless on aeeount of the advantages reeeived and enjoyed from them; and this is the reason why they have been allowed to pluek all the ripest beans, leaving the refuse for our fleet. The Portuguese in Brazil are mueh wiser in this respeet—for their aets prove that sueh guests are unweleome. The ships' stores were sent to you for our ships only, and not for others. On the other hand you did well to allow the *Hoogh Casteel* to strike to the Freneh Admiral, and the three guns with whieh you answered their fire were enough; if they will not eome there on these eonditions they may stay away. We learn that the Freneh have set up a post, with the arms of Franee, in Saldanha Bay, apparently as a mark of possession; you have not mentioned the eireumstanee. You should at least have protested—and you will eause the landmark to be removed, if you have not already done so. Information as to the situation of the bays on the other side of the Cape should be eolleeted, and what refreshments or other neeessaries are to be proeured there. The fleet to be despatehed next Lent will eonsist of 27 ships, manned by 4,200 men. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that eommander Quaelbergen's explanations appear to have been in some degree satisfactory, for that the same name appears in the list of Direetors of Malaeea in 1680—and that in the despatehes of 1687 there is no allusion made to the state of relations with the natives.

The Hottentots. 1667, November.

The Hottentots. 1668, January,

Despatch to the Chamber.—The wheat crop and the breeding of sheep have this year succeeded pretty well. We have begun to extend the gardens, and to grant spots in this valley to Company's servants and others, for it is certain that a morgen of garden ground will produce more offal to feed cattle, than they can themselves find on 25 morgen of pasture.

Commentary.

It is unnecessary to notice at any length the wretched political economy of Mr. QUAELBERGEN and Council, in the matter of the dealings of free men with one another, and with the government.

January.

The cattle trade with the Hottentoos has already so much declined, that they seem to have vanished, and two journeys which have been made into the interior with that object have been almost fruitless. This is chiefly owing to the free men, who not only divert the affections of the Hottentoos from the Company, by giving ten for one, but also, by acting in concert with them, keep us constantly in want of cattle, thus compelling us to come to beg of them, and to pay besides 9, 10, 12, aye 15 guilders for a single sheep. In order, as far as possible, to prevent all this perfidious and covetous irregularity, we have again brought to light all the neglected proclamations prohibiting this trade, and have begun to enforce them, placing guards on all the roads into the interior, so as to check this barter as much as possible; which measures have so far succeeded that the Hottentoos begin to come down with their cattle of their own accord, and we hope soon to get over this matter, and to see the fresh meat abundant and cheap. The Hottentoos have been always looked upon as very savage men, without any knowledge, but we greatly suspect this to be a mistake, for in our opinion they are very arrogant, equal to our common people in natural understanding, and more circumspect; they should neither have too much

of their own way, nor be too harshly treated, and thus they will learn to be more easily managed; needless disputes with them will be of no service to the Company, for they can do more harm to our inhabitants than we can do to them. Our corporal had been to the Eastward of the Hassequas. He had gone five days farther than CRUYTHOFF did last year,—he visited a new tribe, called the Gouriquas, and brought with him 170 cattle and 310 sheep. They said that the Attequas lay beyond them, and that to these ships come to trade and for refreshments, as happened about five years ago; and that a ship had also been lost there, the crew of which went away in a boat. It is also said that they have a hole in the earth, out of which they get copper and iron, and that they get out of the sea, coral, which they prefer to our red beads. They say that a month's journey farther is a river, (which they agreed in calling Sinjoor,) where there are large houses, and forts with large cannon. This makes us long the more for the return of the vessel from Mauritius, so as to be able to get further information for our guidance. The Company have now got about 400 cattle and 1,000 sheep, with a good many goats. But the pasture in the valley is not half sufficient to feed these and the other stock, and thus the ships have always got lean meat; we have therefore resolved to remove the Company's cattle to Hout Bay, where the pasture is so good that an animal, after having been there for three months, will yield more flesh when issued for provisions, than two of those kept here. The Hottentoos about the Cape seem rather overstocked with brass, and the cry is all for copper beads. We request to be furnished with 2,000 chains, of each of the kinds of which we send patterns.

The Hottentots. 1668, January.

Despatch from Commander JACOB BORGHORST and Council to the Governor-General and Council. The

July.

The Hottentots. 1668, July. commander arrived on the 16th June, after a voyage of five months and 19 days. The reason of the degradation of Commander QUAELBERGEN will appear by the accompanying papers. The state of affairs here is still pretty good, but it were to be wished that the free men and farmers were as zealous in agriculture as in keeping taps.

August. Despatch from the Chamber.—We are glad to perceive the good state of affairs at the Cape. More might have been effected to the Eastward of the Cape to procure a correct knowledge of the situation of the country. Upon such expeditions much depends upon the knowledge, zeal, and curiosity of the captains and mates. You have still 319 men at the Cape, although ordered to reduce the garrison to the number necessary to defend you from sudden attacks of the enemy. It is no wonder that the Governor-General and Council should have expressed dissatisfaction. Our possession at the Cape has brought us no other advantage than refreshments for the shipping, and you would make us purchase these at a high rate. All men who cannot make a living may be sent to Ceylon, Batavia, or even to Mauritius. Should sugar-cane and tobacco succeed there we should be inclined to colonize that Island.

November. Despatch to Batavia.—The state of affairs here is, thank God, very good, and our travellers who were landed in Mossel Bay from the *Voorman*, after having been absent fully three months, have returned, together with those we sent to meet them; they brought with them nearly 600 sheep and 141 cattle. Next year we shall send the party somewhat earlier and further, so as to discover the country and inhabitants, and to learn whether other tribes, or any trade, except that in cattle, is to be found.

1669, March. Despatch to the Chamber.—We proceed to report

the events which have occurred since the date of our last despatches. The mission sent to the East coast of Africa in August, by the *Voorman*, consisting of corporal J. Cruse and 15 men, has turned out well. Their proceedings, after having been landed at Mossel Bay, will be seen in the diary inserted in our journals. The corporal, who has had much experience in travelling, endeavoured to find other tribes, but he could penetrate no farther than within sight of a high range of mountains, some six or eight days' journey distant, and beyond these reside the unvisited and unknown tribes. The Husequas, who had not before been visited by the Dutch, stated that the range of hills could not be passed. They are much better supplied with brass and beads than the Hottentoos nearer at hand, but not much inclined to barter. Cattle are very plentiful among them, and we shall endeavour, through kind treatment, and familiar intercourse, to incline them thereto; and to all appearance your honors may expect much profit from that quarter. Our supplies of cattle from Saldanha Bay have failed through a war which the Saldanha Hottentoos waged with the Namaquas; they have been defeated, and robbed of everything, even of their wives and children, and are totally ruined. In this your honors were also, in some degree, interested; a lot of cattle and sheep, which corporal Bosman had bartered from the Saldaniers, were grazing there, these were forcibly taken from our people, and there was every appearance of its coming to a dispute, and leading to a general estrangement, but that great care was taken to prevent this. We shall, however, persevere in our endeavours to get into friendly communication with the Namaquas, in order to examine their country to some distance, and see what it may contain, but this will require time. The last expedition sent into the

The Hottentots. 1669. March.

The Hottentots. 1669, March.

interior, in January last, under J. Cruse, proved very advantageous to the Company. There is a gang of Hottentoos, called Obiquas, who had previously few or no eattle, and who make it their profession to plunder their neighbours of their eattle, either by stealth or open hostility. The Obiquas had, on several oeeasions, destroyed and ruined the flocks and herds of other Hottentoos with whom we traded, and also killed and massaered some of their people. The Soeswas, and others, were thus indueed to request our assistance in proteeting them; whieh, as not being thereunto authorized, we have at all times refused. During the last expedition, however, the matter burst out, for, on our party falling in with the Obiquas, and requesting them to trade, they not only refused to do so, but showed themselves to be very hostile, and designed, had not their murderous and rapaeious purpose been diselosed to our party by other Hottentoos, to despoil our men of both their goods and their lives. They were obliged, however, to defend themselves from their hostile attaek made with bows and arrows, and to proteet the bartered stoek. It turned out so well and fortunately, that our party proeured from them, in this reneontre, 175 eattle and 53 sheep, whieh were brought here. The Soeswas, and other Hottentoos, to the distanee of full 50 mylen inland, are mueh rejoieed, and hope that they will no longer be troubled by Obiqua robbers, nor we injured in the eattle trade. We have for some time baek east our eyes on a fertile and suitable plaee ealled the Hottentoos' Holland, (from its fertility the Hottentoos, it will be remembered, ealled it their Holland or Fatherland,) but from its distance, as well as the diffieulty of the road through high sand hills, we shall not be able to use it exeept in time of need, and as, besides, the Cape Hottentoos have possession of it.

We could wish that our free inhabitants were as zealous in the culture and establishment of the colony as they are solicitous about keeping taverns, and other insufferable practices, tending to luxury; it would be at once profitable for themselves, and better for your Honors; but this mischievous idleness, which may be called the beginning or mother of all other scandalous practices, has so much increased among them, that very little, if any, effect is produced by exhortation. The agriculture, thanks to God, is in a good condition, and the last crop of corn has turned out well, but the fruits and vines, as happens every year, have sustained some injury from the severe S. E. winds. We had hoped for a greater quantity of new wine this year, but have been obliged to content ourselves with 21 half-aums; the year has, however, been more fruitful than any that preceded it. The Hottentots. 1669, March.

Orders having been received from Holland to take possession of Saldanha Bay, GEORGE FREDERICK WREEDE, junior merchant, was appointed to command there, as being acquainted with the place, and familiar with the Hottentoos. It is taken possession of that neither French, English, Danes, nor others, now frequenting India, may be allowed to settle there, for the East India Company must be recognized as the first and true possessors, colonizers, and holders of the same, and may not be deprived of their cattle trade there. Mr. WREEDE has orders to carry on the cattle trade with the Saldanha Hottentoos, and if possible to get into good terms with the Namaquas, who are well supplied with cattle. The education of our slave youth in the true religion of God is so prosperous, that we cannot doubt their souls are to be gained. A despatch from Holland approves of the Cape government's measure of sending cattle to graze at Hout Bay, and announces the dispatch of several miners to

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the Cape, to search for the precious metals; also, the reduction of the garrison, including Mauritius, Robben and Dassen Islands, to 187 men. Voyages of discovery along the coast are recommended, also the granting encouragement to farmers, and that freedom should be granted only to cultivators of the soil. The resignation of Commander BORGHORST is accepted, and P. HACKIUS is appointed to succeed him.

October.

Resolution of Council.—To dispatch the *Voorman* to India, and to send on a land journey, Sergeant CRUSE, with 25 of the usual volunteers, in the name of the Lord. The expedition to be dispatched as soon as possible, furnished with three months' provisions, and the usual articles for the cattle trade.

1670, January.

Resolution of Council.—Since the Namaquas are not confident as yet, and not devoid of fear for GONOMOA and OEDASOA, arising out of the war which existed between them two years ago, and as they express their earnest desire that some of our people should first visit their kraals with some merchandize, under whose escort they could the more securely come hither on the return of our men,—It was resolved to send a party of six men, with six oxen, under a sergeant, to convey the necessary stores of merchandize and provisions; the party to go first to Saldanha Bay, to be there strengthened by four more men, and thence to prosecute their journey, in the hope that this tribe, so rich in cattle, may be attracted to us. The sergeant returned in 35 days; he fell in with only one kraal of Namaquas, and procured from them, in the most amicable manner, 67 cattle and 150 sheep, for the usual articles of merchandize. It is to be hoped that the alliance thus begun may be rendered much firmer on the nearer approach of the Namaquas.

In reply to queries from the Commission, the Commander says, that he considers the expeditions into

the interior profitable and unattended by any considerable injurious consequences; that natives could not be induced from a distance to bring their cattle to the fort; and that the richer tribes would not incur the dangers of the journey; whilst the neighbouring tribes had not cattle enough were they even inclined to sell them. The fiscal said the Hottentoos are a cunning people, and seeing that our parties leave them no time to supply, by breeding, the deficiency caused in their stock by barter, would sell no more except at treble profit, whilst the cattle were so poor that one-half of them died on the homeward journey. By discontinuing the journeys, the Hottentoos would be compelled to come to the fort, since they could not exist without barter, or sell their cattle for tobacco and brass to any but us. It appeared that the Company's stock had increased to 508 cattle and 2,299 sheep; and all parties agreed that, unless the Company bought some of the free men's half-bred sheep, now amounting to 4,697, they had no means of getting rid of them. The Hottentots. 1670, January.

Despatch from Commander Borghorst and Council to the Chamber.—Everything here, thank God, is prosperous. We still continue on amicable terms with the Hottentoos, and not the slightest difference has occurred with them. Should the expedition dispatched to the Namaquas be attended with success, we shall get well acquainted with that tribe, and may expect a profitable trade with them every year. They have now brought their hordes to this side of the Oliphants' River, so that it appears that their fear for us, and for their enemies, the surrounding Hottentoos, is no longer so great as before. The expedition, under Sergeant Cruythoff, reached the Oliphants' River somewhat too late, and shortly after the departure of the Namaquas from their rendezvous there, he fell in, however, with one of their kraals, who sold him, for March.

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the usual articles, a great number of sheep and cattle. He reports that there is every prospect of hereafter obtaining abundance of cattle from that opulent people.

Memorandum from Commander Borghorst, for the information of his expected successor Pieter Hackius.—The garrison shall not hereafter be increased beyond 187 men, which is sufficient for all our establishments, including Mauritius. Our chief strength here must depend upon the *burgers* and *boers*—and they now amount to eighty-nine men, who will increase more and more under good management. You will constantly endeavour to increase the number of colonists, as far as possible, of the Dutch nation; helping them to maintain themselves by farming and every honest and lawful calling, this will enable you gradually to reduce the strength of the garrison, and still to defend our fort and other possessions, without expense—even against foreign enemies. The Commander enters into a disquisition on the subject of the prices paid to farmers for their corn, which he considers too low, he had therefore raised the price of rye to seven, and of wheat to ten guilders. You will be pleased to continue the same line of policy, and to favor the farmers as much as possible, without injury to the Company—so that this Cape Residency may at length be able to depend upon its own resources, at least for provisions, and that it may no longer be necessary to import them at such expense for conveyance; as corn grown by salaried servants will not nearly repay the cost of its production, and as the Company's farm at the Schuyr is yearly sinking from bad to worse, it is thought proper to get rid of it by hire or lease—and to remove all the workmen and implements to Hottentoos' Holland, to cultivate there. Sergeant Cruythoff, an experi-

enced farmer, who is well acquainted with the country, doubts not but that, in a few years, as much grain can be raised there as this place requires, and more. You will therefore proseeute that work with all possible diligence, with a view, in due time, when the land is brought into cultivation, to give it over to free men, so as the better to impart to them the means of obtaining a better livelihood and the inclination to increase. You are earnestly recommended to attend to the rearing of hogs, for they are better food for the ships' crews than sheep. The Hottentoos have become too knowing and dear with their cattle, in consequence of the number of trading-journeys inland —it is accordingly resolved to leave them quiet for the first twelve months at least, and not to visit them at all; there is every reason for believing that this will induce them to come to the fort with their cattle. In order to make the trial, you are authorized to buy up for the Company all the free men's wethers; these might also be bought up every year, which is the more necessary since the farmers are prohibited from selling them to the shipping, or to private persons. Since the farmers complain of the scarcity of cattle, as well for draught as for milk and butter, we have divided among them, in all, 17 oxen and 30 cows, or heifers. Although the government of Batavia have discontinued their orders for Cape wine, this extends only to the wine required for their honors' tables; it is no wonder that the excellent Hogemer wine, so liberally supplied to their honors by the favor of the directors, is used in preference to Cape wine—still every kind of white wine is in great demand, particularly in Batavia. The Hottentots. 1670, March.

Letter from commander PIETER HACKIUS and Council to the Chamber.—Our former letters apprized you of the fitting out and the despatch of the *Grundel* June.

The Hottentots. 1670, June.

to examine the coast to the Northward. They returned safe, thank God, on the 26th of May, having completed her voyage as far as the tropic. Yet nothing was found, nor any harbour excepting Grundel Bay, in lat. 26. 36; and as to the utmost extent of the voyage they found no other tribes than Hottentoos; our projected slave-trade had no effect. They found no firewood, neither any water except far from the shore. She will be again sent to the Eastward to near Mozambique, with ten or twelve experienced travellers, on an exploring expedition; and the investment will remain on board, in the hope that a trade in slaves or some other merchandize may be opened. The commander allowed a French ship in Saldanha Bay to be supplied with water and vegetables, but sent the 200 sheep that had been bought from the Hottentoos there to the Cape, thus to destroy all appetite in these hungry strangers—and he approves of exchange of civilities and of presents between the corporal and the four French ships, but orders the corporal to send off the sheep, lest the French should take them under the plea of their being wild animals; he also approves of the corporal having sent his 19 oxen and 40 sheep to the Hottentoo kraals for greater security.

September.

Despatch from the Chamber.—We again direct that attention be paid to the planting brushwood or other wood for fuel, in convenient situations. We shall this year send out 28 ships, with 3,700 men, two-thirds sailors, one-third soldiers, and to send out, passage free, as many free men as may offer themselves, whether for the Cape, Mauritius, Batavia, or Ceylon, as they may prefer; as the appearance of matters in Europe is such that these States may easily become involved in war, we have increased the number of men to 4,000, and you will accordingly be upon your guard, and in proper posture of defence. Mr. Moo-

DIE says, in a Note, that this was deemed sufficient authority for landing 300 men from the ships to strengthen the garrison, and for resuming the building of the castle. The Hottentots. 1670, September.

A proclamation prohibits each and all of the inhabitants, whatever be his rank or title, from passing any outpost without previous leave of his superiors, whether to fetch wood, reeds, or rushes, or to shoot, or for any other purpose, under a penalty of eight *reals* for each offence, in addition to all penalties before prescribed. December.

Commander ISBRANT GOSKE—subsequently the first Governor of the Cape—directs in a memorandum, that for the purpose of preventing communication between Europeans and female slaves, male and female slaves were to be united as man and wife, but not formally married, until baptized and instructed in their mutual obligations; breach of both engagements to be punished, with this difference, that those of married females should be punished according to law; but of heathen, at discretion, according to the nature of the offence; Company's slaves were to be forced to attend prayers; children, the progeny of Europeans and slaves, of whom 12 were at school, were to be taught, and particular care was to be taken that they were not alienated, so as to remain in constant slavery, but that they might, in due time, enjoy the freedom to which, in the right of the father, they were born. The free men's debts to the Company were then *f.*7801. The breeding of cattle, as well as the raising of corn, was deemed a loss to the Company, and the same opinion was expressed as to the gardens; but Mr. GOSKE ordered a reference to Europe, before leaving these things to the free men. A hope is expressed that the Company's possessions may continue in a state of tranquillity. 1671, February.

The Hottentots. 1671, February.

Despatch to the Chamber.—We are still on good terms with the Hottentoo people, and according to the recommendation of Commander Van der Bronck, we have discontinued expeditions for cattle barter, in the hope that the Hottentoos may be induced, as formerly, to bring their cattle to the fort for sale.

May.

Despatch from the Chamber.—We observe with satisfaction that on the arrival of Mr. Van der Bronck as commander at the Cape, a company of free burgers and inhabitants, to the number of 70, (19 being absent,) were paraded under arms, all able-bodied men, capable of rendering good service in time of need. Every reasonable favor and assistance should be extended to them, and it is highly satisfactory to find that during the commander's stay, the necessary redress was granted to the free men, on which footing it is our desire that matters shall continue. It appears that, on the departure of the fleet, the Company and the free men possessed 807 cattle, 6,182 sheep, chiefly half-bred; and as one of these is deemed equal to two or three Hottentoo sheep, that stock should be increased, so as to enable us entirely to dispense with the other, and thus induce the natives to bring theirs at reasonable prices, when we shall be spared those long journeys for the purchase of stock, which stock are besides so old and lean that they either die on the way, or are afterwards left lying in the fields. You will accordingly purchase the free men's stock, when they are of the proper size and weight, at eight guilders each. You must think of the means of improving the breed of horned cattle and pigs, as directed by Commander Van der Bronck. No means are wanting at the Cape to such of the inhabitants as choose to pull their hands out of their sleeves to procure a subsistence by labour and industry. We find that agriculture has shamefully

declined, and that it would come to nothing unless some provision were made to prevent this. Since the wages of Dutch servants falls too expensive on the inhabitants, we shall continue to exert ourselves in order to furnish you with a good number of slaves, with a view chiefly to the advancement of agriculture. We highly approve of the price of wheat having been raised to 60 Rds. per load of 3,000 lbs., the Batavia price. We have considerable objection to the distance, the spot called Hottentoos' Holland, since it is about 12 mylen from the fort; yet in consideration of the necessity which is pleaded, and the high opinion expressed of the place, we consent to its occupation and cultivation. It is supposed to be about 2,000 morgen in extent, and that fully 1,500 muids of wheat and rye may be annually grown without manure, if 20 men, and the necessary working oxen and implements, are sent them. We are pleased to find that your income exceeds your expenditure by *f.* 15,285, and this state of your funds will be continued through a well-regulated economy. Since the Cape would be, from its situation, subject to danger in the event of a rupture with the European powers, you will make every preparation for the building of the new fortress or castle, and beyond the 25 or 30 soldiers to strengthen the garrison, you may disembark 40 or 60 men to assist in brick-making, &c. The Hottentots. 1671, May.

We cannot but grant Commander HACKIUS permission to resign on account of illness, which we do in the most honorable manner, as we have been well satisfied with his services. We have appointed Mr. ISBRANT GOSKE, who is well known to you, to reside at the Cape as governor, with the ordinary pay of *f.* 200 monthly, and 100 additional in consideration of the trouble of building the new fortress; and we have raised the Cape to a government. August.

The Hottentots. 1672, January.

Journal kept in the Fort Good Hope.—The gibbet, upon which the female Hottentoo was recently hanged, was observed to have fallen down. The said Hottentoo was again suspended on the gibbet for the satisfaction of justice. Five evil-disposed Hottentoos were brought in by the mounted guard fastened together. The guard stated that the prisoners had laid hold of a certain burger's shepherd who was herding his sheep near the guard-house, forcibly rifled his pockets of all their contents, and made off with a large portion of his flock, but were pursued and overtaken by the mounted guard, who rescued the prey from their thievish hands. Some Hottentoos brought by way of ransom, for the five prisoners, eight fine young cattle and eight sheep, but were sent back unheard, for the insolence of these people began to get beyond bounds and insufferable, and requires an exemplary punishment to deter others, more particularly as the prisoners are subject to the Chief Gonomoa, through whose means two of the burgers were so cruelly massacred last year. All the burgers were mustered in arms to the number of 93; it was a pleasure to see how well they handled their infallible weapons.

Commentary.

The above extract was rather funny, from being the first portion of the Record which it fell to my lot to transcribe after tiffin with a young 7th Dragoon Guard's man, Lt. Gore, at Fort Beaufort,—and by comparing what the duty of the Cape burgers was in 1672 with what the duty of Her Majesty's Dragoon Guards is in 1844,—a lady who was present, proposing that an additional standard should be worked for the 7th with a lamb, but without the golden fleece.

January.

The Hottentoos returned in four days with a greater number of cattle, but they addressed deaf men. In the evening, however, some came from other surrounding kraals, and offered for sale three good sheep,

which were bought from them at the usual rate, and two days after the Hottentoos brought to the market six good sheep, which were purchased for the usual articles; on the 16th three good cattle were bought from the Hottentoos, and on the 19th the Hottentoos again offered to pass off on us three cattle and twenty-seven sheep, but as some of them were not what they ought to have been, we bought only 19, rejecting the others as unsuitable. On the 23rd the surrounding Africans offered us at the fort 39 sheep, of which we purchased 33—and refused the others, which were very lean. The Hottentots. 1672, January.

Some people of Gonomoa's kraal came again to the fort, to request once more that we would release the prisoners in consideration of a large herd of cattle which they brought with them, but the smoke of their offering was cast down, and rejected as unsavoury, and they went away to their huts in the evening, as wise as when they came.

Those interested for the five detained Africans came again to the fort and offered a large number of sheep and cattle for their release, but their offer was rejected as before, as it is intended soon to let them feel something else, for their arrogance begins to be too great. The council of the fort, with the assistance of the burgerraden, held a court for the trial of the five Hottentoos before mentioned, and after examination three of them were sentenced to be flogged and branded, and banished to Robben Island, *ad opus publicum*, in chains for 15 years; and the two others, who were not equally guilty, but were only voluntary accomplices in the theft of the sheep, were sentenced to be also well flogged, and banished to the said island for seven years, as may be seen by the criminal roll. The five Africans sentenced yesterday, were this morning, about 11 A. M., brought to the place of February.

The Hottentots. 1672, February.

execution, and, after the sentence had been solemnly read in front of the fort, they were severely punished for their crime, as above stated. Meantime others of that people offered for sale seven good sheep, which were added to our flock, for the usual merchandize.

March.

Ten good sheep were bought from the kraal of the native captain CUYPER, for the usual articles, and seven days thereafter the member of the court of justice, ARNOUT VAN OVERBEEK, admiral of the fleet and commissioner, landed.

April.

The son of the burgerraad E. DIEMER, about 11 years old, who was in our hospital with a young Hottentoo of the same age, and they were pelting each other with the seeds of a water melon, which sport at length rose to earnest on the side of DIEMER's son, so that he took a knife out of his pocket, wounded the Hottentoo in the left breast, and ran away—no one knows whither, a sad misfortune for the parents, for if this happens in the green wood, what can we expect in the dry. The next day the wounded Hottentoo boy, who had been placed in the hospital under care of the surgeon, was found to have absented himself; it is certain that other Hottentoos have carried him away, perhaps thinking that, from their native skill, they can cure him better than us. As our live stock has been much diminished by the large fleet now in the roads, and as the Hottentoos refuse to come to the market themselves, we found ourselves compelled to send out a party to the interior. Sergeant CRUYTHOFF was therefore ordered to set out to-morrow with some active men to purchase some cattle from the surrounding Africans, for the usual articles. He set off accordingly, *cum suis*. God grant them a fortunate journey.

Resolution of Council.—The Commander VAN OVERBEEK stated to the meeting that he had been

reflecting whether it might not be practicable and serviceable to the Company, as well as necessary for the prevention of much future cavilling, that we should try to enter into an agreement with some Hottentoos, especially with those in whose land our residency has been, or may be established, whereby they should declare us to be the rightful and lawful possessors of this Cape district, and its dependencies, lawfully sold and ceded to the Company, or to us, the Company's servants, for a special sum of money; in order thus more firmly to establish our masters in their right of property. This proposal was considered very desirable, and it was resolved and determined to enter into such agreement accordingly, in the first place with the Hottentoo Captain MANEKHAGOU, *alias* SCHACHER, as hereditary sovereign (Erf Heer) of the lands on which the Company has already established *Her* residency at the Cape, and in this district. The Hottentots. 1672, April.

The Honorable the East India Company of England, trading to the East Indies, was said to have been long considered by the natives of India as an *old woman* residing in Leadenhall-street. Was this notion taken from Holland? Commentary.

The draft of this agreement is about to be made; and also, hereafter, to do the same without delay, with neighbouring Hottentoos. Thus resolved, in the Fortress of Good Hope, day and year as above, April 13. April.

Agreement entered into between the Commissioner ARNOUT VAN OVERBEEK, with the Council, at the Cabo de Boa Esperance, on the part of the General Chartered Dutch East India Company on the one part; and the Hottentoo Prince MANEKHAGOU, *alias* SCHACHER, hereditary sovereign of the Cabo de Boa Esperance, on the other part:—

First.—The said Prince SCHACHER promises, for himself, his heirs and descendants, to sell, cede, and

The Hottentots. 1672, April.

deliver in full, perpetual and hereditary property, as he doth by these presents, sell and deliver to the said Company the whole district of the Cabo de Boa Esperanee, beginning from the Lion Hill, and extending along the coast of Table Bay, with the Hout and Saldanha Bays inclusive, with all the lands, rivers, ereeks, forests, and pastures therein situated and comprised, together with their dependencies, so that the same may be everywhere cultivated and occupied, without let or hindranee from any one; with this understanding, however, that he and his kraals and herds of eattle may come, freely and without molestation, near to the outermost farms of the said district, and where neither the Company nor the free men depasture their eattle, and that he shall not be expelled from the same by our nation, by force and without cause.

Second.—Engages never to cause loss or injury to the Company, her subjects, or servants,—or suffer such to be done by others.

Third.—To endeavour to drive away and expel by force of arms any foreign European power which may try to settle in the district.

Fourth.—That he and his descendants shall be good friends and neighbours of the Company, and the enemies of all who would hurt, offend, or injure her or her subjects; helping and repressing the Company and her servants and subjects against all hostile aggressions.

The Honorable Company promise on the other part, to give and present to the said Prince Schacher, for this sale and surrender of the whole Cape district, a sum of 4,000 *reals* of eight, in sundry goods and articles of merchandize, this day delivered to his contentment; secondly, that she, or her servants, residing here in her name, shall allow Prince Schacher and

subjects the peaceful possession of his other lands. Should he or his allies be attacked, or his free lands, by other tribes of Hottentoos, and driven out of the same, he may freely come with his people and his cattle into the lands of the Company, where he will be assisted and protected against his enemies ; and if any question should arise among the allied Hottentoos, the decision shall be pronounced by the Company. The Hottentots. 1672, April.

On the other hand, he shall once a year, upon the arrival of the Orange banner, or homeward-bound fleet, deliver us a tribute to his protectors, the Company, some presents of cattle, receiving in return an entertainment at the expense of the Company.

The whole having been interpreted to the Hottentoo Prince MANEKHAGOU, he declared himself satisfied, promising that he, his heirs and descendants, shall abide by the engagement; acknowledging, at the same time, to have received the stipulated price, estimated at 4,000 *reals* of eight, in sundry wares, to his satisfaction. The contract was confirmed on both sides by the shaking hands, and signed and sealed with the Company's seal.

Done in the Fortress the Good Hope,
April 19, 1672.

(L. S.) ARNOUT VAN OVERBEEK.
⋈ Mark of Prince SCHACHER, &c.

Mr. MOODIE says in a Note, that a counterpart of the above engagement was entered into between the Council and "the minor Prince DHOUUW, hereditary sovereign of the country called by us Hottentoos' Holland, and its dependencies, assisted by the Hottentoo Chief DACKKGRY (*alias* CUYPER), *stadhouder* and guardian of the prince, and the Captain DYTH'KRY, his counsellor and representative." The land conveyed by this instrument is thus defined:—

The Hottentots. 1672, April.

"The whole district of the lands called Hottentoos' Holland, beginning from the Cape district, around its coast, and Cape False, with Bay False, and Yselsteyn inclusive. In both instances the goods were estimated at 4,000 *reals*, and are stated to have been delivered to the satisfaction of the contracting natives. A statement of the actual prime cost will be found in the Cape despatch of 11th May, 1673 *in fra.*"

By referring to the despatch, it will be seen that the merchandize for which Hottentots' Holland was bought, cost *f.* 81. 16. The Cape district cost *f.* 33. 17.

Dispatch from Acting Commander Van Brengel and Council to the Chamber.—We cannot believe that, by discontinuing the journeys into the interior, the Hottentoos will, for a long time, be obliged to bring in any quantity of cattle, for those who are nearest at hand have been so ruined by constant internal wars against their neighbours, especially during this and the preceding year, that some years will be required to recruit men, herds, and flocks; and on the other hand those who have obtained the victory and the booty, will not venture to come in small parties, fearing that they will be overtaken and massacred by their enemies, as has been frequently experienced. Your honors' orders relative to the exercise of the Yeomanry under arms, and to their being reviewed quarterly in the fort, paying a fine for neglect—were carried into effect for the first time in January—when a company of 93 fine active fellows, very adroit in the management of their weapons were reviewed within the fort by the Cape commander. The officers of the *Grundel*, who were sentenced to be dismissed and sent to Batavia, for leaving behind the 17 men, were restored to their rank, and had their arrears of pay given to them by orders of the supreme government. We have this year been free

from much unpleasantness, with the visit of foreigners; but some of our native neighbours, those under Gonomoa, have shown themselves rather mischievous, and about eight months ago killed two burgers who had gone inland to shoot sea cows and other large game, for the subsistence of their families, carrying off the oxen, and burning the wagon of these men. We know not how the dispute arose, or who gave the first cause. Some of these barbarians ventured, three or four months ago, to attack a shepherd, about an hour's distance from the fort, to rob him of a portion of his sheep, and of all he had; five of them were caught, flogged and banished to Robben Island for a term of years. The Hottentots. 1672, April.

Journal continued.—Sergeant Cruythoff returned with 60 cattle and 140 sheep, bartered at the kraals of Gonomoa—a great relief to us. A free man, residing in the country, a native of Deventer, wounded, mortally it is supposed, and in mere wantonness, with small shot, a native African, and escaped to Holland in a Danish vessel when cited to appear before a court of justice.

Cruythoff was ordered to supply himself as soon as possible with 18 active volunteers, and endeavour to procure a good quantity of oxen and cows from the kraals of Oedasoa; he was furnished with everything that is in any way in demand among these tribes. The Hottentoo Captain Cuyper, came to the fort with two or three of his grandees, to beg, according to custom, a bit of tobacco and a *sopie;* but he took nothing by his request, being told on the contrary, that instead of begging in that way, he should bring some cattle to the market for sale, which did not seem to please him. May.

Despatch from the Chamber to Commander and Council.—Hottentoos' Holland is reported by you to

The Hottentots. 1672, May.

consist of 2,000 or 2,500 morgen of land, to lie between hills of moderate height, between which, and intersecting the valley, runs a fine river of fresh water, abounding in fish, and falling into False Bay. It is stated that the ground is flat, and without stones to the very base of the hills, clothed with fine clover, and very suitable for pasture, as well as for cultivation; abounding, besides, with game, as harts, geese, ducks, partridges, and the like; the soil being better than at the Cape, not subject to the South-east winds; and that abundance of cattle are likely to be brought to us there. We have already authorized you to occupy and cultivate that land; and doubt not that the Cape will derive great assistance therefrom.

July.

Since Sergeant Cruythoff has remained absent seven weeks, may be detained by the swelling of the rivers in this cold wet weather, and must be in want of food, and especially of strong drink, the Council resolved to send out some known and faithful Hottentoos with those articles, if any of them could be persuaded to undertake the work. But whatever trouble was taken, and whatever offers were made to induce the Hottentoos to go, they all declined, partly on account of the cold weather and swollen state of the rivers, and partly from the fear of the hostile neighbours through whose jurisdiction they would have to pass. The commandant of Saldanha Bay, reported that the neighbouring Hottentoos were still quite disinclined to the cattle trade, so that he had only procured 117 sheep and seven cattle from the small captain who lay with his kraal close to the Company's house there. A certain African, a subject of Gonomoa, who came to visit some of his kinsmen, stated for certain that Cruythoff and his party had, on their homeward journey, arrived in the Soeswas' land, seven or eight days' journey distant; and six days after Cruythoff

arrived, bringing 179 eattle, ehiefly young, and 375 very fair Hottentot sheep, which he had bartered in the African country from the Hassequas, Soeswas, and other tribes, for the usual articles. He had not, during his journey, the slightest differenee with the Hottentoos; so that the reports to that effect, were only idle rumours. A certain captain of the Soeswas' kraals, named by us Claas, came with his attendants, under Cruythoff's safeguard. He eame in the name of his kraals, to pay his respects in the Hottentoo fashion, and to request that we would take care that their tribe, as well as other Africans, might come unmolested with their cattle to the fort to barter. He said that the war which arose among them some time ago was prineipally owing to Captain Cuyper and his adherents, who wished to compel them to give over their cattle to him, when they were bringing them for sale, that he might himself have the selling of them to the Company; this attempt, he said, was resisted, and from that time Cuyper would allow no peaeeful passage through his country, which had stopped the trade. Claas offered to continue always a good friend and neighbour of the Company, and desired that he and his people might be permitted to sleep in the fort at night during their stay, so as to be safe from the Cape Hottentoos, his enemies. He was informed that eare would be taken that he and his retinue should lodge in safety in the fort. The Hottentots. 1672, July.

In this manner, and in a thousand ways besides, jealousies and animosities must almost necessarily have arisen amongst the native tribes on the first introduction of European power; and it would have required a much greater acquaintance with the institutions and charaeter of the several tribes than the Duteh can be supposed to have possessed, to have prevented the breaking up of the clans, and the dis- Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1672, July. Commentary.

organization of society in South Africa. There was a curious article in the *Standard*, or *Spectator*, a short time ago, induced by Her Majesty's visit to Scotland, and her reception and protection there by Lord GLENLYON, at the head of his clan. The editor asked whether in Ireland, where clans had been broken up, her Majesty would be as safe as in Scotland, where all, except the clan Mc'GREGOR, had been preserved entire? and said, that out of this circumstance alone her Majesty's ministers might find the secret of governing the Kaffers and the New Zealanders.

The Captain CLAAS, of the Soeswa kraal, who came to the Cape under the protection of the Dutch Sergeant CRUYTHOFF, and who was protected by the governor in the castle of the Cape, was evidently an intruder on the lands of the minor Prince DHOUUW, and of his guardian CUYPER, with whom a treaty offensive and defensive was negotiated on the 19th of the previous April, and who sold, through that treaty, Hottentoos' Holland to the Dutch East India Company for 81 francs and 16 cents.

The war which the captain CLAAS describes to have arisen among the Hottentoos, resulted out of the circumstance of captain CUYPER and his adherents having required them to give over their cattle to him, in order that he might sell them to the Dutch, and is, apparently, only a continuation of the system which the Dutch found to prevail in the early period of their connexion with these tribes when the Caepmans or Goringhaiquas resisted the intrusion of foreigners with their cattle, and denied them access to the Dutch, unless the cattle were delivered over to them for sale, or in other words, until their brokerage was paid. In this manner the breaking up of clans has gone on from bad to worse to the present day, until the clans within the colony have altogether disappeared.

An evil of another kind afterwards arose, in the asylum or protection given to members of foreign clans within the colony, as in the case of the rebel chiefs of GAIKA during General JANSSENS rule over the colony, and during our own rule over it. To compare great things with small, this is only the same system as the French have found in operation against them in Algiers; in the asylum afforded by the Emperor of Morocco to ABDOL KADIR—and GAIKA, had he possessed the power, had as much or more right to punish the colonial government for the protection afforded to his rebel chiefs, as the French had to punish the emperor for the protection afforded to ABDOL KADIR; more right certainly, for the rebel chiefs were the undoubted subjects of GAIKA, whilst it may be questioned whether ABDOL KADIR ever become a subject of France.

The evil of breaking up the Kaffer clans is still in operation. I was present only a few days ago, at the interview between the Lieut.-Governor of the North Eastern Province and the Chiefs of the GAIKA clan, when the new treaty was read to them, which they were required to ratify. Their hesitation in doing so arose principally out of some doubts on their part with respect to territorial limits—and it may be that the GAIKA clan considered that the limits assigned to the Amagakabie clan, through the treaty previously negotiated with that clan, encroached on their just prerogatives in this respect. This will naturally lead to war between these clans—but as there is no intention on the part of the British government to appropriate to itself any portion of the Kaffer country, this will only involve that government in the necessity of protecting each clan in the limits which it has assigned to it. The system will necessarily have the effect of breaking up the inviolability of the great Kaffer clan, as it may

The Hottentots. 1672, July. Commentary.

have existed before the introduction of European authority among them—at all events it takes out of their hands, the power of redressing their own grievances in their own way—yet the system, if properly carried out, may be attended with good rather than with evil results, for various substantive clans may be raised up in the room of one great clan—and if the inferior clans are sufficiently protected, the system may work well, and give peace to the whole. There is, apparently, amongst the Kaffers, no one person now capable of ruling a great people, and these small clanships will be more easily managed by chiefs of limited understanding in administrative affairs. Of the power of the British government, when properly directed, to rule all in this manner, whether Kaffers, Hottentots, or Bosjemans, there can of course be no question—should it even transfer the whole of the frontier districts to chiefs of its own creation.

July.

An audience was granted to the Hottentoo ambassador, who renewed his proposal,—offering, if supplied with small presents of brass, tobacco, and beads, upon a pack-ox, escorted by Dutchmen to the boundaries of his country, and, if Sergeant Cruse were sent a month hence to the kraals, to deliver to the Company 400 cattle and 800 sheep. He was told that it would be more agreeable to us, if he would come to the fort with his cattle, and that if he feared his enemies, and would give notice of his approach, people would be sent to meet him, who would conduct all to the fort in perfect safety. This the Sousequa* captain, Claas, most gladly undertook, and promised to do; and it was resolved to grant him some presents of small value, to lend an ox to carry them,

* The Sonquas, it will be seen, under the Bosjeman Head, belonged to that tribe.

and to give him an escort of two mounted men to the limits of the Soeswas' country; the presents given consisted of 5 lbs. Brazil tobacco, 30 chains of copper beads, 1½ gross of glazed beads, 10 rods of brass, two quarts of brandy, and 100 lbs. of rice. The party was dismissed on the night of the 27th, but they still lingered about the fort, picking up a *sopie* here and there, until the following evening, when they set out with two mounted men. The Hottentots. 1672, July.

The two mounted men returned on the second, after conducting the captain in safety to the Soeswas' kraals, beyond the mountains of Hottentoos' Holland, whence he went on with the borrowed ox. On the 16th, Mr. Van Brengel rode out, assisted by two members of Council, to desire the Hottentoo Captains Cuyper and Schacher again to evacuate these valleys, as they had come too near with their herds, and had everywhere eaten down the grass; but, upon the arrival of the deputation, it was found that the natives had already removed. August.

Two Dutch soldiers and two Hottentoos brought from Saldanha Bay 134 half-bred and 117 African sheep, the first had been landed from Dassen Island, and the latter bartered from the natives from time to time. By a letter from the commandant, it seems that they had been attacked by two lions, and as the circumstances are somewhat remarkable, the letter is inserted here. Mr. Moodie says in a Note, that the part of the letter deemed deserving of insertion in the Journal, refers to the boldness of the attacks made by lions, one is stated to have swam off to Dassen Island, and to have killed eight sheep there. Mr. Moodie gives the following extract from a letter from the commandant of Saldanha Bay, dated the 9th:— September.

"With regard to the blame found with me by your Honor, respecting the barter, I can declare with a

The Hottentots. 1672, September.

clear conscience, that I have done my best, and as much as was at all practicable; for of the Cochoquas, there were only three small kraals hereabouts, from whom I could procure no more than four cattle and 40 sheep, and the rest from the Hottentoos of this Bay, (the Strandloopers or Watermans?) altogether 140 sheep and 10 cattle, of which 140 sheep and 10 cattle are forwarded by land."

October.

If we could believe the common Cape prognostication, that whenever we have a sea-breeze, with dark misty weather, about Saturday or Sunday, it generally brings in some ships, we might be confident of an arrival to-morrow. Our hopes were confirmed on the following day, by the arrival of the *Polsbroek*, with the Governor Goske. The Hottentoos of the kraals near us, brought for sale an old lean cow, but it was sent way, as being worth almost nothing. The governor engaged 30 Hottentoos, who generally loiter about the fort in idleness, to wheel earth to the new fort, on condition of receiving two good meals daily of rice, and a *sopie*, with a piece of tobacco, which work these Africans undertook with great eagerness. The Gonomoa Hottentoos offered five sheep for sale, which were purchased for the usual articles. The fiscal delivered in a report of the population—64 free men, and 53 Dutch servants,—their stock consisted of 6172 half-bred sheep, 486 oxen, cows, or calves; 38 horses, of which 29 were fit for the saddle, and 109 pigs. Besides the 64 burgers there were 39 married women, some of whom were widows, and they were blessed in all with 65 children, and 63 slaves, including women and children, so that in comparison with former years they seem somewhat to increase. The surrounding Hottentoos of Schacher's kraals offered five sheep for sale, which were purchased. Eighty soldiers were landed from the *Polsbrock*, and it was

resolved in obedience to the orders of the Directors to take possession of Hottentoos' Holland. Sergeant Cruythoff was accordingly sent for that purpose with bag and baggage. The Hottentoo Captain Schacher, and some of his followers, appeared at the fort to procure, according to custom, a dram and a piece of tobacco, but he was sent away without a hearing, as an impudent and shameless beggar. The Hottentots, 1672, October.

It will not escape observation that this shameless beggar—the Captain Schacher—who was turned away from the fort by his Honor the Governor, on the 27th of October, is the Prince from whom the Cape district was purchased on the 19th of the previous April, for 33 francs and 17 cents. Commentary.

Some Hottentoos of Gonomoa's kraal, kinsmen of the five Hottentoo convicts on Robben Island, offered to the governor, as a ransom for them, 10 remarkably fine cattle, but they did not obtain audience, still less did they attain their object. October.

After the second service the usual parade was held, and some Hottentoos brought a few sheep from Schacher's kraal, but the barter was postponed until to-morrow. Corporal Visser arrived from Hottentoos' Holland, where all was well. Three of our free men who went out a few days ago to shoot sea-cows at Berg River, complained of the hostile conduct of Gonomoa, of which these men are to give a fuller statement to-morrow, when the matter shall be looked into.—"We, the undersigned, do hereby declare, (on the 12th,) that on the 3rd instant, we were licensed by Governor Goske to go inland to shoot sea-cows, we reached Berg River on the 7th, and soon after our arrival one of us fired a shot at a sea-cow; we then saw Gonomoa approaching, accompanied by 40 or 50 Hottentoos of his kraal, all armed with assagais and bows and arrows; they soon came up to us, November.

The Hottentots. 1672, November.

and asked for some tobaeco and riee, which was willingly given to them, but seeing that we had more of the samc artieles with us, they all made ready their bows and arrows, and without any cause, threatened us, giving us to understand, in their way, that if we spoke one word they would take our lives, on whieh they set to work altogether, and robbed us of the rice, taking powder, lead, knives, and tobacco, and even a pot of rice, whieh stood on the fire, saying at the same time, "Duytsman! een wordt calm ons u kelum;" meaning in good Dutch, that if we made any objection they would eut our throats; they then threw an assagai at a dog belonging to one of us, which entered his breast and killed him on the spot, they then took the four lineh pins out of our wagon, and went away; we replaeed them with wooden pins and came away; after we had travelled some distance along the river, some Souqua Hottentoos came and warned us to ride out of the way, as they knew that Gonomoa and his people intended to pursue us that night, to plunder our wagon and oxen, and to put ourselves to death; we set off accordingly and thus escaped." A letter was received from Hottentoos Holland, reporting that the Soeswas Hottentoos * *

Resolution in Counеil.—Although our honorable masters have directed that we should discontinuc expeditions for the purehase of cattle from the native tribes; yet, as it has been ascertained by experience, that the natives who possess the greatest number of cattle, and with whom this trade has been earried on, reside at a distanec in the interior, and thus for nearly three years having never come hither with any eattle, chiefly from the fear of being massacred and robbed by our neighbouring Cape Hottentoos, their enemies, through whose territories they would have to pass; and as these neighbouring tribes are so destitute of

cattle, through the wars they have prosecuted against others, or among themselves, for some time past, that they bring nothing of importance for sale, and only now and then an old lean cow, or a small lot of equally lean sheep,—it was resolved, taking, too, into consideration the invitation of a certain captain of the Caynouqua Hottentoos, to send a mission to that people, who are abundantly supplied with cattle, and who show themselves much inclined to barter. An assistant and corporal shall be charged with the conduct of the expedition, aided by ten experienced travellers, and furnished with the necessary instructions for their guidance. The Hottentots. 1672, November.

Two men arrived from Saldanha Bay with 36 sheep, bought from the Hottentoos.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that in 1672, seventeen farmers had sown 44½ morgen with wheat, and 25 with other grain, and that the produce was estimated at 249 muids of wheat, and about 100 of other grain.

Received a report from Robben Island that the five Hottentoos confined there had escaped in a small boat during the night—a bold undertaking in such savages to trust themselves to such a distance in so small a *jolletje*, with only two oars, and no rudder; it is a proof of the strong desire which, in a state of slavery, exists for freedom. The governor being curious to know where the fugitives had landed, sent two mounted men to search for the little boat. 1673, January.

Mr. Moodie observes, in a Note, that the prisoners were presumed to have landed in safety, as the boat had been found on the beach—and I may observe that the adventure is the more remarkable since the use of boats, canoes, or rafts, either on the coast or on the rivers, appears to be unknown to the aborigines of South Africa—probably from the tempests with which Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1673. January.

the coasts are so frequently visited, and because so few fish are to be found in the rivers.

Our party returned from their six weeks' journey to the kraals of the Soeswas and Hassequas, with 256 fine young cattle, and 370 sheep; the last named people were disposed to sell more, had the party possessed more goods. Captain Claas came with the return party to visit us, and to welcome the new governor after their fashion. He was entertained with a bit of tobacco and a sopie; and, as requested, escorted back to Hottentoos' Holland, as the fear of his enemies, the Cape Hottentoos, prevented his undertaking the journey alone. He promised a good trade in cattle, and this courtesy was therefore shown to him.

February.

Six hundred and twenty-nine sheep and cattle were sent to Hottentoos' Holland, where, in the event of a European attack, they are less subject to danger—but there they are frequently destroyed by lions and tigers. The captain, Claas, sent a message by three Soeswas Hottentoos, to invite us to come and trade with them, and to inform us that the 50 working oxen which their chief had promised during his last visit to sell to us, were collected, whilst their countrymen were well disposed to trade with us, provided the party set out soon. They also stated that the chief Gonomoa, assisted by the Cape and Saldanha Hottentoos, had made war upon their tribes and their allies—the Oibequas*—and that before their departure the hostile parties had been in battle, with slight advantage on either side;—they were, therefore, very anxious that this bartering should proceed, doubtless because hostilities would then cease,—It

* Another tribe of the people whom it has pleased the Dutch to call Bosjeman, as will be seen under that Head.

was therefore resolved, since there is a war between these nations, to send Sergeant Cruse, with 20 active soldiers, with their arms, and some saddle-horses, to give us a more dignified appearance in the eyes of these African warriors. If our men should be attacked by either party, they will thus have the means of defending themselves the more vigorously. The party set out accordingly with written instructions to the following effect:—You will trade with Captain Claas, near Ganzekraal, about 36 mylen off. We are informed that the Hottentoo chief Gonomoa, assisted from this quarter, by the captains Cuyper, Houtebeen, Schacher, and Oedasoa, is making war upon Captain Claas; as this dispute does not concern us, you will not take part in it, even if requested to do so by Captain Claas—than this it were better to give up the trade entirely. The punishment of Gonomoa and his adherents, for their insolence against us and our inhabitants, and his evil designs against the Company, must be postponed until a better opportunity offers. If attacked it speaks for itself that you must oppose force to force—avoiding collision as much as possible. You will endeavour by argument to dissuade Gonomoa from the wicked course pursued by him towards the Company and her good inhabitants—explaining to him the probable result, and offering in our name, provided he abstains from war, to endeavour to secure him effectual satisfaction for any injury which he may have sustained at the hands of Captain Claas. You will in like manner say to Claas, that it were the best course to refer his dissensions with Gonomoa to our mediation. You will yourself do every thing in friendly terms, use no threatening expressions, and avoid all estrangement. Keeping constantly on your guard against unexpected attack, for they are, as you know, a

The Hottentoos. 1673, February.

The Hottentots. 1673, March.

schelmaytig set, and therefore not to be trusted.

A small vessel was seen entering the bay, she was decked in a variety of flags, and fired seven guns in token of triumph; she proved to be the *Flying Swan*, from St. Helena, and brought intelligence of the conquest of that island by our arms after a slight resistance; also, of the capture of a prize bound from Madagascar to Barbadoes, with a cargo of 240 slaves, she had touched at St. Helena for refreshments, and thus brought into our hands, beyond all expectation, these useful people. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that a minute journal of the expedition against St. Helena is entered in the Cape Journal; that it is stated to have consisted of four ships, mounting 110 guns, and carrying 634 men. The resistance was slight; the small garrison of forty men escaping in an English vessel. On the 6th June, the *Flying Swan* found the island again in the hands of the English. Sergeant Cruse returned with 133 fine cattle and 99 valuable sheep, bought from the Africans. He reported that the war between the Soeswa and Gonomoa natives continued; and that the latter, being the strongest, might in time ruin the other, and rob them of all their cattle; that Gonomoa was so much irritated against the Soeswas, that he would not listen to our interposition; but that he had, on this occasion, shown himself very liberal in bartering. One of Gonomoa's people was, the sergeant said, provided with a gun, which he well knew how to use against his enemy; of this weapon the Soeswas were very much afraid, as they had no gun to oppose to it; they requested the sergeant to take it from the Gonomoas, which he effected through dint of argument, and of threats used to Gonomoa. They said that they had procured the gun, and some powder with lead, from one of the burgers, for a fine fat ox, which the burger

forthwith killed and salted. The greater part of the bartered eattle broke out of the kraal, from neglect in not seeuring the gate, and set out along the road, but they were fetched baek by some men who were sent after them on horsebaek. The Chief HOUTEBEEN eame to visit us with a long train of Hottentoos, and sold for the usual artieles, four eattle and thirty sheep, and after getting another *sopie*, he set out next day with his followers. The Hottentots. 1673, March.

The fine new ship *Asia* arrived from Holland, having sailed on the 18th Deeember. She had lost 80 men, and had 50 sick, ineluding all the offieers, exeept the eook and the third mate; they were often unable to manage their sails. April.

Despatch from Governor ISBRANT GOSKE and Counеil to the Chamber XVII.—It has already been reported in what manner Hottentoos' Holland was last year sold and eeded to the Company in full property by the lawful sovereign for the sum of Rds. 4,000, whieh was paid with merehandize of the value of *f.* 81 16 prime cost. The land of the Cape, which the owners often eomplained had been wrongfully withheld from them was in like manner subsequently ceded by the rightful sovereign for Rds. 4,000, but whieh was paid for with the value—in tobaeco, beads, brandy, bread, and other trifles—of *f.* 33 17 prime eost; copies of both eontraets are herewith submitted to your honors. The delay in cultivating Hottentoos' Holland we aseribe to unwillingness on the part of the colonists. We have stationed there 15 Netherlanders for the proteetion of the Company's cattle and sheep, the greater part of whieh are sent there on aeeount of the exeellence of the pasture, and they would not be seeure from unexpeeted attacks of the Hottentoos without this protection, for that people cannot be much trusted. May.

The Hottentots. 1673, June.

Journal continued.—As the Hottentoos have brought sheep, and talk of bringing cattle for sale to the Hottentoos' Holland, copper beads and tobacco are requested. Two Dutch soldiers, who had deserted, were received from Saldanha Bay, also 53 sheep bartered there.

July.

Willem Willems, of Deventer, who had fled last year in a Danish ship, charged with manslaughter, committed upon a certain Hottentoo, having returned, and as he pretends, procured upon his petition, from the Prince of Orange, freedom from personal arrest, it was resolved to interdict the landing of that person until further orders. Two commissioners went on board the *Europa* to interrogate W. Willems upon the deed committed by him, and the pardon procured by him in Holland. Upon their return they reported, that on examining him they found that his petition to the Prince of Orange was full of false positions, and that he had employed the most glaring falsehoods.

Resolution of Council.—Whereas various complaints have for some time been preferred to us against the Hottentoo Captain Gonomoa, and his subjects and allies, for gross acts of violence and outrage committed upon Company's servants, as well as upon these free inhabitants, not only in the theft of cattle, and the burning of houses, so that a great quantity of cattle and a Dutch woman have been killed, but by the massacre of two of our burgers,—who went out last year to kill sea-cows and other large game for the support of their families,—by the burning of their wagon, the theft of their cattle, and otherwise; and also, now it would appear, that they have attempted to act in the same way again towards eight of these Netherland burgers who have gone out with the same object, having with them a slave, two wagons, and

12 draught oxen, and whom he has already put to death, or at least tried to do so; but that this murderous design has been prevented by the Captain Oedasoa and the Souqua Hottentoos, his allies and subordinates; he has surrounded and besieged them upon a point of land, whence they cannot escape, and where, being almost deprived of the means of subsistence, they may at length perish of hunger; and all this without his having made the slightest denunciation of the motives of this *unique* and hostile procedure, or sent us any intimation on the subject; these proceedings are entirely at variance with the friendly feelings of the Honorable Company towards these tribes, and when we think of the numerous favors shown to them from time to time, they excite great indignation, threatening entire ruin to our good inhabitants and their property; having a due regard to the service of the Company and the public welfare of this place, such things are no longer to be endured. It is therefore resolved, in order to deliver from durance our eight inhabitants, should they be still alive, to send out a force of 36 Company's servants, and an equal number of burgers, under the command of Ensign J. Cruse, provided with arms, ammunition, and eight days' provisions, with orders and authority, should it be proved that any violence has been done to the inhabitants by the Hottentoo Chief Gonomoa, to take revenge upon him, and upon all who may with him have raised their hands against our men, that their posterity may retain the impression of fear, and may never again offend the Netherlanders. This done.

The Hottentots. 1673, July.

ISBRANT GOSKE.

Ensign Cruse, with his party, was accordingly despatched with a letter of instructions—to surround Gonomoa's kraals and cattle, to summon Gonomoa

The Hottentots. 1673, July.

to appear before him, to give an account of the eight burgers, and to bring them without delay; then to inquire of the burgers as to their own proceedings, and what Gonomoa had done to them; should violence have been done to them, you will employ your force in revenging it upon Gonomoa, his people, and all who have aided them against ours; taking care to do no injury to women and children, you will endeavonr to get hold of their cattle and bring them hither; telling the burgers, who accompany you, that they may depend on getting their share of the cattle. Information was received with horror of the fearful massacre at Saldanha Bay, by the Gonomoa tribe, under the semblance of bartering sheep, of a corporal, a soldier, and two free men, they plundered the Company's effects, and would have murdered the other man, had he not made his escape and got on board the free men's vessel, the *Bridegroom*. It was instantly resolved to apprise Ensign Cruse of this event, to re-inforce him with 18 men—burgers and Company's servants, all on horseback, and to send him the following instructions: (The above details being furnished.) You will without delay hastily attack Gonomoa and the people under him, and endeavour entirely to ruin them, sparing none of the males, and doing with the cattle as directed in the former order. We send you a sail for the wet weather, and trust that the Lord will cause the murderers to fall by the sword, and that He may bless the Company's arms. Mr. Moodie says in a Note, that the words are *soo der eits dat mannelick is te verschoonen*—and not, as stated—Parlimentary Papers, I. 13, to spare none of the enemy. Received a letter from Hottentoos' Holland, reporting that a tiger had killed five sheep; the bearer stated, verbally, that some suspicion was created by the Cape Hottentoos

pitching their kraal directly in the passage, and as they are a thievish tribe, it was resolved to strengthen the garrison there with 10 men, and to throw up a breast work before the Company's station, also to fetch away all the horned cattle, so as to frustrate their object. It was further directed, that none of the soldiers should go without fire-arms, and that the Hottentoo Captain CLAAS should be invited to take an early opportunity of visiting the fort. Heard, beyond expectation, from Ensign CRUSE, that he was on his way home, that he had found the Gonomoa kraals, and besides killing some of them, had made booty of a large quantity of cattle; they arrived on the following day all well, with a herd of about 800 excellent cattle and 900 fine sheep; and delivered a detailed report of their proceedings. The *Flying Swan* arrived from St. Helena; she had lost nine of her crew of 20; but what distressed us most was the intelligence that the island had been retaken by the enemy. The Hottentots. 1673, July.

JAN VAN DER MEERSEN'S Notes of proceedings against the rebellious Gonomoa Africans.—Set out about dusk on the 12th with 72 men, burgers and Company's servants; we reached in a few hours the Hooge Dalen, the appointed place of resting; thence proceeded to the Roode Sandt, where the Hottentoo Captain CUYPER was encamped with his kraals, an African of the Gonomoa tribe lived there, we seized and bound him, and compelled him by severe threats of death, to point out, as our guide, his captain and their kraals. The instructions constituting Ensign CRUSE commandant of the expedition were read, to which all signified their obedience by acclamation. We were joined on the 17th by the re-inforcement of 18 mounted men, and received the letter of instructions to attack GONOMOA'S people and their allies,

The Hottentots. 1673, July.

sparing nothing that was male, in consequence of the execrable massacre committed upon our garrison at Saldanha Bay. The Hottentoo prisoner, CORAM, being threatened with death unless he would show us the enemy, assured us, that, unless they had removed, there was a chance of finding them. On the 18th, after we had crossed successively 26 rivers, and had come to the Moras River, smoke was seen, one of our most trusted spies was sent out, and he returned after dark, having seen some enemy's kraals, and some women digging up roots; we marched next morning before day-light, the infantry in front, the cavalry following; at break of day we reached the place where the enemy had lain during the night, but they had decamped at an early hour. The horsemen went in pursuit, and on seeing them the enemy fled, leaving behind, first a fine flock of sheep, and then a large herd of cattle; the enemy took refuge in the mountains; a horseman's pistols repeatedly missed fire, and he was wounded in the back with an assagai. The ensign with the infantry pursued two of the kraals, and took their cattle, the people escaping into the mountains, except a few who were not of the quickest. Our whole party assembled, and drove the cattle together, when the Hottentoos surrounded us, but they were driven back by the cavalry, and had no opportunity of recapturing any of the cattle, and they were driven into the enemy's abandoned kraals. In driving the cattle on the next day, we were obliged to leave behind some old ewes and young lambs, of which the Hottentoos who followed us immediately took possession. Two horses which were turned loose, and got near the Hottentoos, were instantly killed with assagais. Seeing that the brushwood might enable the pursuing enemy to make some attempt upon us, we hastened on with the cattle; on

reaching the flat they pursued more boldly than before; we gave them their own way for a little, and at last gave them a volley or two, when they turned back, abandoning all hope of recovering their cattle. We got all the cattle safe across the Berg River; on the following day we marched on early; it rained so terribly that had there been need no one could have fired a gun; but God protected us from attacks of the barbarians, who, in all human probability, might otherwise have destroyed us, and recaptured the cattle; and at noon of the 25th, we arrived at the fort, and gave over the cattle, which consisted of 800, with 900 sheep. God be thanked for His mercy! The Hottentots. 1673, July.

Journal continued.—The Hottentoo Captain Claas, who had been sent for, came to the fort, bringing a letter from the land-surveyor, stating that some Gonomoa and Souqua Hottentoos had been seen in the mountains. The horses and cattle were all brought from the Hottentoos' Holland; the natives seem not to care so much for sheep. The captured cattle were branded on the horns with the Company's mark, and from eight to twelve were given to the free men, chiefly those who live by farming, on condition that they should not be sold or transferred until the number was doubled by breeding; and that whenever the Company required it, the same number should be restored without payment. Eva arrived from Robben Island with her infant child for baptism. The Chief Claas and retinue departed to his kraals, well contented. It was arranged with him that he should bring his people to Hottentoos' Holland, or close by, in order, with the other Cape Hottentoos, to attack the Chief Gonomoa and his adherents, and to this Claas was well inclined, and promised compliance. The Hottentoo Captain Cuyper, with Schacher and Hoogen Laagh, came to the fort at our call, and

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like the Soeswa Captain Claas, willingly and readily closed with our proposal, so that we have nothing to fear from Gonomoa's attaek on the Company's stock at Hottentoos' Holland, or elsewhere.

August.

A deserter was senteneed to be hanged, his assoeiates to witness the exeeution with halters round their neeks, and to be flogged. It is a melaneholy thing that, to deter others, we are eompelled to have reeourse to such rigorous punishments at this Cape. Captain Claas came to the fort with a large retinue, and said that some of his kraals had already eome to within three mylen behind Hottentoos' Holland, whilst the rest were ready to eome as soon they should hear that it was resolved to attaek the Gonomoa people. The Captains Cuyper and Schacher, our Hottentoo allies, appeared with a very large retinue of their countrymen, bringing with them four prisoners of Gonomoa's people, whom they had diseovered near their kraals and attacked as enemies; they said that, although, aecording to their custom, these men would instantly have been put to death, yet, to show their friendship for the Company, and to afford us every security as to their intentions, they had spared the lives of their prisoners, that they might submit the ease to our jurisdiction in the first place, and then proceed therein aeeording to their eustom in the sight of every one. The prisoners were examined by the Governor and Council relative to the massacre of our burgers and of the Company's servants, and two of them were eonvicted, by eonfronting them with eaeh other, of having murdered one of the burgers and one of the soldiers; the other two had partieipated in that wieked aet. They were given baek to the Hottentoo eaptains with a statement of their confessions, that they might, in the usual manner, and as they thought proper, deal with them as their own prisoners. The permission

had scarcely been pronounced, when the Hottentoos, who had collected to the number of more than 100, could no longer restrain their fury and bitter enmity, but called out—"Beat the dogs to death! beat the dogs to death!"—accompanying the words with such a shout of horrid joy, as if all their enemies were already at their feet, and they triumphing over them, —each furnished with a good cudgel, impatiently awaiting the delivery of the condemned persons. When at length they were brought in front of the gate and given over, they were so welcomed and saluted with sticks, that, one after another, they sunk on the ground and expired. When the Hottentoos had sufficiently cooled their passion by beating and trampling the dead bodies, they were buried in the sea, and thus closed the tragedy. The sun had meanwhile sunk to rest. A dram and a piece of tobacco were given to the Hottentoos who had assisted in the spectacle, and they were dismissed. The Hottentoo Captains Cuyper, Schacher, and Claas, set out to-day, after arranging to bring all their kraals to the neighbourhood of Hottentoos' Holland, to be ready to attack the Gonomoa tribe at the close of the rainy season. The Hottentoos complained of a cunning act of cattle stealing by a certain widow, and as the charge was proved against her, it was resolved to content them by allowing them to choose an animal to their fancy out of our herd. The Hottentots. 1673, August.

Captain Soesqua, one of the chief captains of that tribe, came to Hottentoos' Holland, and stated that his kraal lay at Botter River, and that, but for the sickness of his child, he would have already come to Hottentoos' Holland. September.

Letter from Governor Goske and Council to His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange.—High Born and Illustrious Prince!—Merely announces to His

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Serene Highness, that in due respect for the signature, affirming it to be that of His Highness, WILLEM WILLEMS, of Deventer, was allowed to enjoy the freedom granted from personal arrest, being merely placed on a certain uninhabited island, close at hand, as well to secure his person, as to avoid causing any new disturbance among the native tribes called Hottentoos; he having perpetrated an act of deliberate and malicious homicide upon one of them; they are a free people, over whom we have no jurisdiction, they are vindictive beyond all example, and will not be satisfied before they have revenged upon the offender, the death of a father, brother, or relative. Mr. MOODIE says in a Note, that the explanation to the Prince of ORANGE, was sent in a despatch to the Directors, to be delivered, or withheld, at their pleasure; it was delivered, and the Directors informed the government on the 13th of May, 1674, that they would await the communication of His Highness on the subject; but you will meanwhile send the said WILLEM WILLEMS, with his wife and children, to Mauritius, where he may earn his living as a free man.

Despatch from Governor GOSKE and Council to the Chamber.—After entering into a minute recapitulation of the circumstances relating to the case of WILLEM WILLEMS, of Deventer, the despatch goes on to report, that they had lately most unexpectedly got into war with one of these native chiefs, named GONOMOA, and his allies—on account of their having devised mischief against the Company—done much harm to the free men in their cattle and horses, murdered in 1671 two of those free men, who had, with permission, gone inland to shoot sea-cows and other large game, although no cause for the act had been ascertained. This bloodthirsty person, seeing that his former offence had

passed unnoticed, had become so bold that he had recently repeated the act; having committed a like execrable murder upon some of the oldest burgers,— who, with their servants and one slave, had gone out with permission to shoot large game, having with them two wagons and twelve oxen. He murdered the men, he made booty of their property, wagon and oxen. The Gonomoa tribe approached Saldanha Bay, under the pretence of selling sheep to the garrison, and put to death the corporal, one soldier, and two free men, plundering the Company's house there of property to the value of *f.* 300, none escaping from this said tragedy but a single soldier, who forced his way with a knife, in spite of the number of assagais that were thrown at him, and got off to a vessel in her little boat. The despatch, after describing the formation and operations of the expedition under Ensign Cruse against the Gonomoas, goes on this manner:—We have got into war with that savage people, without having given, as far as we know, the slightest cause; but, on the contrary, ever since the arrival of the governor, sought every opportunity of speaking with the said Gonomoa, to endeavour to divert him from his evil designs by caresses, but he could never be induced to come to the fort; a plain proof that he had too long contemplated the offence he has now committed. It is on various accounts necessary to put an end to these differences, which could be easily done had we no foreign enemies to fear and to prepare for; and this it is which induces us to postpone further proceedings until a more favorable opportunity offers. We believe that we are sufficiently prepared against the annoyance which these people may, in small parties, give to the burgers who live in remote situations; and that is the worst they can do, so long as the neighbouring Hottentoos, and

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a great portion of the Soeswas, continue in revolt against Gonomoa in consequence of affronts suffered from him. On this account they have resolved to make war upon him,—they have in fact committed several acts of hostility against the Gonomoa people, and beat to death with sticks, in sight of the fort, four of them; they had previously to us accused two of these with having come to steal cattle, and each killing one of the burgers; this was done as a proof that they are in earnest, and we trust thus to have an opportunity of inflicting a satisfactory retribution for the wrong we have suffered.

Commentary.

This is the most critical period which has yet occurred in the history of the Hottentot tribes in the neighbourhood of the Cape since the arrival of the Dutch among them. It occurs shortly after the arrival of the first Dutch governor—for Governor Goske's predecessors were only Commanders—who, without referring to the conduct of his countrymen towards the aborigines, and looking only at the transactions under review, declares the aggressions to be all on the side of the natives, and proceeds to punish them on this limited view of the question, without first seeking to redress the grievances and injustice which they had sustained at the hands of his countrymen. Had such, indeed, been the intention of the home government, it is of course a question whether the local government could have succeeded in the endeavour to reform the clans,—or whether, had this been attempted, success could have followed the endeavour without first relinquishing all territorial possessions. The proceedings of the Dutch towards the aborigines do not, however, appear in so aggravated a form as those of the Spaniards in South America, for it is not here attempted to make slaves of the people, or to make those "distributions" of them amongst the colonists for

the cultivation of government or private estates. The Spaniards and the Dutchmen had, however, to deal with a people in a very different degree of civilization, on the commencement of their colonial administration. In Hispaniola, the Spaniards found a dense population confined in an insular position, destitute of cattle, which had not accordingly reached the pastoral condition, and did not require the land for the support of their flocks and herds, nor had they subjugated four-legged animals to their dominion. The object of the planters was accordingly to subjugate the aborigines to be employed in the mines, and in the cultivation of their estates. In South Africa, the Dutch found amongst the Hottentots, organized communities occupying extensive tracts of country, possessed of large herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep. It would have been impossible to have reduced these to a condition of slavery, had not the Dutch law of 1636 prevented that, for the aborigines had the means of retiring into the interior, where other tribes were ready to receive and protect them; they had subjugated the larger animals to their dominion; used the ox as a beast of burthen, and lived upon the produce of their flocks and herds, and upon the wild game of their country. In depriving the aborigines of their land, the Dutch therefore inflicted a greater injury on the people of South Africa than was inflicted by the Spaniards in South America by a corresponding measure. The Bosjemans in most part of the country, appear to have been the only people who were not possessed of herds and flocks; they were few in number, were mere mountain robbers, and lived upon the natural products of their lands, whether animal or vegetable. The oppressions of the foreigner have accordingly been more injurious to that people than they have been to either the Hottentot or the

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Kaffer; for when the males were killed, the women and children having no domestic animals to subsist upon, were at the mercy of the invader. The Bosjemans were accordingly in an inferior degree of civilization to either the Hottentots or the Kaffers. How far they had an organized form of government? or in what degree they occupied the land?—and whether in either respect to an extent which would have saved them from entire annihilation, according to the rules laid down by the New Zealand Committee of the House of Commons, can only be ascertained as we proceed further into their history? The proceedings of the Dutch government towards the Hottentots during the month of September, 1673, give indication, plain enough, of the approaching disorganization of one of the tribes; for that government is not only in arms against it, but has succeeded in forming a confederacy of other tribes, or of rebel members of the same tribe, for the dismemberment of the Gonomoa clan.

September.

Journal continued.—Almost all the Company's working oxen were lost in the quicksands at the mouth of the Salt River. A Dutch free woman, who was concerned in the theft of two Hottentoo cows, was sentenced by the court of justice to be scourged and branded, with a cow's skin above her head, and a halter round her neck; to confiscation of property, and banishment to Robben Island for twelve years; and her accomplices, in addition to flogging, to be riveted in chains at the public works for eight years. The run-away slaves of the free men were senteneed to have an ear cut off, to be flogged and branded, and the two ringleaders to work for the Company for life, for inducing four of the Company's slaves to desert. The female cattle-stealer was relieved by form of pardon, from the branding and the halter round her neck, and one of the servants from the flogging, at the in-

tercession of some of the most respectable females, and pitiful entreaties of her young children. The Soeswas Captain Claas announced that he had killed two Gonomoa Hottentoos—our enemies and his. He offered as a slave to the Company a little boy 12 years of age, whose life he had spared in consideration of his innocence; the child was, however, restored to Claas as his prisoner. The Hottentots. 1673, September.

It appears, observes the governor, form this circumstance that these barbarous Africans are accustomed to look upon the innocent with a degree of commiseration, which is little regarded by many Christian potentates.

A ship from Batavia was lost 11 days ago near Cape Auguillas. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the accounts given by the survivor of the crew throw little light upon the density of the native population there—and that Captain Claas was among those who went with provisions to them from Hottentoos' Holland. Information was received from Hottentoos' Holland that the whole of Soeswas' tribe, 11 kraals strong, had passed the Company's lodge two days before, and were now encamped at the Second River. October.

Captain Claas, the most discreet by far of these native barbarians, came to the fort with a retinue of 20 people, to ascertain, now that the dry season was close at hand, when we intended to join them in attacking our Gonomoa enemies. He seemed very eager for the enterprise, on account of the glorious booty which, on our suggestion, they were led to expect. He was told to spy out the enemy's position, and that our force would assist him, as soon as we had certain information on that subject. The Captains, Cuyper and Houtebeen, having pitched their kraals close to the Company's stable, the ensign was sent to request them, in the most civil manner, to November.

The Hottentots. 1673, December.

seek other pasturage—and they promised to decamp, and proceed to the vicinity of Tygerberg.

Captain Claas and some of his grandees came to state that there was an infectious disease among his people, of which nine or ten had already died very suddenly. This they considered a bad omen, as there was no sickness among them—and death usually contents himself with old worn-out people. He also complained of the ill-treatment of some of his people at the hands of some of the garrison. A letter from Hottentoos' Holland reported that the ill-treatment of some of the natives there was caused by those mischievous people themselves, who often tried to steal the men's rations and other things—they were threatened with being sent to the Cape, but they still continued so bold and presumptuous, that nothing which was not closely looked after was safe from their thievish hands; beyond showing anger no other kind of annoyance was however done to them. The corporal was told in reply to his letter, that neither himself nor any of his garrison must abuse or injure Captain Claas' people, though they might steal some articles —for the circumstances of the time did not permit that any cause of offence should be given to any of that nation.

1674, March.

Two despatches of this date, Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, refer exclusively to the peace with England, ratified and proclaimed at the Hague, on the 6th of March, to have effect in India in eight months from that date; the orders, usual upon the conclusion of peace, for reducing the Cape garrison, were once more issued. The French were no longer to be feared, and as many men as the ships could carry were to be sent to India, should this even delay the completion of the castle.

Memorandum for Ensign Cruse.—Captain Claas

has informed us that GONOMOA's people are collected in one body, and are on a march with all their force at Cleyn Berg River. You will march with .... men, furnished with 14 days' provisions, against GONOMOA's kraals. You will take with you such of the Cape Hottentoos as are inclined, and employ them in any way that may be required, promising those who behave bravely a liberal share of booty, to be divided on your return. It is neither our intention nor our inclination to take a parcel of cattle from that people for our own advantage; we hope so to employ our righteous weapons against them, that their descendants may be frightened from again offending the Dutch nation—extending at the same time, as is the duty of all Christian nations, our pity to the women and children. We hope for your return in 14 days. The Hottentots. 1674, March.

Your friend,

J. GOSKE.

Despatch to the Chamber.—The war into which we have been driven with the Gonomoa and their allies, is of no importance, but it has caused some uneasiness to the burgers who reside at a distance from the fort. On the departure of the Danish ship, they advanced in this direction with their combined forces, knowing well that in such weather we could do little against them with fire arms. We were apprised of this movement by the neighbouring Hottentoos, and encouraged by their offers of assistance, to check him in his wicked attempt; for if we had allowed them to become aware of their strength, and to advance farther, those on this side being aware of their own weakness, it might happen, as before, that they would have ravaged all the country in this vicinity. We therefore sent out 50 soldiers and as many burgers, under the May.

The Hottentots. 1674, May.

command of our ensign, accompanied with about 250 Hottentoos, who attacked, and so handled him, that to all appearance he will not again think of coming in this direction, or of annoying the burgers; none of our people were killed or wounded; most of his cattle, fully 800, and about 4,000 sheep, were taken as booty; the burgers were supplied with these to their contentment, under the same restriction as last year; and the Hottentoos have had their share, by which means, and the hostility which they have evinced against the Gonomoa, we have better security against their defection than before,—and the Cape is now supplied with as many cattle as the pasture can maintain; although the number of burgers has been diminished, as well by massacres by the Hottentoos as by natural causes, still the deficiency is almost supplied by the re-marriage of the widows,—being now including their free and lent servants 230, as may be seen by the accompanying list, including an account of their possessions in land and stock. Mr. Moodie says in a Note, that the despatch reported that the frequency of re-marriage, without due provision having been made for the children by the first marriage, had led to the appointment of orphan-masters; and that the free servants were persons discharged from the Company's service,—the lent servants were undischarged soldiers; a class from which the European *knechts* were almost entirely supplied as long as the colony remained in the hands of the Dutch.

August.

Letters from Governor Goske to Corporal Visser, Hottentoos' Holland.—You need not purchase any more cattle from the Hottentoos, except such as are instantly fit to be put before the wagon, or any sheep, for we have now a sufficiency of both; for the purchase of wagon oxen you will receive 25 lbs. of tobacco, and a gross of pipes, which you will dispose of in

the most economical manner, in particular showing no eagerness to buy, for the Hottentoos are very avaricious for tobacco. The Hottentots. 1674, August.

Your note of yesterday informs us of the intention of Captain CLAAS, who, with his own and other kraals, had come over to this side, to return beyond the mountains; we should much wish first to have some conversation with him here; you must, however, show no anxiety about it, but let him take his own way, only ascertaining in what direction, and how far he means to go, so that he may be found and sent for if necessary. Mr. MOODIE says in a Note, that a despatch of the 3rd November, communicates the satisfaction of the Directors with the exertions of Governor GOSKE in advancing the fortifications; in consideration of which, his urgent request to be relieved is acceded to. JOAN BAX, of Herentals, commander at Gale, is appointed to succeed to the government of the Cape. December.

Despatch from the Chamber.—Acknowledges the receipt of letters dated 10th February, 30th April, and 15th March; from which we learn with satisfaction the safe arrival of the ships from hence, and the general welfare of the establishment at the Cape. Upon your intercession we have thought proper to relieve the several free men, among whom you have divided the captured cattle, from the condition of repayment which you had imposed. As to the person WILLEM WILLEMS, you will act in the manner which you deem best, with respect to him and to the Company. The merchant CORNELIUS DE CRETSER, was captured by the Turks, and is still a slave at Algiers. The late fiscal of the Cape, Mr. MOODIE says, who had fled upon the commission of a homicide. 1675, September

Mr. MOODIE says in a Note, that no journals are to be found for the years 1674, 5, or 6, nor any de-

The Hottentots. 1675, September.

spatches from the Cape for the year 1675, and that a letter of 10th August, from the Chamber, adverts chiefly to the European wars of the period. The Directors pray that "the result of these wars may be a fortunate peace, in which commerce may shine forth with its former lustre; while writing news had arrived of the death of Marshal TURRENE, and the retreat of the French army." On the 22d of November, 1675, the Governor-General and Council acknowledge the receipt of nine despatches from the Cape, between January and September, 1675—a great variety of subjects are touched on, but no notice from which any direct information can be drawn as to the state of relations with the natives. On the 7th February, 1676, three more Cape letters are acknowledged, still without reference to any transactions with the natives. From all these circumstances some idea may be formed of the probable contents of the missing volume.

1676, March.

Governor GOSKE leaves a memorandum for the information of Governor BAX; in which he says that, after his administration of 3½ years, he sees nothing to alter in the instructions which, as commissioner, he had drawn up at the Cape in 1671; he goes on to say that agriculture had daily retrograded during the whole period of his residence at the Cape, and is little cared for by the inhabitants, that he had been unable to devise any other plan for raising corn enough for the colony; as soon as the castle is completed, the Madagascar slaves, who are a very industrious set of people, should be located at Hottentoos' Holland. The greater part of the cattle are kept there; and to defend these and the corn, 16 soldiers have been stationed at Hottentoos' Holland. The re-occupation of Saldanha Bay has been postponed, because men are wanted to build the new castle and in the war with GONOMOA and OEDASOA. The garden Rustenburg,

or as it is called, Rondeboschje, was hired by two men for 4,000 guilders annually, including a right to retail spirits and Cape wine in the country, reserving, however, the garden-house for the reception of the governor, but as one of the men was massacred by the Hottentoos, and his partner was unable to fulfil the contract, the rent was reduced to 3,000, receiving from the tenant the wine it produces at Rds. 20 per half-aum. The Hottentots. 1676, March.

The nearest Hottentoos, belonging to the Captains Cuyper, Schacher, Houtebeen, and Schepper, have all become very bold by their constant communication with us,—to keep them better in check, in the event of their showing ill-will or opposition, we have brought it so far, by gratifying Captain Claas and his adherents from time to time, that he is not only much attached to us, but also ready, when required, to be employed against the others; when, with the assistance of a few of our men, he could get the better of them all; he has been employed as a balance, and has pursued the evil-disposed Gonomoa. We deem it highly essential that he should be more and more attached to us, being a man, who, compared to all the rest, is very deserving of favor; he is very civil, and furthermore is contented with very little. In the charge of the said captain and others, there are still 391 native sheep, which he grazes on account of the Company, and brings a few of them when wanted, receiving in return, upon his appearance at the fort, a regale of tobacco, arrack, and rice.

Commentary.

If even a man like Governor Goske, the first governor of the Cape, is found so little to discriminate between persons, and so blinded by prejudice and self-interest, as to consider his ally, Captain Claas, so superior to all the other neighbouring chiefs, and not to perceive that, in his eyes, this superiority arose

The Hottentots. 1676, March. Commentary.

principally, if not altogether, from the daily and friendly intercourse which he held with CLAAS, and from the hostile attitude which the others had assumed, as well as from the absence of personal intercourse; if then, with a man like Governor GOSKE, such things happened, what injury and injustice might not be expected to arise out of the proceedings of Commander VAN RIEBEECK, and men of that class, when dealing with HARRY and his Strandloopers, opposed to the neighbouring Goringhaiquas, or Caepmans, as they were then called? The clans of the promontory of the Cape are now, however, fairly opposed to one another; one clan, the Goringhaiquas, is leagued with the Dutch, in all probability for its own aggrandizement, whilst the others are resisting aggression and struggling for wild independence. How the contest terminated, and how it must have terminated, we already know. But it will be curious and interesting (as the Dutchman said when he saw the Hottentot child, assisted by its mother, sucking the big tailed sheep,) to trace through its various stages the progress of a struggle which led to the dismemberment of the clans, and the annihilation of the Hottentots as an independent people.

March.

Memorandum for the information of Governor BAX, by N. VERBURG.—This place of refreshment is esteemed of the greatest importance to the Company, and the Directors have been induced to construct a new castle, which, after nearly three years hard labour, has been nearly finished by Mr. GOSKE. As this great castle has been built, it has become highly necessary now, still more than before, and it is a matter of course that a good Dutch colony will be planted and reared here. Any one who expected that the small number of Dutch colonists here would raise enough to subsist this place, has much miscalculated, for the

greater part of them have enough to do in attending to their gardens, so that it is indisputable that the Cape requires more labourers, and that, without a greater number of slaves, it cannot be brought to the state we would desire. The Dutch colonists here have the name of free men; but they are so limited and restrained in everything, that the absence of freedom is rendered only too evident; this will at once be seen by the proclamations and orders issued from time to time. I will venture to say that they are too minute, and in some respects rather too rigid,—if acted upon without connivance, the inhabitants would be subject to such constant and severe penalties, as often to produce their ruin. This cannot be endured by a new and growing colony, which requires to be fostered with more freedom, gentleness, and kindness. I make these remarks to draw your attention to the subject, but not in any respect to abolish any established ordinances, which requires consideration, and which must not be entered upon and redressed without the consent of our masters. I shall, however, take it upon me, hereby to direct you to avoid an over severe and rigorous system of government, and thus to give some relief and comfort to the hearts of the inhabitants, who seem somewhat dissatisfied under the yoke. The Cape is a place which produces abundance of horned cattle; but it is not equally rich in fish, of which we get but little. I think, however, that if the fishing hereabouts were thrown open to all, without tax or imposition, we should have a much better supply, this you may try, and if found good, it may be continued. The two following paragraphs are devoted to the subject of public buildings and schools:—"I have been surprised how each successive commander has from time to time built one thing or other at the Cape, each according to his own whim

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The Hottentots, 1676, March.

or fancy; there has been no determinate plan or scale for the regulation of the Cape works; the completion of the castle will offer a sufficient proof that no other novelties, in the way of building, are to be taken in hand, and to this you will steadfastly attend." "There are no permanent schools for the instruction of youth in reading, writing, and the Christian duties; and as in a republic schools are usually regarded as the nurseries of the state, it will be necessary in this infant colony, where a good many children have already been born, and where more will appear in due time, that a good school should be provided." The strength of the garrison is now 200 soldiers, besides about 150, consisting of officers, tradesmen, clerks, sailors, over whom are three commissioned officers, captain, lieutenant, and ensign, with four sergeants and sixteen corporals, stationed as stated in the list. This number we consider sufficient for the defence of the place, and they may be increased in time of need from the passing ships.

Despatch from Governor Goske and Council to the Chamber.—We remained undisturbed by the attacks of Gonomoa and his allies until November last. He then, with his whole force, attacked during the night our allies, the Cape Hottentoos, who lay about three mylen off, killing several of them, and carrying off a great portion of their cattle. Of this we were informed by express, and instantly sent to the assistance of our allies a party of horse and foot; they returned unsuccessful after an absence of three days, for Gonomoa and his people had retreated before their arrival, and the Cape Hottentoos were not disposed to follow their enemy. Fifteen of the Gonomoa Hottentoos were killed on this occasion. We have often intended to send out another expedition to take our revenge, (resentment,) but all the garrison could not

be spared. This will, however, be necessary, as well to prevent the boldness of the Gonomoas from increasing, as to relieve the losses of the burgers, for no cattle can be spared to them for two years. The losses the burgers have suffered, now compel them to repeat the request made to your honors last year, to be freed from restoring, head for head, the Gonomoa cattle which were granted to them, and to be allowed to retain those cattle in lawful property. The amount of the burgers' cattle, and other property, may be seen from the accompanying roll; they themselves have rather diminished than increased since our last letters; three families, those of two drunken tailors and another idler having been permitted to remove to Batavia. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the losses of the burgers are accounted for in the same despatch; and that, after stating that the crops had partially failed from drought, and that the orchard and vegetable garden had failed from the same cause; the despatch proceeds:—"The barrenness of the pasture, in every quarter, has caused a great mortality among the Company's cattle, as well as those of the free men. We will hope, and pray God, that the next season may be better." The Hottentots. 1676, March.

In the distressed circumstances to which the colonists were reduced, it is not surprising to find them anxious to make good their losses through adverse season, by pouncing on the Gonomoa cattle. But it is painful to find Governor Goske, in his last despatch to the Chamber, regretting his inability to carry on the war against the Gonomoa Hottentots, that the losses of the burgers might be made good. Commentary.

Letters from Governor Bax to the corporal and sergeant at Hottentoos' Holland, relate merely to a report received at the fort relative to the massacre of some burgers by Hottentoos. March.

The Hottentots. 1676, March.

Resolution of Council.—The governor stated to the meeting that a report had been received from Hottentoos' Holland, that murder had been committed near the Brede River, upon three free men by a kraal of Souquas, called in the Hottentoo language Obiquas, but dependents on Gonomoa, and regarded as bush-rangers *(bosloopers)*, just as, some time back, eight or 10 free men were unexpectedly attacked and miserably massacred by the Gonomoa tribe. H. E. proposed that this mischievous and hereditary enemy, who was a disturber and a pest to the Company, as well as to the free men residing here, should be sought for without delay; that we should endeavour to surprise their kraals, and reduce them to general tranquillity. It was therefore resolved, as soon as possible, since the wet season is now approaching, to dispatch Lieut. Cruse with 50 soldiers, 50 free men, and a number of the Hottentoos in amity with the Company, provided for three weeks, and that on their return the booty which, by God's blessing, may thus be procured, shall be divided, *na rata*, by the Governor and Council. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the Parliamentary Papers, p. 13, give the substance of the Resolution: —"The booty which might be obtained was to be divided between the Government & Co. *pro rata*."

Memorandum for the guidance of Lieut. Cruse.—Above all we recommend you to take care of your Netherlanders, whether soldiers or burgers, preserving discipline, keeping together, and avoiding many dangers, as well from wild animals as from the enemy. We cannot say what road to take, or where you will find the enemy. Captain Claas, who accompanies you, has sent out spies, and will communicate with you from time to time during the march; we trust that he will assist you in everything with his accustomed fidelity. Captains Cuyper, Schacher, Houtebeen,

&c. should also go with you, so as the better to bind them to us,—they have already been warned, and you may easily piek them up as you pass. You already know how you are to attack the enemy, and what the intention is in that respect. We refer you to the memorandum of Mr. Goske in that respect; that is to say, rather to destroy the persons of our enemies, excepting women and children, than to plunder them of any cattle; if, however, you can only overtake their cattle, these must be taken and brought hither. The division will be made by us here. You may, however, freely promise the burgers and our Hottentoos a good share of the booty. We would wish you to be absent not more than three weeks; you will undertake nothing important without due consultation with each other as to the best mode of operation. The council shall consist of the following persons—five are named, besides the sergeants of troops and other burgers. Your (Lieut. Cruse) conduct and experience are sufficiently known, and we doubt not but that you will behave like brave men, and endeavour courageously to revenge the blood of our murdered countrymen. The Hottentots. 1676, March.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that a despatch of May. of the 16th, from Holland, contains no instructions directly affecting the natives; but that it approves of some farmers having been induced to settle in Hottentoos' Holland on fourteen years' lease, and trust that their industry will entitle them to look forward to obtaining freehold titles; the advancement of agriculture and the reduetion of expenditure are enforced as usual; and the introduetion of slaves is, as usual, viewed as a means of forwarding both objects.

A Resolution of Council, dated 27th March states, the murder of the burgers to have been committed "by a tribe called Obiquas, who are principally ban-

The Hottentots. 1676, May.

ditti *(bos en land stroopers)*, but dependant on Gonomoa." "The Chief Claas stated his readiness to look after the murderers, and the kraals of Gonomoa, the Company's misehievous enemy." In a despateh from the Directors, dated 11th May, Mr. Moodie says, that after deseribing briefly the Company's policy towards the natives, and the motives of that policy, they proceed:—"The murder eommitted by the hostile Hottentoos upon three of our free burgers, demands revenge at a fitting opportunity, and if we could then pacify them, we should deem sueh to be for the interest of the Company; and that similar views will be found in a Cape despateh, dated March 14th:—"Our people have killed seven of their fighting men in revenge for the murders committed by them, and we shall now try whether we eannot induce them to pray for peace, as we eoneeive that we have now executed sufficient revenge. It will also be best for us to live on terms of friendship with him and all others, so as to proeure eattle enough for the shipping."

August.

A Resolution of Council sets forth—that as eattle are much wanted, the supply from breeding not being sufficient to re-plaee those required by the shipping, destroyed by beasts of prey, and lost through disease and accident,—an expedition, eonsisting of a sergeant and 24 experienced travellers, shall be sent into the interior to purchase cattle; an invitation to this effect had, too, been received from the Hosequas through Captain Claas; and that tribe had, for the purpose of cattle barter, approached to within three days' journey of Hottentoos' Holland; the tribe is abundantly supplied with the cattle required by us.

October.

A Resolution of Council sets forth—the various acts of murder eommitted by Gonomoa and his adherents, with the proeeedings of the former expeditions sent

against him "to take vengeance for the shedding of innocent blood;" but as the expedition was not, in consequence of some accidents, carried properly into execution, and as we have not yet attained the object of taking proper revenge upon the murderers; and seeing that these tribes are, as experience has taught us, of a very treacherous disposition; that they are not to be brought to peace or quiet by any practicable means, or to the highly necessary cattle trade; and that the Company's illustrious dignity has only been wounded by making too long speeches to that worthless brood, without effecting much by such means, and as they consequently think only of ruining our people, and take them at a disadvantage on every opportunity;—for these, and other pregnant reasons, the governor assembled the Council, and laid before them the good opportunity there appeared to be of getting hold of Gonomoa. His excellency stated in substance, that a burger had come from Saldanha Bay, and brought with him, in his vessel, a deadly enemy of Gonomoa, a Hottentoo named Captain Jacob, whom Gonomoa had reduced to poverty and ruin. The burger and Captain Jacob appeared before the Council, the latter having been sent by the former to Gonomoa with a little tobacco under the pretence of bartering cattle; he had been promised a good reward if he would take a careful observation of the situation of their kraals; all this was done by Jacob, who purchased five sheep from them for himself. He reported on his return that Gonomoa was in the Suyker Bergen, only a day's journey beyond the Berg River; that he could be taken by surprise in front and in rear, more particularly, because the Namaquas and Ciregrequas, their sworn enemies, lie in their rear, and are also desirous of attacking them upon a favorable opportunity, and consequently that

The Hottentots. 1676, October.

The Hottentots. 1676, October.

they could not flee in that direction. Captain JACOB offered besides to be our guide, and to take every opportunity of showing his affection and fidelity to the Company. We came to the conclusion that GONOMOA is there, or in that vicinity, having with him a great quantity of cattle, in which the Company is very ill furnished. It was resolved, in God's name, to make in the most secret manner the necessary arrangements for an expedition into the interior, for Sunday next, and to employ, at their own urgent request, two members of Council in command of the same, both being persons of much experience; and that to the whites, soldiers and free burgers, should be added seven of the most faithful Hottentoos. Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, that the instructions issued to Captain SMUTS and Lieut. CRUSE are, *mutatis mutandis*, identical with those of March.

November.

Resolution of Council.—Since Captain SMUTS and Lt. CRUSE, who returned from the interior with their followers upon the 19th and 23d instant (their instructions bear date the 1st), have not been able, to our sorrow, to beat up the quarters of GONOMOA himself, as was desired, in consequence, as we are informed, of previous warning of our approach, conveyed to him by our faithless spies; but as our party have taken from one of his accompliees, named Captain CEES, 165 cattle and 30 sheep, which he was grazing near Saldanha Bay, for said GONOMOA, and shot some Hottentoos, though only a few, in retribution for the blood formerly shed; and seeing that this booty will, according to the calculation made, fully compensate the Company for the cost of the expedition, but would still be insufficient to satisfy all the Hottentoos and free men, according to our wish; it was therefore thought proper to give to some of the Hottentoo captains, who behaved particularly well, so as to

encourage them at all times to serve the Company, some tobacco, beads, bread, and eight cattle of various sizes; to the common Hottentoos some tobacco, beads, and bread, according to desert; and to the free men (that they also may not be discouraged) a day of merriment instead of cattle; and lastly, as it is to be feared that GONOMOA and his adherents, will, for the reasons above stated, endeavour by every practicable means, to injure the Company in return, and to revenge himself by every sinister and hostile device, it was deemed highly necessary to take all due precaution in every quarter, to send eight well armed soldiers, under a corporal, for the protection of the Company's cattle at Riet Valley, &c., to direct the party at Hottentoos' Holland to be constantly on their guard against sudden attacks.

The Hottentots. 1676. November.

This done, &c.

It seems to have been a common usage with all the native tribes to entrust herds of cattle to members of their own or of other tribes, to be herded at pasture; and we have already seen* that a person belonging to this very tribe, who had appropriated to his own use cattle thus entrusted to his charge, had sought and found refuge among the Namaquas; that this led to a war between the tribes, and afforded to the Dutch an opportunity of acting as umpires between them. It was on a herd of cattle entrusted by GONOMOA to Captain CEES, that the Dutch expedition pounced near Saldanha Bay; whether CEES belonged to GONOMOA's tribe does not very clearly appear, but whether he did or not, he would necessarily be held responsible for the safe keeping of the cattle, and probably be charged with collusion with the Dutch in losing them. Poor CEES could have little opportunity or means of

Commentary.

* Probably under the Bosjeman Head.

The Hottentots. 1676, November. Commentary.

recovering the cattle from so powerful an enemy, as he might have done from a neighbouring tribe; and out of this arises another cause of dissension or disunion amongst the native tribes, and a complication of their relations, through the introduction of a foreign and powerful rival. Mr. De Beer told me that it was a common practice with him to send his cattle for pasturage into the Tambookie territory, where they were perfectly safe, and sure to be returned, on payment of the established grazing fee; and, indeed, with the nomadic Dutch settlers on the Tarka Plains, this is the common usage, more especially on a failure of rain within the colonial border. It is curious to trace analagous usages in different countries. In India every government has pasturage lands, in almost every village, and people grazing their cattle on these lands, whether their own subjects, or the subjects of another government, pay what is called "gao chhurae;" the person undertaking to tend the cattle is held responsible for their safe keeping; and the government, in whose territory they were lost, is responsible, and would afford indemnification for the loss sustained. This system prevails to a greater extent amongst the nomadic Bolooch, who descend with their herds and flocks to the plains on Sind, from their mountains in the neighbourhood of Kelat, on the setting in of the winter; returning when the heats of Sind become too intense for these mountaineers, or when the pasturage of the plains fail. One of these tribes, called Kossas, wander with their herds and flocks into the neighbouring states of Rajpootana, and some of them have in late years even settled there. The nomadic life has necessarily, in those regions, produced an unsettled state of society; and the British government has on several occasions been obliged to employ troops against the Kassas.

When I left Rajpootana in the end of 1843, we were in arms against several thousand of them—cavalry and infantry—who had been thrown loose upon the public by our conquest of Scind, and by the change thus produced in the relations by which they were united with the Amcers; when no such changes occur, the rights and privileges of the nomadic tribes being sufficiently understood by themselves, and recognized by others, comparative tranquillity prevails. I see by the newspapers that the predatory warfare between the nomadic Bolooch and Kossas still continues with our troops, but how it is to terminate I cannot know until my return to Rajpootana. The Hottentots. 1676, November.

Resolution of Council.—Whereas the Company, on the last expedition performed by Sergeant Visser and his party on the 3d September, from the want of good tobacco, procured in barter from the Hassequas only 279 cattle and 226 sheep,—the governor, after the usual application to God, stated to the Council that Captain Claas, one of the chiefs of the Sousoas, had proposed to assist us with a good number of cattle for the usual articles. It was resolved in the hope of a good trade with Claas, as well as with the Hosequas, to try by this means to procure some more from the said African; to send a mission thither, and to employ thereon, at his own request, Lieut. Cruse, with a sergeant, two corporals, and twenty-four soldiers; and as the Company has no more good tobacco, it being mostly rotten from long keeping, although Governor Goske, in order to preserve it, had it sprinkled with brandy, and re-spun; the Council were compelled to buy 400 lbs. from Lieut. Cruse, at the rate of two light guilders per pound, and rather to divide the spoiled tobacco among the Company's slaves, who have been recently increased by the number of 250, than to allow it to lie any longer, without December.

The Hottentots. 1676, December.

getting any good for it at last. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that no journal for 1676 has been found, but that the letters dispatched are complete, and continue so down to 1787; and further, that a despatch from Batavia, acknowledging the receipt of ten letters between January and August, contains no allusion to hostilities, but has the following passages:—"The continued welfare of your government is highly gratifying;" "as your letter of August 23rd gives promise of a good harvest, we will hope the best, and that you may in time conquer and get the mastery of the destructive lions and wolves at Hottentoos' Holland."

1677, January.

Journal of Governor Johan Bax.—Sent two ships to Saldanha Bay to be repaired,—provided with ample instructions. Extracts:—"As we are at open war with the Hottentoos thereabouts, you must be well on your guard, and not place any reliance on them, under whatever fair pretence they may approach you; more particularly as our people have lately captured the kraals of a Hottentoo captain residing there, he will consequently allow no opportunity to slip of injuring the Company by every sinister device; no one must land without fire-arms, on pain of severe punishment. But, at the same time, in order to create no further estrangement, it is our desire that these natives shall not sustain the slightest injury or act of hostility, except in case of the first cause being given from their side, you must then repel them in such a manner that they will not think of coming back." The governor met about nine at night, before the old fort, a party of forty or fifty Hottentoos armed with assagais; he asked whither they were going thus armed? and they replied, that the Captains Cuyper and Thomas were fighting against the kraal of Schacher, and that, according to express intelligence which had reached them, those captains had already taken the greater

part of SCHACHER's cattle. A horseman was forthwith dispatched to summon CUYPER, THOMAS, and SCHACHER, that inquiry might be made into the cause of this disturbance. The Hottentots. 1677, January.

The Hottentoo captains having arrived, were interrogated by the governor as to the circumstances of the disputes which had arisen between them; in the first place, they positively denied the whole; saying, that there was no difference among them, but when closely examined, they confessed that Captain SCHACHER's people had lost a cow in the fields, which was found concealed in their kraal by the people of Captain THOMAS, but that SCHACHER suspecting that the cow had been killed by THOMAS' people, had seized and killed a cow belonging to him. THOMAS then sent home SCHACHER's cow, but on subsequently missing his own, and learning that it had been slaughtered by SCHACHER's people, he caused his people to steal and slaughter, in revenge, three of SCHACHER's cattle; all these disputes had set them by the ears; but on the recommendation of the governor, they had arranged all in an amicable manner, and they promised that should either of them be again injured by another, he would first communicate with us before taking revenge, in order that the guilty person might be punished according to his deserts; and that they would endeavour to continue good neighbours and faithful allies. February.

It would be extremely interesting were it possible to trace to its termination the process through which a dispute of even this trifling character was settled among the Hottentoo clans, for that the dispute was between clans or tribes, is quite apparent. But the presence of a foreign power on the scene renders this hopeless; and it was probably not the wish or interest of the Dutch government that the clans should remain Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1677, February. Commentary.

unbroken, or judges in their own affairs, of even a trivial character; we must accordingly address ourselves to the less interesting task of taking a review of the proceedings of the Dutch government, in as far as the records of their administration admit of our doing so. The forty or fifty armed men whom the governor met near the old fort at nine o'clock at night, were probably coming to the Dutch authorities to seek their interposition or mediation in the dispute which had arisen between the clans,—whilst the separate treaties which had been entered into on the 19th of April, 1672, with CUYPER and SCHACHER, two of the appellants, rendered it impossible that the governor should refuse his mediation; for the first article of the engagement, on the side of the Dutch, is clearly of a defensive character.

February.

The captains were told that four Madagascar slaves belonging to the Company had deserted, that three fathoms of tobacco would be paid for each on their apprehension, and the captains engaged to use their best endeavours to find the slaves.

Lieut. CRUSE returned from his journey to the Hosequas with cattle and sheep, purchased from them; and this tribe wished our party to return and barter next year.

March.

Despatch to the Chamber refers principally to agricultural pursuits, and to raising sufficient grain for their own consumption—states, that the want of cattle and manure are great obstacles, and that many indolent men think only of living from hand to mouth; that the spirits of all are much depressed by seeing the fruits of their labour destroyed by severe winds; and that were every farmer supplied with three or four stout slaves the work would be much forwarded; slaves enough may doubtless be procured from Madagascar,—whether to be lent or sold to the farmers?

The *Bede* has been sent to the Northward to examine further Grundel Bay, and the coast as far as the Tropic. Some of our Hottentoos have, of their own free will, gone in the vessel to ascertain whether other Hottentoos can understand them, and how far the Hottentoo race extends. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the following instructions were given to the captains and officers of the vessel:—To ascertain by what tribe the country is inhabited, and to hold a friendly communication with them; to take care that they are not injured by any one; to give no opportunity to those heathens to overpower you suddenly, for the proverb says, that opportunity makes thieves and murderers. To ascertain particularly where the Hottentoos end, and where the Kaffers begin? whether they are at war with one another? what places or towns they inhabit? what weapons they use? how they live? whether they practise any kind of cultivation? and such matters, more fully detailed in a separate instruction from our masters, of which a copy is supplied you. Mr. Moodie says that on the 8th of June, Governor Bax reports to the government of Batavia (letter not entered in "The Record") the result of this voyage to be, that the whole West Coast, as far as the Portuguese fort Sombreira, in South latitude 12. 47. there are no other inhabitants than Hottentoos. The Hottentots. 1677, March.

In a letter to the sergeant at Hottentoos' Holland, he is required to furnish a monthly report of events there; particularly to report as to the war which has arisen between Claas and Caepman. The governor consents to the surgeon receiving a fee of three rams, sent him by the Hosequas, for medical attendance during the last expedition; and says, I would much wish to see the captains Claas and Caepman here, the sooner the better.

The Hottentots. 1677, March.

Despatch continued.—Gives a detail of the operations of the last expedition against the Gonomoa Hottentoos. We should have taken more, but their cunning tactics of separating in the flight guarded them from greater loss; of their fighting men our people have put to death seven, in revenge of the murders committed by them; and we shall now endeavour, through the agency of others, to induce Gonomoa's people to come and pray for peace, as we have now, we conceive, exacted sufficient revenge. It is the best for us to live on terms of friendship with Gonomoa and all others. According to the accounts of old times, and from what we learn indirectly, our people have not only despoiled him and others of their cattle, but we grieve to say that they have treacherously fired upon and killed many of these Hottentoos,—which is shameful, and must cause great hatred against us; those deeds were practised chiefly during the time of Commander Borghorst. We might formerly send two or three men a distance of fifty or sixty mylen into the interior without apprehension; now we dare scarcely send twelve men in a body to the distance of twenty mylen. Better care shall be taken during our time, and we shall endeavour by every means to wash away the disgrace which the conduct of some of our people has cast upon our whole nation. The number of burgers has diminished. We have sent to Batavia one indolent man, who was suspected of aiding and abetting thieves and rogues; and we are of opinion that all who do not cultivate the ground are good for nothing here, and that the community derive no advantage from them.

April.

Fourteen slaves were disposed of to relieve the necessities of fourteen of the best and poorest inhabitants, on condition that they should be employed exclusively on agriculture; 100 per cent., or Rds. 30,

profit was charged to the farmers, and they were not to be distressed for payment at present. The overseer of Hottentoos' Holland reported that the Cape Hottentoos had placed their kraals close to the Company's lodge; the grass being reserved for the Company's cattle, they were civilly requested to remove, they did so, but twice returned; among their flock of sheep he had seen several half-bred sheep, which they said they got from the free men. He further reported that CUYPER had informed him that several women of the hostile Gonomoas had come to the kraal of Captain CLAAS to greet for peace, and consequently about an actual attack on him—CUYPER—this we must well inquire into. The Hottentots. 1677, April.

Here again the interposition of the Dutch denies us the gratification of seeing how the clans would, if left to themselves, settle their own differences. Commentary.

It was resolved to invite CLAAS in a civil way to come to the fort; for his not having done so for a long time, although frequently summoned, raises a presumption that there may be some truth in these statements. It was also resolved to send Lt. CRUSE with six men to Hottentoos' Holland to inquire into the truth, or otherwise of the report of the pending negotiations between the Company's mischievous enemy, GONOMOA, with the Company's allies, and if true to oppose it in civil terms; the negotiation being between him, CLAAS, and SCHACHER, for the purpose of ruining and destroying CUYPER. Lieutenant CRUSE returned in four days, bringing cross-bred sheep, which he had bartered with the Cape Hottentoos, who said that they had earned the sheep by service among the free men. The lieut. told the Hottentoos that they must be pleased to remove thence, and to look out for other pasturage for their cattle, as they had their cattle daily on the Company's April.

The Hottentots. 1677, April.

grass, which would make the food very scanty for the Company's cattle, and they undertook promptly to comply.

Proclamation.—JOHAN BAX, of Herentals, Governor and Director, &c. and the Council—To all who may see, hear, or read this—Greeting.—Since none of these free inhabitants are permitted to keep in their flocks any Hottentoo sheep, still less to procure such sheep from the Hottentoos by barter or other unlawful means; and since the free men have not scrupled to pay the Hottentoos whom they have employed in their service with their own cross-bred sheep; and these sheep have to our sorrow been seen running with the Hottentoos' sheep and in their kraals; they have now, however, been taken from the Hottentoos with loss to the Company; the said Hottentoos are enabled, under the pretence that the said sheep have been procured in the manner described, to seek for and appropriate to themselves such sheep as occasionally stray from the Company's flocks, and to say that they have received the sheep as the wages of labour, or otherwise from the free men; and, whereas this practice tends to the evident prejudice of the Honorable Company, we therefore do hereby most strictly prohibit and interdict all free inhabitants from keeping any Hottentoo sheep in their flocks, still more from bartering any such sheep from the Hottentoos, or paying as wages to any Hottentoos any cross-bred sheep; and we hereby direct, that instead thereof, they shall recompense those services with that which is permitted—*'t geene g'oorloft is*—on pain of arbitrary bodily correction, and above a fine of Rds. 50. The fiscal of this colony is directed to keep a close watch upon the contravcners of this order, as we find the same for the service of the Honorable Company. This done, &c.

JOHAN BAX.

It is as well to put on record—once for all—a funny and absurd proclamation of this kind, for "The Record" is full of them; and it shows the impotent endeavours of the Dutch to separate, by a wide gulf, all friendly intercourse between the colonists and the aborigines; after the Hottentoo clans had been destroyed within the colony, the same system was adopted by the Dutch in the hope of drawing a gulf between the colonists and the Kaffers; and if I mistake not, the same restrictive system was continued for a time by our own government. Indeed, it prevails to some extent to the present day, though with a different object, in the matter of fire-arms and powder. The Hottentots. 1677, April. Commentary.

Journal continued.—The two Soeswas Captains, Coopman and Claas, appeared at the fort with some of their great men; and having been entertained with a belly full of rice and a *sopie*, returned to their kraals on the following day. According to the orders of the Directors, the Gonomoa cattle were presented to the free men in the name of the Company. April.

Despatch from the Chamber.—The murder committed upon three of our free men by the hostile Hottentoos, demands revenge on a suitable opportunity; and if we could then again pacify them we should deem this serviceable. We trust that you have been fully supplied with seed-corn from this and from India. We desire that no free men be sent to Ceylon or Batavia before the expiry of their term of fifteen years, as we observe has recently happened. We approve of, and confirm the instructions left at the Cape for the present governor by the late Director, General Verburg, and require the governor and Council to take them for their guidance until further orders. The Danish ships, which have been last at the Cape, having entirely abused the freedom allowed to them, you will henceforth grant them nothing but May.

The Hottentots. 1677, May.

water, and as little refreshment as possible in vegetables. The English vessel, the *Society*, of Boston, in New England, having touched at the Cape on her way to Madagascar to buy slaves, you were right to refuse her rice on the plea of your own necessities, and you will continue to act in the same way. You may supply yourselves from the passing ships with good Spanish dollars for the Madagascar trade, to the value of 2,000 or 3,000; but we would prefer carrying on that traffic in goods. We can easily understand that the complaints made to us of the scarcity of slaves, and the necessity of procuring more, are by no means groundless. We have no reason to think that the king of the French will a second time fit out a fleet, still less that he will send it to the Cape or the East Indies. But as the thing is possible, you should be prepared against sudden attack. Your garrison of 462 men, with the free men and their servants, should be sufficient to repel such an enemy; but we will not object to your increasing its strength as far as twenty or twenty-five men. We have received your letter of 20th December, via England, by the English ship *Society*, and are glad to find that your affairs are in a good condition, that you anticipated a good harvest; but above all, that you have purchased by the *Voorhout* 254 slaves at Madagascar. We much approve of your having sent some of them to Mauritius.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that a subsequent despatch anticipates the reduction of expenditure through the introduction of slaves, 190 more having been received from the Eastern islands; and that the quantity of silver extracted from the copper and found near the Lion's Head and at Riebeeck's Castle, not paying the expense of working and smelting, mining operations were discontinued. "Hottentoos' Holland must necessarily be abandoned to free men, *or to*

emancipated slaves, for to keep twenty-four receivers of wages there is burthensome." "The Directors promise to send out some large dogs to defend sheep and cattle from wild animals, and particularly from lions." You did well to endeavour to make peace with Gonomoa, as this will produce a greater supply of cattle, —and it is a great point to have procured through barter 901 cattle and sheep near Mossel Bay. The Hottentots. 1677, May.

Journal continued.—Received thirty muids of barley from Hottentoos' Holland, with a letter reporting that some Hottentoos of Schacher's kraal had passed that place on their way from beyond the mountains, with 40 cattle and 100 sheep; also, that some Africans of Cuyper's kraal had passed with 32 cattle and 46 sheep; all bartered by them from the Hosequas. The Africans reported that Coopman and Soeswa were at war, and that they had already come to blows; a letter from the officer commanding at Hottentoos' Holland was taken into consideration. It reported that the Hottentoos in alliance with us were daily strengthening their kraals by purchasing cattle from the Hosequas and other tribes, and engaged upon other such machinations to the prejudice of the Company. These are matters of serious consequence, highly deserving of notice, for this covetous people have commenced the traffic without our knowledge and consent. We had carried on a good trade in their presence with those and other tribes; and should they take it into their heads that we are in want of cattle, we shall be obliged to buy from them at a higher rate. To prevent this traffic it was resolved to summon before us the captains who were engaged in the smuggling; to express to them our just displeasure; and to tell them that such proceedings smacked of feigned friendship with the Company, and rendered them objects of great suspicion; for as they were carrying on, June.

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in our absence, this unusual practice of bartering with other tribes, it might be presumed that they wished to form a league with them to oppose the Company, —and that, if they did not cease to do so, we should be obliged to keep a strict eye upon them, and to show our resentment; or, at least, that we should try to make friends with other tribes, to their exclusion, and to oblige those tribes so far by small presents and kindness, that these would henceforth be unable to buy any more cattle from other Hottentoos except with our knowledge and consent, when they would be forced to make over to the Company, *na rato*, a portion of the captured cattle. The governor wrote to the overseer of Hottentoos' Holland that, as it appeared that some smuggling was being carried on among the Hottentoos, it was thought right to invite the captains to the fort, under the pretence of giving them a belly full of rice, and making them merry; they were to be urged to come, as we would gladly see their disputes arranged, and Captain CLAAS should assume the place of mediator, or otherwise that they must be spoken to either here or at Hottentoos' Holland, that we might arrange their differences to their mutual satisfaction. Captains CUYPER and THOMAS came accordingly to the fort with their people, having with them four other Hottentoos from the kraal of GONOMOA, who said that they were ambassadors from him with a message to that effect, that he and his allies were inclined to enter into a treaty of peace, if we would grant him or his messengers a safe conduct, but for certain reasons the said Hottentoos were not yet allowed to see the governor; when they were brought before the Council and questioned, they persisted in saying that they had come for no other purpose than that above stated; that they had brought no presents or offerings as a token of peace; the mission consisting

of common people, who came to learn what chance there was of peace being granted; when assurance should be given of our friendly disposition, GONOMOA intended to come in person, in order henceforth to live in amity with the Company. It was unanimously resolved to let them be informed that it would be gratifying to us if they would come hither, and humble themselves to the Company as was reasonable, with more evident proofs of their peaceful object, brought by a more respectable embassy; then we would be disposed to enter into a treaty with them, provided it included the Captains CUYPER and SCHACHER. The ambassadors were well entertained, until their departure, in the house of Lieut. CRUSE, without being made aware that they were entertained by the Company. They returned two days after to their kraal, furnished with a passport to the following effect:— "The bearers, GONOMOA's four messengers, are permitted freely to pass wherever they will. Company's servants and free burgers not to molest them, and the passport shall remain in force for three months." Twenty-three days thereafter intelligence was received by an officer, sent express, that GONOMOA's ambassadors, among them a brother of GONOMOA, and of OEDASOA, with their attendants, had arrived near the kraals of Capt. CUYPER. Lieut. CRUSE, with three or four horse men, was therefore sent to conduct them hither. They came on the following day; they were named NEUGUE, HARRU, and NUGURA, expressly commissioned by their chiefs, GONOMOA and OEDASOA, to request for a permanent treaty of peace, for which purpose they had brought with them nine cattle as a present to the Company. They were, accompanied by the dignitaries who attended them, admitted before the Council, when various conditions, advantageous to the Company, were stated to them, and as it would

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be in vain to use much ceremony with these stupid and savage Africans, or to make formal contracts with them, in our manner, as from the shortness of their ceremonies and the impediments of language, many conditions would only confuse them, and make them remember as little of the most important as of the most trivial, a few particulars were, therefore, drawn up to be explained to them, and signed by them. The articles of peace were explained in Council to the ambassadors of GONOMOA, in the presence of the Burgerraden, and having been repeatedly interpreted to them, were accepted by a general exclamation of "Sam, Sam," that is to say, Peace; they were then signed by both parties, and ran word for word as follows:—

Conditions upon which His Excellency JOHAN BAX, titled Van Herentals, and Council, of this Residence, in the name and on the behalf of the renowned and chartered Dutch East India Company, on the 25th day of June, 1677, has granted the peace requested by the Hottentoo tribe named Cochoquas, who are subject to two chiefs, named GONOMOA and OEDASOA, in whose name, and with full authority, there appeared here, for that purpose, the Hottentoos, or three ambassadors, NEUGUE, HARRU, and NUGUMA.

That the said plenipotentiaries request pardon of the Company for whatever they have done during the war to the Company's prejudice, and that they may henceforth have a friendly intercourse with the Company as before.

They offer and promise, as a tribute and acknowledgment of this peace, to deliver yearly, upon the arrival of the return fleet, 30 horned cattle.

They promise to punish their people as we do ours, and to make no war upon any of our allies without our knowledge.

That in this peace are included the Captains CUYPER and SCHACHER, and also CEES and CLEYNE CAPTAIN, and all that are subordinate to GONOMOA, CUYPER, and SCHACHER. This passed, contracted, and signed by both parties in full Council, day and year as above, and was signed with distinct marks, close to which stood the names of the Hottentoo ambassadors, NEUGUE, HARRU, and NUGUMA. We, the undersigned, declare to have been present in Council, and to have heard and seen the said articles explained from sentence to sentence to the said Hottentoo ambassadors, and signed by them; and also, that they previously declared, according to the interpretation of KENENEY, that they were fully empowered to conclude the peace by GONOMOA and OEDASOA. In witness whereof

W. VAN BRUCHEM,
Registrar and Secretary.

When some tobacco, pipes, bread, &c. were given to this never-satisfied and covetous people, in return for the presents given to us, as an acknowledgment for the peace, and also as a similar acknowledgment of the peace from our side.

June 26th.—The Gonomoa ambassadors with their retinue returned to their kraals; meanwhile, with their concurrence, the Cape Hottentoo captains, (the Goringhaiquas,) CUYPER, SCHACHER, HOUTEBEEN, &c. were warned not to have any traffic with the embassy while passing their kraals, that might in any way tend to the prejudice of the Company, as there is no reliance to be placed on the fidelity of these savage Africans, and as we must keep a close watch upon them.

Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, that the following

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undated government notice was evidently issued during this month :—

By the Governor and Council of these countries.—Whereas the Hottentoos of the Gonomoa tribe are daily approaching nearer to the fort, and as at their request the Company concluded a good and firm peace with them on the 25th instant,—now, therefore, all free inhabitants and Company's servants, whether belonging to the garrison or the shipping, are expressly ordered not to give the slightest molestation to any of the said Gonomoa tribes or natives, but to treat them kindly in every respect, under the pains and penalties provided against the violators of a treaty of peace, in proportion to the nature of the offence or crime,—We have directed this notice to be everywhere affixed.

In transmitting this notice, Mr. Moodie says, to Hottentoos' Holland on the 29th, the governor mentions that "the Cape Hottentoos have agreed not to barter with other tribes without our leave, nor to pass the mountains with that object," and orders the detention "of any Cape Hottentoos coming from the interior with bartered cattle." Precautions are ordered to prevent the ivory and wax, brought by Claas' people, from falling into the hands of the soldiers; and in directing the invitation to that captain to be repeated, it is directed to be conveyed not by Dutch, but by Hottentoos.

Commentary.

The month of June must be considered an important one in the history and annals of the Dutch and Hottentots, concerned in the administration of affairs in the neighbourhood of the Cape. It had from the commencement of their rule been the object of the Dutch government to hold a monopoly of all things in their own hands; excluding the native tribes from cattle-barter with each other, and with their own subjects and servants,—as well as their subjects and servants from

dealings of this kind with one another; for the latter purpose proclamations or orders were, or ought to have been, sufficient. But to prevent the intercommunication of the native tribes, in matters of this kind, must always have been an impossible task; and the thought could hardly have entered into the heads of any monopolists less inveterate than the Dutch; that this was their policy from the first we have sufficient proof through the whole of "The Record;" also of their signal failure; whether as respected the native tribes or their own subjects; of the bitter fruits of that policy they are now beginning to taste; for it must have produced that estrangement and alienation everywhere, which it was the professed object of their rule to prevent.* The treaty which we have just seen negotiated with the Cochoqua ambassadors of Gonomoa and Oedasoa, and to which the Goringhaiquas or Caepmans are, by a sort of side wind, made a party, is more stringent in its conception and execution than any commercial treaty that has been attempted in Europe in late years, and it must, of course, soon produce similar or worse results; worse results certainly, for the tribes of South Africa had not been subjected to Dutch domination or dictation to an extent which rendered them liable to have such conditions put upon them; and they could hardly be expected to act with the good faith which was necessary, in the observance of even just engagements. We shall, of course, accordingly see the engagement of the 25th everywhere violated by the native tribes in their dealings with one another before a month passes over their curly heads. The manner in which the

* In noticing the Dutch system of colonization, I have already said that it had cost them their most valuable possessions in India—and that they were not, perhaps, likely long to hold Deman and Dhew, forgetting, at the moment, that those places belong to Portugal, and not to Holland.

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tribes resisted this treaty, and that in which GONOMOA and OEDASOA at last entered into it through their agents,—show, however, a far greater degree of tact and enlightenment (if such a term may be used in speaking of such people) as well as a union and organization, far beyond what I was prepared to expect, even at this stage of our acquaintance with the tribes of South Africa.

July.

Licutenant CRUSE proceeded to Hottentoos' Holland.

Despatch from government to Governor-General and Council.—The peace concluded on the 25th ult., with the Gonomoa or Cochoqua Hottentoos, is certainly a most fortunate thing at this moment, when we are so ill supplied with cattle.—God grant that we may soon be able to barter from these savage men a good quantity of oxen and sheep, so as to keep out of want, and to be able to spare our tame cattle, and half-bred and young stock. We trust also that we may be able to continue in a state of peace and tranquillity with all these natives, by which means this colony will flourish more and more.

Journal continued.—Mr. CRUSE returned, reporting that Sergeant VISSER had proceeded beyond the mountains to the Soeswas Hottentoos, to try to induce the chiefs to come to the Cape. A farmer's servant having, some time ago, broken a Hottentoo's arm, though not without some cause, yet, that we might prove to them that we punish the faults of our people, and that we are not disposed to leave them any ground for taking revenge, to which the savage Africans often resort, whether justly or otherwise, we appointed Captain SENIENT and Lieut. CRUSE to settle the matter in a friendly way, which they did, on condition that the servant should give the Hottentoo, for the pain he had suffered, some rice, 3 lbs. of

tobacco, and a pint of arrack, with which the Hottentoo was perfectly satisfied. The Hottentots. 1677, July.

It does not appear whether the Hottentoo, who was thus dealt with, was a subject of the Dutch government, or of a neighbouring tribe; if the former, this was, of course, only an ordinary proceeding in the administration of colonial justice; if the latter, it was administering colonial law in an international affair. If one were to look only at trivial and isolated measures of this kind, the administration of the Dutch does not, at first sight, appear to be of that atrocious character which was calculated to extirpate a whole people—chiefs and subjects. But even-handed justice of this kind was but poor compensation to the aborigines, for such measures of wholesale injustice as we see in the commercial treaty concluded with these chiefs on the 25th of June, and in a thousand other measures, great and small, more or less iniquitous. Commentary.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that a letter from the governor to Visser, dated the 3d July, directs him to proceed with twelve men "to settle the disputes betwixt our allies and neighbours, as they cannot be otherwise than injurious to the Company, and utterly ruinous to themselves." July.

I need only observe on this, that it is a pity that the Dutch did not allow the South African aborigines to ruin themselves according to their own fashion, rather than that they should have come with their great power to ruin them altogether; or that they did not tell us by what process they were likely "to utterly ruin themselves," since it is quite obvious that this ruin was not produced through centuries prior to the introduction of European rule, and that it has not yet been produced where that rule has not extended over the aborigines. Commentary.

Resolution of Council.—It was resolved to take the July.

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widow MEERMANS from Robben Island and to banish her for life to Mauritius. She was placed there by the Court of Justice in consequence of her thievish disposition and habit of receiving stolen goods, by which she tempted many honest people to commit theft; and as it has frequently occurred to the great disrepute and contempt of the good and flourishing exercise of justice by the Company, that these heathen Hottentoo people, when we would correct and punish them for their faults, have reproachfully observed that we are ourselves backward in this respect, and do not administer good justice to our own people; mentioning WILLEM WILLEMS, who has lately returned from Batavia, and saying that he has long since killed one of their people, and had not been punished for it according to his deserts, and that they must still suffer him to remain here. These circumstances being taken into consideration, it was deemed serviceable to the Company to send the said WILLEM WILLEMS to the Mauritius, out of the sight of the taunting Hottentoos, as well as to avoid other disturbance.

Journal continued.—Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, that a resolution states that VISSER had reported that Captain COOPMAN and other inferior captains had been quarrelling, upon old affairs, with CLAAS and SOESWA, that they had been skirmishing and taking cattle from each other, and "fearing that CLAAS, who had been the most faithful and friendly to the Company" might be defeated, it was resolved to send Lieut. CRUSE and 12 soldiers "to forbid hostilities in a friendly manner, and to invite the disputants to submit their quarrels to the governor's arbitration. VISSER reports that he had complied with the orders, "but that SOESWA had summoned all his Souquas, being resolved not to make peace with COOPMAN until he had taken all his cattle; that CLAAS was not

inclined to go to war, but that he had been compelled by his people to assist against COOPMAN, who was, they said, always the first to create disturbances," "all the Souquas of the kraal of CLAAS, CLEYNE CAPTEIN, and SOESWAS had assembled against COOPMAN," and the hostile parties lay on opposite sides of the Swart River. The Hottentots. 1677, July.

It is not quite apparent from the "Records" to what clan the Company's great friend Captain CLAAS belonged—or to what clan the Captain, COOPMAN, who was so unpopular with all the natives, belonged; but the probability is that they both belonged to inferior tribes of Goringhaiqua, or Caepmans, as they were originally called, or to the Gorachouquas—the tobacco thieves of VAN RIEBEECK's time. The probability that CLAAS and COOPMAN belonged to the same clan is strengthened by the fact that the former was reluctant to enter into the general confederacy formed against the latter, and it is curious to find him forced by his own people to join against his unpopular compatriot. The Soeswas are of course the great tribe of Chainouquas, (which I at first considered to belong to the Kaffer race,) and take their present designation from "King SOUSA" of VAN RIEBEECK's time. The Dutch system of changing the designation of tribes, according to the names or designations of their kings or chiefs, has, however, already confounded and confused that which would otherwise have remained plain enough—and there is the danger that, as we proceed, we shall lose all trace of the origin of such persons as CLAAS, CEES, COOPMAN, CLEYNE CAPTEIN, and others of that class, long before the tribes were irretrievably lost, and all the Hottentot race was mixed into one indiscriminate mass, wearing hats and breeches under Dutch rule—all being at the same time, I believe, considered Christian. Commentary.

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Here again it is curious to trace analogies. In India, in the eyes of a native, Christian converts, are, or were considered to be chiefly distinguishable by eating beef and pork, and by drinking spirits; the first being of course abhorred by Hindoos, the second abhorred by Mohammedans, and the last obnoxious to both.

But, however these things may be in South Africa, there is no doubt that the Dutch proteges, Captains Claas and Coopman, of the Goringhaiqua tribe, were highly unpopular with the great tribe of Chainouquas, and with the Cochouquas, under their Chiefs Gonomoa and Oedasoa. The probability indeed is, that this unpopularity arose out of the circumstance of their being friends of the Dutch; cockered up by them to a superiority which we know did not originally belong to the Goringhaiquas.

We see, too, that the little Souquas or Bosjemans have been called by the tribes from their mountain abodes, to take a part in the war; probably for the first time on so extensive a scale,—and they were not, of course, reluctant to obey the summons, for, like robbers in general, and more especially mountain robbers, they had little to lose, and everything to gain by war and plunder.

It is curious, too, to see the relations entered into by the Dutch, on the 25th of the previous month, with the several tribes, supported by the Dutch Sergeant Visser and his twelve men at arms; for Licut. Cruse is not yet in the field.

July.

The overseer of Hottentoos' Holland set out with twelve men to proceed to the Hottentoo tribes named Soeswas, whose captains Coopman, Claas, and Sousoa, had come hither by our orders with the sergeant, in order to settle the disputes about which these tribes were now at war, and to cause them to restore all the cattle to the right owners; this, these

captains promised to do; but as the Soeswas allege that COOPMAN will promise this to us verbally, but will not fulfil the promise when he gets home, and would thus frustrate our good intention, we have with their own concurrence kept the chiefs here, until, upon the sergeant's return, we are fully satisfied that these stipulations have been complied with. A Hottentoo reported that all our cattle at Riet Valley had been lost from the kraal in the night, no one knows how; and a mounted express having been sent over night to inquire after the lost cattle, Mr. CRUSE was in the morning of the 15th dispatched on the same errand. He wrote in the afternoon to say, that he had at last found the spoor, but that he could not say how they happened to have gone so far inland. The Gonomoa Hottentoos thereabouts, and their Souquas, are strongly suspected by us, and this causes us to entertain by no means the best surmises concerning these savage Africans. Phœbus had scarcely appeared in the East on the 16th, with his rays to scatter the darkness of the dreary night, when we saw a ship anchored in the bay. Lieut. CRUSE returned, and reported that they had not found the cattle, but that they were still upon the traces. We are now certain that they have not been driven way by the Gonomoa or other Hottentoos, as it appears from the spoor that they have strayed all over the mountains. Lieutenant CRUSE intends going out again to-morrow in search of them. He returned on the following day, the 18th, and reported that they had at length found all the missing cattle, and that they were found altogether behind the Blaauwen Berg. Sergeant VISSER returned on the 23d from the country of the Soeswas tribe, and reported that his friendly mediation had been so successful that he had brought them to restore, reciprocally, in his presence, all the cattle taken during the

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war; to promise to live henceforth in peace and quiet, and never more to give each other any cause of offence; but when any one injured them, to inform the Company, who would settle the difference as mediator. The Soeswas chiefs, Coopman, Claas, and Soeswas, returned to their kraals, and also Visser, to Hottentoos' Holland. Some Hottentoos came on the 30th to inform the Governor, on the part of Gonomoa and Oedasoa, that they had come to within half an hour of the Berg River with their kraals, but that they could not cross as the river was in flood. That they were much concerned that we did not come to meet them to barter, for that they had not hesitated to send ambassadors to us to contribute all they could to peace; but now seeing that none of our people made their appearance, they could not well approach nearer from fear and distrust. They requested, therefore, that some of our people would come only to this side of the Berg River, and that they would themselves accompany our party to the Cape to congratulate the great captain. Seeing, therefore, that these people, who are themselves of false and distrustful disposition, deem that others are more fickle and worse than they are, and, as it is to be feared, that if we do not show ourselves there, they will suspect us of evil designs, as, God mend it! has happened before; and as through those idle forms they might retreat again into the interior, when much trouble would be required once more to induce them to approach. The case was taken into serious consideration by the Governor, the Council, and Lieut. Cruse; he being an old traveller, and well acquainted with the disposition of these fickle tribes, was asked whether he saw any difficulty in sending a few people to express our kindly feelings. He said that he believed Gonomoa to be in earnest; that there was little cause for apprehension; and

thought that the invitation should be accepted, offering to show his zeal by going there in person. He believed that he could not only find a good trade, but that he would induce the tribe to cross the Berg River, and come nearer the fort,—and that he might also induce GONOMOA to come to the fort. It was resolved, accordingly, that the lieut. should, according to his offer, set out on the morrow for the Berg River, but not cross the river too readily, awaiting there the approach of the natives; for it is much more profitable for the Company to trade at the fort than at a distance; and as many of the inhabitants, who subsist by shooting sea-cows and other large game, have for some time past been deterred from following their avocation, by the foul murders committed by the treacherous Hottentoos; and as we are now, as far as we know, on good terms with the Gonomoa tribes, peace having been concluded, it was settled that such inhabitants should be warned that they might proceed in company with Lieut. CRUSE, strengthening his party, and shooting sea-cows about the Berg River, their flesh being much wanted for the Company's servants and slaves. The Hottentots. 1677, July.

A free man, who had formerly settled in Mauritius, hearing that a new commander was going there, urgently requested permission to accompany him, and take with him the two young and orphan children of the late PIETER VAN MEERHOFF, procreated by his lawful wife, the late female Hottentoo, EVA; this was acceded to, being a good relief to the churchwardens, provided he would bind himself to bring up the children in all Christian virtue and godly exercises, until their majority or marriage. Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, that the proposal is the subject of a resolution in Council; and that the Council confirm the conditions which are proposed by the churchwardens: the daughter to be brought up in all good

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manners and honor; to be respectably edueated, until sueh time as she contraet ceremonies in marriage or otherwise, with the approval of the chief authority at Mauritius; the son, in addition to instruction and clothing, to be taught some trade, by which, upon the expiration of the contract, on his attaining the age of twenty, he may earn his living; the commander at Mauritius to pay particular attention to the education of the children.

Seeing that, to the great disrepute of the Company's flourishing administration of justice, it has frequently been reproachfully censured by those heathen natives, called Hottentoos, when we would correct their faults, and tell them that evil-doers among them ought to be visited with the punishment they deserve,—that we do not ourselves punctually observe the preecpt,—instancing the ease of Willem Willems, who shot a Hottentoo in 1672, and who was sent to Batavia, but has returned,—we have therefore resolved, for the prevention of any mischief, or further estrangements,—since the natives would not be satisfied before they revenged the death of their father, brother, or kinsman, by taking the life of the offender, ("wild justice," in the absence of any other justice, so natural to people in their condition,) to send the said Willem Willems to Mauritius, to maintain himself there in freedom like other colonists.

August.

A farmer brought in a young rhinoceros, the mother of which he had shot, it will be taken care of, in hopes that it may be preserved as a present to the Prince of Orange. Lieut. Cruse returned from the interior on the 8th, bringing with him the three supreme African chiefs, Gonomoa, Oedasoa, and Cocheusoa, the most powerful chiefs of that tribe (the Cochouquas); they had with them some of their wives, kinsmen, and officers of state; having received and

treated the lieutenant with every African civility, and shown themselves willing to come hither. The body of their whole tribes consisted of twenty kraals, having about 1,000 cattle and 2,000 sheep; their power being about 500 fighting men. According to their account the Namaquas had plundered them of great quantities of cattle, during the war between them and us. Our party had bartered from them only .... cattle and .... sheep, and several fine cattle were drowned in crossing the Berg River, so that barter must be put off until a better opportunity. The Hottentoo Captains CUYPER, SCHACHER, and THOMAS, came on the 9th with some of their train, that they also might cram their hungry, and almost insatiable stomachs with some of the stray scraps left by GONOMOA's party; to whom also we gave some entertainment, in order to keep on good terms with them, and to prevent their injuring with their cattle our hay ground at Tygerberg. The Chiefs GONOMOA and OEDASOA having stayed with us two days for their recreation, and to pay their visits to every one here, were at last disposed to return home. They were admitted to the presence of the governor, and when they requested to take leave and to depart to their kraals, the governor presented to GONOMOA, with his own hands, as being the most illustrious of these chiefs, some tobacco, brass, beads, and pipes, with a proportionate quantity to the other chiefs, with a *sopie* of arrack; on this they showed themselves well pleased, but still their covetousness was not yet satisfied, and their hopes of getting a little more by their importunity in begging, led them, with much African politeness and elegance, to solicit a few glass beads, this request the governor civilly got rid of, stating that the Company was unprovided with that kind of beads; this satisfied them. We reminded them, in general terms, of the

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articles of peace which had been concluded between us, with which articles they promised prompt compliance, and to throw away all their former hostility; they also promised that as soon as the Berg River would allow them to cross it, they would remove with their kraals to the Tygerberg, and there have a good barter with the Company. To our great sorrow the young rhinoceros died. The commissioners appointed to count the Company's cattle, reported that we had at various places 235 draught oxen, 822 horned cattle of sorts, 1,549 sheep, 166 goats, 62 horses, one ass; 16 male and 12 female slaves.

September.

The governor wrote to Hottentoos' Holland, expressing a hope that the Obiquas might come there on the first opportunity, and that he would wish to hear how it was with Captains Coopman, Claas, and Sousoa, and what further the overseer may know about the African chiefs. Mr. Mcodie says, in a Note, that in the letter referred to, the governor, besides expressing his wish to communicate with the Obiquas, asks the opinion of Sergeant Visser as to the expediency of sending a party to barter with the Hassequas. To the great surprise of those who have been here since the colony was first established, we daily see innumerable whales in the bay, making a wonderful noise with their roaring and blowing, and occasionally coming quite close to the shore. The overseer had heard nothing more of the Obiquas, but had sent an African expressly to inquire. Captains Coopman, Claas, and Sousoa were on very good terms with each other, but still living apart. He had also heard that the Hassequa tribe were now lying at Buffels Jacht and Backley Plaats; and, as it was not likely that they would come any nearer this year, that he meant to go there to barter. Gonomoa came to the fort with some of his officers of state, and at

their request they were allowed to go on board the ships in the bay, to have their hungry stomachs filled, and to rejoice their insatiable nature with the gifts of Bacchus. A lion was shot at Hout Bay, after killing two cattle. Gonomoa and his retinue returned to their kraals. The free men's boat came from Saldanha Bay, laden with the fat of sea-cows, shot at Berg River with our leave. The Hottentots. 1677, September.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that a long resolution authorises a party to proceed to barter with the Hassequas, who had come to the appointed place within fifty miles, as cattle were much wanted, and the natives rarely approach so near. There being some fear of European enemies, it was resolved, on an attack, that all the horses and cattle should be sent for security to Captain Claas. The Hottentoos were warned to fly beyond the mountains with all their cattle in the same event, and that they would be severely punished if they supplied the enemy with any cattle. Captains Cuyper, Schacher, Thomas, and Houtbeen, the Chief Gonomoa, and the Captain Oedasoa, appeared at the fort, and readily promised to remove their cattle on any attack; not to assist the enemy, but, on the contrary, to try to kill them, and to leave some people at the fort to act as spies and messengers. A proclamation was issued, setting forth that persons had supplied two guns to the Hottentoos, and on account not only of the injury thus done to the game, but of the attendant danger—"for no inhabitant's life could be safe if these blacks were armed with our weapons;"—it was declared a capital offence to sell, give, or lend to any native any fire-arms or other weapons, or any ammunition; and a reward is offered for the apprehension of the Hottentoo, who, "to the great injury of the hunters and the Company," was maintaining himself by shooting sea-cows, and states, October.

The Hottentots. 1677, October.

that unless the African is apprehended within a few days, a placard shall be published.

Commentary.

Two or three things appear worthy of comment in the late proceedings of the Hollanders and Africanders. 1st. That the war between the Dutch and the Cochouquas, so engaged the latter, that the Namaquas were enabled to make a descent into the territories of this more powerful tribe, and to carry away their cattle. 2d. That the Dutch were not satisfied with prohibiting the natives from dealing in cattle with their European enemies, but engaged them in a defensive alliance so stringent that the natives were bound to try to kill any who might land. 3rd. The institution of game laws so stringent as made it, apparently, a great offence for the natives to kill sea-cows in their own rivers, or game in their own fields, since their doing so was to the great injury of the Company and the hunters. This was indeed an endeavour to rivet chains on these free hunters at an early period of the Dutch rule at the Cape.

October.

Sergeant Visser set out with goods stowed in a wagon, and attended by his party of Company's servants and free men, for the Hottentoo trade; and Lieut. Cruse set out with ten men, with the same objeet, for the kraals of Gonomoa. He returned in four days, having with great trouble and annoyance recovered the two guns: one from a Hottentoo of Cuyper's kraal, and the other from a Souqua, belonging to the same kraal; (eurious to find fire-arms in the hands of a little Bosjeman!!) with these they were daily searing and driving away the game, to the great injury of the Company and free men. This might do great harm on the arrival of an enemy, or the like, and for that reason no trouble was spared to recover them.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that in a few days

after the return of this expedition, a proclamation was issued forbidding the covetous burgers from cattle trade, bartering rhinoceroses' horns, elephants' teeth, ostrich feathers, and all sorts of skins from these natives, not only surreptitiously, but openly; offering them at the same time very excessive prices; more tobacco for an elephant's tusk than the Company is in the habit of paying for three or four sheep; by this means seducing the natives from trading with the Company, and attaching their affections to themselves, besides bringing a dearness into this land, of which we have already felt the weight only too severely. Then follow, says Mr. Moodie, provisions that on any kind of merchandize being offered for sale by Hottentoos, the person to whom the offer should be made "shall be bound to bring the same to the fort for sale to the Company," and if she should not require the article so brought, still to prevent increasing prices, her officer was to buy it for the behoof of the bringer, under a penalty of Rds. 20, in addition to arbitrary correction; under the same penalty, tanners were "forbidden to prepare skins for any one without express consent." To root out the illegal practice of barter, the purchase of cattle or sheep, alive or dead, was again prohibited, on pain of corporal punishment; and all wagons were to be searched at the outposts. The Hottentots. 1677, October.

A funny proclamation of this kind hardly deserves comment, for the Dutch government had the right to prohibit and to punish its subjects for violating its laws in bartering with the natives. But the punishment of the natives, not its subjects, for entering into barter transactions is a question of another kind. The taking of the two guns from the Hottentot of Cuyper's kraal, and from the Souqua belonging to that kraal, because they might do harm on the arrival of an enemy, has a queer appearance; for it was only a few Commentary.

The Hottentots, 1677, October.

days before that his excellency the governor entered into an engagement with Cuyper to try to kill any enemy who might land on his shores.

On the 17th, we received by an active African a letter from our travellers, dated the 14th instant. They had reached Hassequas' Kloof, but were still unable to cross the Zonder End River. They had learned at the Socswas' kraals that the Hassequas lay scattered about, their nearest kraal being at Brede River. The free men who were going to shoot sea-cows were still with the party, but they were about to separate. We received a letter from our travellers on the 27th, stating that they had visited 13 kraals of the Hassequas, but that, God mend it! there was little appearance of a good trade. We hope and pray, however, that they may return with a good lot of cattle for the relief of the Company and of the free burgers. The free men who went out to shoot sea-cows killed nothing whatever.

November.

Received a letter from Visser on the 3rd, saying that he would reach Hottentoos' Holland on the 5th, and sent Messrs. Cruse and Diemer to divide the bartered cattle, giving a just third to the free men, they paying the expenses. The whole quantity bartered was 113 cattle and 411 sheep, all procured from the Hassequas. Two chiefs of that tribe came with Visser's escort, they had been here before, and he induced them to come by promises of a kind reception, but chiefly with the object of getting them to make some arrangement for an annual cattle barter. The Soeswas' captain, Claas, also came in his company. The two Hassequa captains got an audience on the 8th, for the Company has often traded with that tribe to our contentment, which is much more opulent in cattle than the others, we wanted to procure their support in the event of an attack by any other

European powers, who might desire to expel us from this territory; for all these reasons it was thought proper to make them some presents of beads and tobacco; the Chief CLAAS receiving a similar present for his faithful services, and upon other considerations. Sergeant VISSER returned to Hottentoos' Holland, accompanied by the Hassequa captains and the Soeswas' captain, CLAAS. Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, that it was resolved that the free men should repair to the castle on the signal of alarm, with their most valuable and most portable property, leaving their cattle to be driven into the interior. The Hottentots. 1677, November.

So commences the nomadic life of the Dutch, principally from the want of stall-feeding. Commentary.

They were to be compensated for their services by having made good to them any loss sustained at the hands of the enemy. On this occasion it was resolved that the governor should "entertain the Burgerraden, the chief servants of the Company, and their wives, with a collation, and that the yeomanry in general should be presented with a *sopie*, and their loss of time compensated with two casks of *moree* and half a cask of pork, besides 2 lbs. of bread each." November.

The Chief GONOMOA came on the 6th to congratulate the governor, and in return to beg a belly full of rice and a lot of tobacco. He was accompanied by some of his officers of state. The renowned African Chief GONOMOA had an audience on the 7th. He was reminded of his engagement to deliver annually to the Company thirty head of cattle. He appeared at first rather unwilling; but on being told that he must fulfil promptly, and without any alteration, the articles signed by his ambassadors; for that otherwise the Company would not have the least opinion of the security of the peace which he had offered and requested, which might lead us to entertain some December.

The Hottentots. 1677, December.

doubts of how far we would acknowledge him as an ally and confederate of the Honorable Company. Upon these agreements being interpreted to him, they made so much impression on the savage African, that he seemed to yield to them. The governor then regaled him with some tobacco, bread, and rice, and dismissed him. The overseer of Hottentoos' Holland was informed by letter, that too much reliance must not be placed upon GONOMOA and his people, or on other artful Hottentoos, and particularly to guard against surprise, or the firing of the ripening corn, for evident daily proofs show us, more and more, how little dependence can be put upon their fidelity. On the 10th of December, the Governor and Council wrote to the Governor-General and Council—"We are living on good terms with the Hottentoo tribes in every direction. We have this month Company's cattle 662, sheep 1,649, goats 216; and 38 free farmers had sown 82 muids of wheat, and reaped 398 muids.

Commentary.

It would be curious to ascertain whether the tribute which the Dutch had put on GONOMOA, and which, in the last month of 1677, he showed some reluctance to pay, fell exclusively on the chief of the Cochouquas, or whether the rude feudal form of their government admitted of his putting a portion of it upon subordinate chiefs and kraals.

1678, January.

Journal continued.—The African General (velt overste) came to the fort, accompanied by the captains of the Cape Hottentoos, (Goringhaiquas) CUYPER and THOMAS, with their followers, bringing five cattle in payment, on account of the tribute which he is bound to deliver annually, in terms of his treaty with the Company. In return for these, and at the same time to attach these savage Africans to the Company, GONOMOA was presented, under a promise,

however, of delivering the rest of the stipulated cattle by the time of the arrival of the return fleet, (the Orange banner) with 8 lbs. of tobacco, half gross of pipes, 50 lbs. of biscuit, 100 lbs. of rice, and 12 quarts of arrack, and they departed to their huts in the evening. In obedience to the orders of the Directors to make over the lands of the Hottentoos' Holland, on certain conditions, to the free men, or to the Company's emancipated slaves,—the governor made the following contract with some of the most opulent of the free men; hiring to them the lands in question, on the following conditions, for three years. Extract:—"But as to crossing Berg River to shoot large game, or trading in any manner with the Hottentoos, the same is forbidden, under the penalties provided, or to be provided on the subject." The Hottentots. 1678, January.

Despatch from the Governor-General and Council to Governor Bax and Council.—When we permitted Willem Willems and Bart Boms, last year to remove to the Cape with their families, we were not aware that the first mentioned person had shot a Hottentoo, or that his wife had not conducted herself honorably. You may now, if necessary, get rid of them by sending them to Holland. It is satisfactory to know that you have made peace with Gonomoa, the Cochouqua Hottentoo, and settled the war,—the most injurious thing to an agricultural country, which we conclude the Cape to be, as you will require in time to feed yourselves, and send your surplus produce to other countries. You say that you see very little chance of attaining these most desirable objects for some time, as last year produced no more than about 18 tons, and that even that quantity is great in comparison with other years. We can easily conceive that agriculture has many obstacles to encounter, but the main obsta- February.

The Hottentots. 1678, February. Commentary.

cle is indolence, a defect which would render the richest gold mine utterly worthless.

No wonder that the Governor-General and Council of Java should hold the Cape colony in such little estimation, considering the rich products of that island, and the utter poverty of the colony. It is curious, however, to find the government of that day considering war to be more injurious to an agricultural than to a commercial country; but then the war was with the Cape tribes, and not with a maritime power. The Cape, it appears, only yielded 18 tons of agricultural produce in the 26th year of the Dutch rule, which was hardly sufficient for home subsistence. I am not aware that the colony has ever exported any agricultural products of any moment; for sheep-wool can hardly be considered an agricultural product; and even of that, her staple commodity, she hardly in her area of 100,000 square miles, exports more than £100,000 or £200,000 worth at the present day.

March.

Journal continued.—The Council resolved, that the issue of rice to the free men should continue for three months longer, and that every one must begin to maintain himself; those who fail to do so will be weeded out as sluggards, and useless in the cultivation of the colony, and without remission sent to Mauritius, or elsewhere, when they will be obliged to learn to support themselves. One of the slaves who lately deserted, came home of his own accord, in a great measure compelled by hunger, as his appearance sufficiently shows; two others returned with him, and another had been killed by the Hottentoos with an arrow. Five messengers came to the fort from the Hottentoo tribe named Obiquas, bringing six sheep, and saying that they were sent by their captain to request that they might henceforth live on terms of peace and amity with us; offering the sheep they

brought to secure their object, and stating, that if the Company would permit, their chief would come to trade with us; they waited on the governor on the following day, and the sheep were accepted to satisfy these savage Africans. But to show them at the same time that the Company did not require such presents, their sheep were abundantly paid for. They were desired to tell their chief that the Company had always wished to live on terms of peace with them, and to trade with them; that it would be gratifying if their captain would find leisure to visit us in person, and to conclude a closer alliance with us; this they promised to do, and departed to their kraals. The Hottentots. 1678, March.

This is the first occasion on which the Obiquas, who it will be remembered had originally few or no cattle, seek a close alliance with the Dutch government. They had of course little, except their uncultivated lands, to lose through such an alliance, but they could gain nothing by it; and we shall inevitably find that this tribe, like all others, who sought such alliance, will become amalgamated with the Dutch, until the whole Hottentoo tribes are blended into one indiscriminate mass. Commentary.

A Hottentoo maliciously wounded one of the Company's slaves on the head with a stone; and to prevent further mischief orders were given to keep the Hottentoo out of the fort. Some Hottentoos presumed to force their way through the main-guard, and to throw stones at the corporal of the guard; and as they become every day more mischievous and presumptuous, orders were given to the men, if they attempted again to come into the fort, to fire at the hinder part of their thighs with pease, until they themselves point out the offender and punish him in our presence. March.

Two of the Company's shepherds having requested

The Hottentots, 1678, March.

their discharge, that they might maintain themselves by keeping sheep on the fourth point of the Steenberg, towards Cape False, their request was acceded to, as their situation was too much out of the way to be of use to the Company; the conditions being that they should pay annually a tithe of the stock reared, 40 lbs. of rice and the same quantity of biscuit to be provided to them for one year, they paying for the same, and binding themselves to continue free men for ten years, as their period of service had expired.

April.

Resolution of Council.—It had reached the governor's ears that two of the Company's hunters of large game, had, in the interior, shot two Hottentoos, and not knowing what tribe they belonged to, the governor laid the case before the Council, stating that he had placed the hunters in arrest, and summoned all the Hottentoo captains to the fort, that the inquiry might be entered on. The hunters pretended that they had been first attacked, but admitted that they had committed hostilities against a tribe of Hottentoos not known. It was resolved, that such persons should not be employed again in the interior, even supposing the result to be most favorable, lest further trouble should happen; and further, as the numerous colored slaves, who were employed on hard labour, could not work without food, the free hunters were called before the Council: they entered into an agreement to deliver monthly 2,500 lbs. of the flesh of wild animals at the rate of half heavy stiver per lb.

Journal continued.—The Hottentoo captains, Cuyper and Schacher, came to the fort, bringing the first fourteen, the other seven, poor sheep, in liquidation of what they have to recompense the Company, and received as a regale a little rice, tobacco, beads, and a dram of arrack, a little more liberally than usual, that they might bring a few more sheep before the arrival

of the fleet, after which they set out in high spirits for their huts. On the same day the African general, Gonomoa, accompanied by some of his officers of state, brought four calves and four sheep in diminution of the annual tribute which their treaty obliges them to pay to the Company. He received, like the other captains, a present of some biscuit, tobacco, and a dram, on which he and his train returned to their kraals. The frequent complaints of open violence committed by the Hottentoos upon several burgers in the country, and upon the shepherds in the day time in the fields, are intolerable; twelve of these yesterday laid hands upon a certain shepherd who was tending his flock on the Table Hill, they took in his presence a sheep out of the flock and cut its throat; he tried to stop them, but instead of being deterred all fell upon him, bound him hand and foot, and instantly cut the throats of 16 of the best sheep, broiled a great portion of the flesh upon the coals, feasted upon some of it, and took away the rest, except three slaughtered sheep, which they could not carry. Some expedient must be devised for the apprehension of these scoundrels, in order to make an example of them. The Hottentots. 1678, April.

You have shaken loose the bonds by which the native community were bound together on your first arrival among them; the power and control of the chiefs over their clans are gone. You will find it extremely difficult to establish your own power, or any power in its stead; and this petty struggle must be continued until you are expelled from their country, which you have usurped,—until they are sacrificed, or seek another country, which the power of the European has yet to reach. Commentary.

Journal continued.—In a letter to the assistant at Hottentoos' Holland, the governor says, "I send you April.

The Hottentots. 1678, April.

the tobacco and the beads for the Hottentoo barter, which you must continue on the old footing, as we now preceive that they will not come hither. 9th. Laid the first stone of the new church.

Commentary.

Why not on 6th instead of the 9th, that being the day of your first arrival in the colony, and ordered for fast and prayer?

April.

Received intelligence on the following day of the marriage of His Royal Highness the Prince of ORANGE with the daughter of the Duke of YORK. Several burgers complained of the open violence, tyranny, and robberies of the Hottentoos, which are daily increasing, and must be provided against. The Hottentoo captain, SCHACHER, and three or four of his train appeared on our summons,—they were instantly placed in custody, and told that they would not be relcased until such Hottentoos as were known to belong to his kraal, and had been among those who had committed the robbery on Table Hill, are given into our hands.

Resolution of Council.—Grounded on the increasing complaints of free men of the increasing thefts and violence of the Hottentoos, through which they had lost, by open force, a considerable portion of cattle, that their herds were threatened with having their necks broken; the natives persisting so that they could not be opposed, and breaking into the free men's houses. The thefts are, however, principally caused by the economy now enforced in the issue of rice, by which the free men were forced to cease supplying the Hottentoos with that grain. Seeing that such hostility arising from hunger among these Africans, lead to the ruin of the poor burgers, and unless provided against is likely to increase,—it was resolved to issue to some Hottentoos who had formerly faithfully served the free men, in payment of their labour, biscuit in lieu of

rice, and to seeure the persons of the Hottentoo captains until some of those rogues are given up to us, that they may be punished according to their deserts. It was further resolved, that Lieut. CRUSE shall visit all the farms in the country, to warn the inhabitants that every one who may apprehend and lodge in prison any such rogue shall receive a reward of 200 lbs. of rice; and as the Hottentoos are very nimble, and eannot be easily overtaken on foot or on horseback, that mounted patroles shall be kept up by night and by day, and endeavour thus to prevent some of these annoyanees. The Hottentots. 1678, April.

Here arises a new difficulty in the administration. Eeonomy forces the Dutch to stop the rice rations of the free farmers; they are eonsequently unable to support their Hottentoo servants, who are thus compelled to plunder, aeknowledgedly from very hunger; then, to stop this course, it is resolved to issue biseuit rations to the starving Hottentoos; the burgers are armed with the power of apprehending and committing to jail such as are guilty, in their estimation, and promised a reward of 200 lbs. of rice for each person so apprehended; whilst mounted patroles, by night and by day, are named in the hope of stopping the evil; this course will probably be more expensive to the government than the riee-ration system, and must also soon be abandoned, for the Dutch government of that day could not, like Great Britain in the present day, afford to spend £200,000 per annum in a worthless eolony; whilst the unlimited power given to the free men over the aborigines is sure to inerease the evil which it is sought to correct; in short, a crisis is at hand, whieh ean only produce further suffering and misery to the aborigines. Commentary.

The imprisoned Hottentoo eaptains sought to be released from their detention, under a promise of April.

The Hottentots. 1678, April.

making compensation for the sheep stolen from the free men by the thievish Hottentots; their application was not listened to, but entirely rejected; and they were told that until the robbers were given up they should not be set at liberty.

Commentary.

Thus commenced the system of forcing these native tribes to surrender for trial and punishment their subjects accused of offences within the colony. Had Gonomoa been left, as he proposed, to afford compensation for the lost property, and to punish his own subjects in his own way, the ends of justice would have been answered on both sides of the border, and the Hottentot chiefs and people would have been saved from the violence which was done to their feelings. It was not, probably, the object of the Dutch authorities to preserve the clans unbroken.

April.

Journal continued.—We were busily employed in examining the Hottentoos who are beginning to confess the knaveries they have committed. The three captains were released from confinement, promising, if possible, to deliver up the rebellious Hottentoos who are still wanting, and they went home after swallowing another *sopie*.

May.

We discovered that the four Hottentoos confined in the jail had, overnight, broken a hole in the wall, though it was built of stone, and five feet thick, with nothing but their hands, a thing which appears to every one impossible; but still this appears to have been the case, for we cannot imagine that the rogues were furnished with any kind of iron implement. They kept themselves concealed somewhere in the fort, until watching their opportunity, they fled through the gate, and from their agility could not be overtaken, excepting one old man who could not keep up with the other active fellows, and was chased and caught by a soldier. Some soldiers were instantly sent out to

secure the others if possible. On further examination we found that they had broken a hole through the stone wall of the store, by the side of the prison; we could not discover that they had done any further harm, except that a few bits of cinnamon were found in the prison. The Hottentots. 1678, May.

Despatch to the Chamber.—We have seen nothing of any enemy, and we cannot imagine that they will readily make any attempt against the respectable force which your Honors now have at this Storm Hoek; but we shall be on our guard, and not hold our enemy too cheap. We are glad to perceive from your despatch of the 11th of May, that you were prepared to approve of our intention to take revenge upon the guilty Hottentoos for the murder of the Netherlanders, and then entering upon an advantageous treaty of peace with them. You will perceive from the sequel that everything has fallen out as desired; after we had taken a portion of Gonomoa's cattle, and killed seven men, he sent first four forerunners, and then some qualified persons, to the number of thirty, women and children included, requesting to have peace as before; after giving them a sharp reprimand we granted them peace, upon the terms specified in the annexed copy—they are to pay 30 cattle annually, and all our Cape Hottentoos, who lie close by, are included in the treaty. We have also made a treaty with all the other Hottentoos hereabouts, who are to bring up annually a certain number of cattle and sheep, according to their ability, and thus we shall render them more and more tributary without their perceiving it—provided we always give them a present in return, which, we trust, will have your approval. *The Rode* returned about the end of last May; she surveyed all the bays and inlets along the coast, as far as Sombriera, a Portuguese fort, in S. lat. 12. 30.

The Hottentots. 1678, May.

The country is dry and barren, and peopled by Hottentoos, with whom they had a skirmish. Those wild Africans could not understand our Hottentoos who sailed in the vessel. We shall send no further expeditions in that direction, and are now certain that there is no St. Helena Nova to be found. Our people prefer one Angola or Guinea slave to four from Madagascar. This year has been particularly unhealthy—47 Dutch and 125 Company's slaves, male and female, have died—and it is surprising that sickness and mortality have been very prevalent among the Hottentoos also. It is satisfactory that you understand how necessary slaves are here. It were vain to inquire why they were not long ago procured, for that was before our time. We trust hereafter to procure plenty, which will reduce expense, and render bread and corn plentiful. Two vessels returned (from Madagascar) bringing 77 live slaves—and they were so long on the voyage that 43 died. They were all under 16 years of age, a term of life which experience, as the English have taught us, to be the best—for those who are older take to feeling when they but think of their country, and die—whereas the young are light-hearted and frolicsome, and thus preserve their health better. The slaves last imported have been distributed among the houses, for a little at first, and their improvement in health is most perceptible—for however well they are fed by Company's servants and slaves, we have found the expense to be greater, in the proportion of three to one, and the mortality in that of six to one. The heavy surf prevented our people from touching at the place called Osmedos d' Ouro, where the *Grundel* abandoned the 17 Netherlanders in 1671—the next paper refers to the distressed condition of these poor colonists, who cannot bear any further tax, most of them being in debt to the poor fund, for money which

they have taken up at the annual interest of six per cent. They earn almost all their money from the fleet, arranging all contracts among themselves, payable on the arrival or departure of the fleet of each year. Should a single fleet fail to put in here, many persons would be reduced to the utmost distress. One-third of the colonists have no knowledge of agriculture, and are of no advantage to the colony. When you give the handicraft anything to do they tell you they did not come hither to work. We request that, should your Honors resolve on sending any free persons hither that you will send us none but farmers. The Hottentots. 1678, May.

Thus it has always been at the Cape; the cry is still for good farmers as it was in 1678; whilst the soil and the climate will not admit of their doing anything more in agriculture than living from hand to mouth. It it curious, however, to find the government at that time declaring that if a single year's fleet failed to put in and spend its money, many persons would be reduced to the utmost distress. Did England now discontinue her expenditure of £200,000 or £300,000 per annum, what would be the condition of the colonists? Commentary.

Resolution of Council.—The old Hottentoo who was left behind by the others, broke out of prison, having done no harm himself, except helping to eat the stolen flesh, it was resolved to set him at liberty; more especially as he must be fed at the Company's expense. A female slave confined for breaking into and stealing from the house of the *free black burger*, Lewis, of Mozambique, was restored to the owner, who is held responsible for satisfying Lewis respecting the stolen articles; and Lewis having afterwards complained to Council that satisfaction had not been made, it was resolved, that when he can prove the justice of his claim, the slave shall be sold for the June.

The Hottentots. 1678, June.

benefit of those concerned, provided that the owner consents, or otherwise satisfies the complainant.

Journal continued.—On receipt of this at Hottentoos' Holland, you will instantly send two Hottentoos to Captains Claas and Coopman, to desire them to come as soon as possible with as many sheep as they can bring in repayment of what they still owe to the Company. You will bring skins and other rarities from the Hottentoos as before, taking care that no private person interferes with the trade. To send biscuit for barter would be too expensive.

July.

The funeral of the governor was attended by all the Company's servants and all the free inhabitants; and even by the nearest Hottentoo captains and some of their chief men. The weather seemed to sympathise with us, for all day it was dark and dismal, ending in rain in the evening. It is rumoured that Gonomoa has caught two of the robbers who broke out of the jail, and that to show that he does not harbour such rogues, he had one of them, as being his own Souqua, instantly massacred and put to death; (could or would the Hottentoo chief have treated one of his own tribe as he did the little Bosjeman?) the other, being a Souqua of Captain Cuyper's, he had sent to him that he might be dealt with in the same way, or be given up to us. If this be true, it is somewhat remarkable in these savage Africans. Cuyper and his people brought to the fort ten sheep in liquidation of those lent to him by the Company, out of the Gonomoa booty; he was recompensed with a dram of arrack and a bit of tobacco, with which these Africans made very merry among themselves. Schacher brought in like manner .... sheep, and was similarly treated; these sheep came very opportunely, to prevent our slaughtering any of our ewes.

August.

The Hottentoos of Cuyper's kraal brought two sheep

for sale, which were bought for tobacco. They informed us that their chief, as well as SCHACHER and THOMAS, when they received the summons to attend at the Cape, were just setting out upon an elephant hunt—a great number of these animals having appeared near their kraals—that it was for the purpose of procuring tobacco for their use, during this hunt, that the two sheep were sent for sale, and that on their return the chiefs would visit us without fail. The Hottentots. 1678, August.

Here is another curious scene. The chiefs had been called to the castle to assist the Dutch against the Bosjeman robbers who had broken out of jail, and who were, with their accomplices, commencing a course of fresh depredations. But the Hottentoo chiefs were first going on an elephant hunt, and could not come; they had sent the two sheep to barter for tobacco, to be used on the elephant hunting excursion; a new want with the Hottentoo chiefs and people; for they could hardly now anywhere live without it, and least of all on a hunting excursion, as many, or most huntsmen will understand. Commentary.

Wrote to the overseer at Hottentoos' Holland, not to give over any more buildings to the free men; to refuse them the use of the kitchen, to warn them and Company's servants against barter transactions with the Hottentoos, and to keep a better watch over the proceedings of the free men. The Soeswas' chiefs, COOPMAN and CLAAS, came to the fort with a great train of their men, bringing 83 sheep in payment of those formerly placed in their charge from the Gonomoa booty; a well-timed supply for the ships and the great number of sick in the hospital. October.

Upon the petition of a burger he was permitted to graze a flock of sheep behind the Steenbergen, near the place entitled the Wynkelder, especially as the permission will not tend, in any degree, to the injury

The Hottentots. 1678, October.

of the Company; upon condition, however, that should the Company hereafter require that pasture for their cattle, he must give it up and look for another place.

Commentary.

This is the first instance of a farmer being permitted to pasture his flocks so far in advance as behind the Steenbergen. The governor of course thought himself justified in appropriating the whole of the Cape and Hottentoos' Holland districts through the purchase treaty and the payment of about *f.* 100 to the Hottentoo chiefs for the land, without foreseeing that the Hottentoo people were not likely to concur in the validity of that purchase; or that the separate tribes of Bosjemans were sure to oppose the pasturage of tame cattle on the pasture lands of their wild cattle. The separation of interests shown in this contract between the government and its subjects, and the continued prohibition of individual barter, as opposed to the interests of the Company, appear to belong more to the time of Commander Van Riebeeck than to that of Governor Bax. But this separation of interests in a situation where the interests and objects of both governments and subjects should have been identical, is one of the vices almost peculiar to the Dutch colonial administration, and is necessarily one of the greatest evils which their governors and officers have had to deal with.

October.

Letter from the governor to the assistant, Hottentoos' Holland.—Captain Claas is very dilatory in coming hither; we shall expect his answer to the allegations about him by a Hottentoo express dispatched as soon as your messenger returns. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that a resolution, after setting forth in the usual preamble, the necessity of purchasing cattle, states—"that the cattle reared will not supply the great consumption;" that "these

nearest Hottentoos are now so impoverished in respect of cattle, that only a few sheep and a few old lean cattle could be got from them," and on these grounds Sergeant VISSER and eighteen men are ordered to proceed to purchase from the Hessequas and Soeswas, whose kraals are at present near at hand, with provisions for six weeks. Captain CUYPER came to the fort with five sheep, which were bartered from him for the usual articles. The Hottentots. 1678, October.

The wagon arrived from the Hottentoos' Holland for the monthly rations for the garrison and slaves there. The overseer wrote all is well; Sergeant VISSER set out with his party—may the Almighty be their guide, to bring them back safely after good success; although the Hottentoos have but few cattle, still it was deemed necessary to send to GONOMOA, who is the richest in cattle, to try to get some,—and Lieut. CRUSE, with a wagon and six men, set out with merchandize. He returned on the fourth day with 11 fine cattle and 37 sheep, all bartered from the Gonomoa kraals. They found the tribe at the Paardeberg, about ten hours' distant, but intending to decamp in two days, to go beyond the Berg River. He crossed there to pay the annual tribute of thirty cattle, for only nine had been received, but they would not engage to do so before the arrival of the fleet; requesting also to be excused from bartering cattle for two or three years, until their cattle had increased by breeding, when they hoped to supply a greater number, as they were at present very ill supplied in consequence of the war. They behaved in other respects very civilly, and did not show the slightest inclination to oppose us again; but, on the contrary, appeared convinced that war with the Netherlanders was not profitable, at least to them; and resolved, therefore, sedulously to cultivate mutual peace. November.

The Hottentots.

1678, November. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that a despatch from Holland of August, conveys intelligence of peace with France, touches on the state of the crops, and the supply of slaves, but makes no reference to the natives.

December. Gonomoa came to say, that, with our approval, he was resolved to quit the Tygerberg, and to remove farther inland, as the Cape Hottentoos complained that he lay with his cattle too near in their jurisdiction, to their injury.

Commentary. It appears, then, that the territorial demarcation which we at first traced amongst these nomadic tribes, was still claimed by the Goringhaiquas, and respected by the Cochoquas, in spite of the usurpations of the Dutch, and of the revolutions which their presence almost necessarily worked in the relative strength and positions of the native clans.

December. He also requested such sticks, bearing the Company's arms, as had been given to Cape Hottentoos, as a token that they also were included among the Company's allies. He and his ministers of state and great ladies were regaled with a piece of tobacco and a *sopie*, and being treated as well as Oedasoa, each with a stick with a copper head, bearing an engraving of the Company's arms, they departed well satisfied. Sergeant Visser and party returned on the 18th, all safe, bringing with them a fine herd of 142 fine young cattle, and 500 pretty good Hottentoo sheep, purchased from the Hessequa and Soeswa tribes, for the usual merchandize. During the whole journey they had not met with the slightest molestation from the Hottentoos of the interior.

1679, January. Three free men absented themselves; four Company's horses, two belonging to free men, and two slaves, were missed at the same time; and two active Hottentoos of Gonomoa's kraal undertook, upon a promise of a good reward, to inform their chief of

the desertion of the three free burgers, and a slave with the horses, to request him to secure and send them back. The Hottentots. 1679, January.

We received certain intelligence by four of Gonomoa's Hottentoos that they were all at Oliphants' River. Gonomoa required the aid of Dutchmen to apprehend them, as they had fire-arms, and had offered to resist; and it was resolved to send twelve horsemen armed, and provisioned for 14 days, to bring them back dead or alive. Some Hottentoos brought in a Company's slave who had deserted, and were rewarded with tobacco and pipes. The chiefs and captains of the Hessequas sent some Africans expressly to invite us to come to trade with them for cattle at the Bakkeley Plaats, where they had assembled for the purpose—and it was resolved to send a party to trade with them. Gonomoa came and said that he had travelled three days with three Dutchmen and a slave, who had with them six horses; that he left them at Oliphants' River, but hearing afterwards from the Cape that they were deserters, whom he should apprehend, he proceeded to the place where his three Souquas had left them, with a good number of Hottentoos, but they were gone; on examining their resting place he found nothing but dead horses. He continued to travel along the River for four days, until he reached the country of the Gerequas, without seeing anything of the Dutchmen, when he turned back hastily from want of victuals, and partly from a hurt in his arm through a fall. He assured our men that it would be impossible to proceed in that direction, as for several days' journey there was no water for man or beast, and the party consequently returned. The fugitives have probably perished miserably of hunger, been killed by wild animals or by the savage natives of Africa. Eight days after this one of them February.

The Hottentots. 1679, February.

was caught by a farmer in his vineyard; four days subsequently Sergeant BERG returned, having heard nothing certain of the other two. The man who was found in the vineyard confessed the theft of the horses, and the attempt to find his way to the Portuguese, he had quitted his companions four days' journey beyond Oliphants' River. He was subsequently sentenced to death for these offences, and executed. Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note—as men can now be spared in consequence of the arrival of intelligence of peace in Europe,—it is resolved to send Sergeant VISSER, with 18 experienced travellers, to trade with the Hessequas.

March.

CUYPER and his people brought in three Madagascar fugitive slaves, and were rewarded. Four men returned from VISSER'S party with 20 cattle and 185 sheep, which were bought in passing from the Soeswa tribe. Sergeant BERG wrote on the 22d, to say that the Hessequa kraals were still separate: one portion inland, towards the mountains, the other towards the coast, but that they were about to collect together; and on the 13th of that month he arrived at Hottentoos' Holland with 100 cattle and 320 sheep.

April.

Despatch to the Chamber.—In our last letter we adverted slightly to the good understanding and neighbourly terms now subsisting between us and the native tribes. The captains and great men of the nearest kraals, including those of GONOMOA, have given frequent proofs of their good will; they even searched out and gave up to us last year as prisoners, with a view to punishment, some banditti of their nation who annoyed the Company and private persons by cattle stealing and other outrages, rendering the whole country insecure; they were hanged, and we have been for a considerable time free from such annoyances; and we have besides conferred such

obligations upon the natives, that wherever they find any deserted slaves, they restore them to us; indeed, they seek for them the moment they hear of their flight, always receiving some small present on giving them up. The desertion of slaves cannot be prevented by any vigilance or exertion, no less than .... having run away in the course of one year, who have not been recovered. It is a melancholy fact, that these poor men are sustained by a vain hope of some mode of escape; whilst, in fact, there is no prospect for them but certain death from hunger and thirst, the fury of beasts of prey, or the barbarous bands of the remote tribes of Hottentoos. The Hottentots. 1679, April.

"The barbarous bands of the remote tribes of Hottentots" were not, obviously, so much feared by the unfortunate slave as those of the European, else there would not have been at this time so many desertions from the latter to the former. Had the tribes in the neighbourhood of Cape Town been agricultural to some extent, as even the Kaffers were, it would, of course, have been impossible for the Dutch to have kept any of their slaves; for foreign labour would then have been in demand, which, of course, it was not with a people mostly, if not altogether, pastoral; but we have already seen that run-away slaves were received by, and that they found an asylum with, the Kaffers. Commentary.

According to the conditions of peace concluded with Gonomoa two years ago, he is bound to deliver to the Company annually, on the arrival of the return fleet, thirty head of cattle; but although the stipulated period has twice elapsed, and in spite of repeated warnings he has, from inability, delivered only nine head on account, this tribe, as well as the Cape Hottentoos, who live hereabouts, are so impoverished by the wars they have waged against each other, that we April.

The Hottentots. 1679, April.

have been able to procure from them, by way of barter, only 190 head of cattle and sheep together; and we have been thus compelled to take what we require in distant journeys and at a heavier expense; by such means we have purchased in two separate trips 259 cattle and 1,060 sheep, which, with the assistance of the increase of the Company's flocks and herds has enabled us to meet the demands of the passing ships and of the hospital. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the same despatch contains the following notices of the advancement of the colony:—The Cape burgers now consist of 62 families, comprising 83 free males, 55 women, 117 Dutch or mixed children, 30 Dutch servants, and 191 slaves of both sexes; in all, 486. They have sown 156 muids of wheat, rye, and barley, and reaped 750 muids; to this may be added 400 muids of wheat, 60 of rye, and 40 of barley, reaped at Hottentoos' Holland; in all about 50 tons of 3,000 lbs. each. On the other hand, these 486 persons require, on an average, 150 muids or 21,000 lbs. of grain monthly, or in other words 84 tons for the whole year. Your Honors will thus perceive, even in a favorable season, that the crops will barely meet the annual consumption, and this grain does not besides go so far as rice in feeding the slaves, and is far from equally nutritious; and here we have said nothing of the consumption of the garrison, Company's slaves, or the hospital, which have hitherto required twelve tons of rice monthly.

Commentary.

It may have been consolatory to the Dutch authorities of this period to describe the impoverished condition of the Cochoquas, and of the Cape Hottentoos "who live hereabouts," to have arisen out of the wars which they waged against each other. But who, at the present day, will doubt that the dissensions of all people in their condition, although they may have

been of frequent occurrence, were easily adjusted among themselves, and that they were not attended with much loss of life, or destruction of property; and that the impoverishment of the Cochoquas, and more especially of the Goringhaiquas, resulted from the presence of the forcigner, and from his usurpation of thc pasture lands of the latter tribe. The Hottentots. 1679, April. Commentary.

Despatch from the Chamber.—We are well pleased that we are at length awakened out of our dream about St. Helena Nova. We have so oftcn sent vessels to the Eastward of the Cape, or touched upon that coast, without finding any thing worth the search, that these voyages may be discontinued—unless rice, millet, or other grain were to be had there. We are well pleased to find that you have again made peace with the chief GONOMOA, upon the conditions detailed by you—and wc approve of the additional treaty which you have made with the other Hottcntoo Captains. We are grieved to hear of the death of Governor BAX, and have named, as Commander, Mr. SIMON VAN DER STELL, to supply his place. May.

Journal continued.—There are four kraals of neigh- bouring Hottentoos, living encamped at Tygerberg, at the spot where the Company usually fetches the greater part of their hay. A sergeant was sent to them to say that they must remove, but they had removed before his arrival. June.

Did then the Dutch governor stack hay? a thing not now done, that I see, in any part of the Colony. Commentary.

Some wild animals drove away from the Schuur 58 working oxen; the cattle-herd was present but could not prevent this. They were found six days after all together behind the Tygerberg. August.

The *Vrye Zee* arrived, with our new Commander, VAN DER STELL, and family. Notwithstanding her long voyage this ship only sacrificed to Neptune 11 October.

The Hottentots. 1679, October.

men out of 259. A captain of the Hessequas waited upon the Commander, and informed him that he had been sent by his tribe to invite us to barter cattle from them—and that for this purpose all their kraals had assembled at the Bakkeley Plaats, where they wished

November.

to have a good trade with us. As the captain was inclined to go home, he was, in return for his ambassado, regaled with a little tobacco, some pipes, biscuit, &c, which to this African, who had never been here before, seemed a very prodigal gift. The commander having placed every thing in charge of the second in command, Crudop, mounted his horse in the morning, and, accompanied by some members of council, proceeded to inspect the fertile and pleasant country about Hottentoos' Holland. They found all the waste land, from about two hours' journey from the Cape, fit for cultivation, and that Hottentoos' Holland is as subject to high winds as the Cape. Near it was excellent arable land, supplied by nature with a delightful fresh water river, ornamented with trees fit either for timber or fuel, and that consequently to advance agriculture, nothing is wanted here but industrious fatherland farmers; the crops looked exceedingly well, and promised an abundant harvest if only free from high winds and fire. Another tract, distant three hours' journey from Hottentoos' Holland was inspected, consisting of a flat valley of several thousand morgen of fine pasture land, also very suitable for cultivation, supplied with a very excellent river of fresh and running water, both banks of which were ornamented with fine lofty trees. He also discovered there a small island, encircled by a running stream of fresh water, and thickly studded with lofty trees. Here the commander passed the night, and as the spot had never before been visited by any chief authority, it was named Stellenbosch.

On the observation in the Journal relating to industrious farmers, Mr. Moodie says, in a Note—"The want of industry was not the only obstacle to success, or the real cause of the extension of the colony; this will soon become more apparent. The following is a specimen of the policy which, as the colonists subsequently alleged, compelled them to graze their cattle at a distance." "A resolution of 27th November, 1679, sets forth the abuses arising from the system of furnishing oxen to the free farmers on credit, at the rate of *f.* 12; and the necessity, at the same time, of assisting poor farmers with working cattle. To avoid these abuses, but "still to assist" the farmers, it was determined "to assist some of the poorer farmers with oxen no longer on credit, or encumbered with any servitude of restitution," but in full property, provided that they be bound to pay the Company previous to delivery 24 guilders for each head." The cattle thus sold "in full property" were "not to be sold, killed, or exchanged, without express leave, under penalty of Rds. 100 against the buyer, and corporal punishment against the seller;" they were to have the Company's mark, and "on pain of arbitrary correction" only to be used in agriculture, and not in carrying fire-wood, or other hard work, beyond what was required for the use of the owner." Mr. Moodie refers to the remarks of Governor-General Van Goens for the effects of this policy. The Hottentots. 1679, November.

Such resolutions may appear puerile or funny at the present day. But they bear more directly on important matters than anything I have yet met with in "The Record." No person of capital had yet come to South Africa from Holland in the capacity of an "industrious farmer," and it was the absence of such characters of which the Dutch government so constantly complained. It was therefore necessary to Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1679, November. Commentary.

give land to discharged soldiers and sailors, and no class of persons could have been less calculated for agricultural purposes. The discharged soldiers and sailors had, of course, no money, or means of their own with which to purchase either land or cattle for its cultivation: but there was never any want of land at the Cape, for that was usurped from the natives and given to the farmers in abundance; and as all parties had been accustomed to look upon land as the most valuable commodity in Europe, so was it naturally looked upon by all parties in Africa; they had neither leisure nor inclination to draw comparisons, and to see that this most precious of all commodities in Europe might be worse than useless in Africa. Worse than useless, certainly; for the aborigines, from whom it was taken, necessarily became the enemies of those who took, as well as those who kept or cultivated their lands; but more especially of the latter, for these, and the cattle which cultivated it, or pastured upon it, were daily before their eyes. The cultivator accordingly immediately got into collision with the original owner of the land, but all the expense of defending him necessarily fell on the government. To escape from this responsibility the Dutch government placed arms in the hands of its subjects, and urged them to organize and arm in their own defence. The people were, of course, not slow to follow out a measure so congenial to their own dispositions, and so necessary to their safety in the unprotected condition to which the government raised them, and in which it left them. It was, however, soon discovered, that with organization, and arms in their hands, the people very soon became too strong for their rulers, as well as for the unarmed chiefs and tribes in the neighbourhood; and then, of course, international law, as well as very shame, if not the

dictates of humanity, compelled government to arm against its own subjects for the protection of substantive or organized states and people. But I am running far ahead of my record, for this is the struggle in which the British government is now engaged with the Dutch emigrant farmers. To return therefore to the other branch of the question. Land, without cattle and servants to till it, if exceeding the quantity which the individual or community to which it was granted could cultivate, or use as pasturage for the few cattle which belonged to their condition, was necessarily useless and burthensome to the peasants themselves, as well as to the state. But even to this extent the discharged soldiers and sailors had not the means of occupying the few acres of land which were necessary to raise them to the condition of agricultural colonists; cattle and slaves were accordingly purchased, and sold to them on credit by the government, for the government would not permit free barter or purchase between its subjects and the natives, lest its own barter traffic should be injuriously affected by that system. In return for the cattle and slaves so sold, and for the rent and seed, the government held a lien on the produce of the land; so that free sale or barter amongst the colonists themselves or with foreigners was thus interdicted, and all that vicious course of administration followed, which might be expected when the state becomes the principal creditor of the subject in this pettifogging way, or when it interferes with these individual dealings.

The Hottentots, 1679, November. Commentary.

In other instances, the booty taken from the enemy, Gonomoa's cattle for instance, was given to the farmers; and here arose another cause of embarrassment to both colonists and government, for the natives never, of course, lost sight of their plundered cattle; and, without any act of violence, had the power of

The Hottentots. 1679, November. Commentary.

whistling away their eattle in a manner whieh surprises those who have not been aceustomed to see, or to think of, the fellowship which naturally subsists between man and beast, living on the terms on whieh the Afriean lives with his ox, the Arab with his horse. It will have been observed, that whenever eattle were whistled away from the Duteh, they were always found altogether in the same plaee,—this is, of course, only the organization whieh belongs to domestie animals aceustomed to migrate with their nomadie owners, or when they live in fear of wild animals. See the fine herds of white oxen in Malwa (India) assemble en mass on the signal of danger from either their keepers or their bell-ox, and when the danger is over see them up tail and eross the plains to their respeetive pasture lands. I have myself seen a herd of tame buffaloes form phalanx, and eharge into the jungle, a royal tiger whieh had killed one of their calves. These speculations are not foreign to the subjeet, for the power which the natives of South Afriea had, and have, of whistling baek their herds was, and is, one of the diffieulties with whieh the eolonists have had, and have to this day, to eontend against. In further illustration of this subjeet, see how those mighty herds of migratory spring-buek up head and seent the danger from afar. I have seen on the Tarka plains a flock of a thousand of them assemble en mass, wheel from line almost into eolumn, advanee or retire in this form, disperse, and seamper aeross the plains almost with the order whieh belongs to organized bodies.

The vieious eourse of granting lands to the eolonists, *ad libitum*, and permitting them to keep herds of cattle, too extensive for the pasturage of even these lands, which, therefore, they pastured on the lands of their aborigine neighbours, rendered the eolonists a pastoral and nomadie, instead of an agrieultural

people, and involved them and their rulers in interminable disputes with the natives, whilst the lands themselves were useless to the colonists, and worse than useless to the government; the former having the trouble of defending the property on his land, which altogether did not yield so much profit as a few acres of well cultivated land would have yielded; and the latter, having the cost of defending the whole, without receiving either rent or revenue. As to the worthlessness of land to individuals, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Baronet, told me that his splendid freehold, or quitrent estate on the Kaga Berg, and that is said to be the most valuable grant ever made in the colony to an individual, costs him a yearly outlay, instead of yielding profit. I saw enough of the Kaga Berg to satisfy me that although it is one of the most beautiful properties which I have seen during my eight months' progress through the frontier districts, this tract of country must always remain utterly useless to the proprietor, as well owing to its remoteness from the sea as from the scanty population. Sir Andries' chief difficulty appears to arise out of his reluctance to part with a property so beautiful, and on which he has spent so much money; and this will be the difficulty with our own government, in respect to the whole of these frontier districts. But this is only the details of the great question on which I wrote to the Colonial Secretary from Graaff-Reinet, two months and 29 days ago.

The House of Commons is now obviously alive to the danger of granting land to colonists who have not the means of cultivating it. The measure adopted some years since of holding every colonist responsible for the cultivation of a certain portion of his grant, the alternative being, I conclude, forfeiture of the grant, was of this character. The late resolution of

The Hottentots, 1679, November. Commentary.

the Committee of the House on the New Zealand question, of charging a yearly rent on each acre of land, and levying one year's rent in advance, is of the same character; and both resolutions of course correspond with that of the Cape government of November, 1679, which has just been quoted.

Graham's Town, January 28th, 1845.

1679, December.

Gonomoa appeared at the fort with a considerable train of his officers of state and ladies, bringing .... cattle and .... sheep, which were purchased with the usual articles. Lieut. Cruse returned, after a month's absence, with a fine flock of cattle and sheep, all purchased from the Hessequas. They told the Lieut. that, six or eight months ago, three large and one small ship had been in Mossel Bay, when they lay with their kraals near that place. The ships took in wood and water, but procured no cattle. The said Africans were unable to say what Europeans they were, but it is probable that they were Portuguese, and that they had gone on to the newly-established colony at Zena, in lat..... on the African continent.

The Hessequas are generally called Africans in the Journal—were then those with whom Lieut. Cruse had been bartering in the neighbourhood of Mossel Bay, Kaffers?

Despatch to the Chamber.—We concur with your honors in opinion that agriculture should be prosecuted with greater zeal, seeing the great expense of importing provisions. It will be seen by our resolutions and letters that we have stimulated the colonists both by kindness and by threats. But the Company has always found the agriculture to its own injury, supplying both cattle and slaves far below prime cost, and that on credit. Much is owing to the want of

zeal and industry among the colonists, who, when supplied with rice from the Company's stores, did not trouble themselves about the plough, preferring lighter and more agreeable employments. It were to be wished that we had a number of real laborious Dutch farmers, planted at Hottentoos Holland upon favorable conditions—and doubtless many who have been ruined by the war would be glad to undertake it. We now live on very good terms with all the aborigines, who were pacified about three years ago. The scarcity of cattle among the Gonomoa and other Hottentoos, still continues the same; and we have had to trade at a distance of fifty or sixty mylen further, where we lately procured a considerable number of sheep and cattle. We shall, two months hence, have to send out another expedition, particularly to procure draught oxen for the ploughs and wagons. The Hottentots. 1679, December.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the Journals for this and the three following years, are wanting. But that it may be ascertained, by comparing the notices, extracted from the resolutions of council, despatches, &c., with those of other years, how far the loss is supplied by the notices given in "The Record," which, as the evidence they contain is chiefly negative, has been abbreviated as much as possible. It may be observed that the annual despatches rarely fail to advert to every important transaction with the natives; and from the following instructions issued by the Directors on the 23rd of January, 1681, it would seem that this was expected:—"In all matters of importance you will be pleased to bring forward the substantive matter in your letters, and not to content yourselves with a mere reference to your resolutions or journals, so that we may have before us, in a compact shape, what we have to examine—and you will 1680,

The Hottentots. 1680, March.

affix short marginals to your letters, as is the practice in India."

Resolution of Council.—Some lands in the interior having been granted to free colonists on the tenure of a loan for a fixed term of years, on condition of their paying annually a tithe of the produce—and they fearing that towards the expiry of the period, the Company may enter on possession of the land, leave it uncultivated; and as this is opposed to the interests of the Company, and as experience has proved that government farming is unprofitable—it was therefore resolved to grant such lands in full freehold, and also other lands to those who may hereafter request such possessions—the lands in Table Valley excepted—with this restriction, however, that when the lands remain untilled, or not properly cultivated, they may be given to those who will bestow more attention upon their cultivation, and the first owner shall then have no right or claim whatever upon such lands.

Despatch to the Chamber.—We have learnt that the Geregeriquas have had a war with the Namaquas, a distant Hottentoo tribe; that they have been defeated, and have sought refuge under our protection, promising, on being assured of peace with us, to come and ask leave to reside more in this direction, as the peace now existing between them and the Namaquas will endure only as long as the latter see fit. They also offered to accompany some of our people to the Namaquas, who, as they say, carry on a trade in cattle with a strange black tribe who lie in that quarter. This proposal is not amiss, as we could get into a friendly trade with the Namaquas, and the discovery of this strange black people cannot be deemed injurious to the Company. For these purposes a certain slave will be useful—he ran away with the three free men a year ago, and after suffering many hardships, joined the

Geregeriquas, who have now delivered him up, and he understands the Hottentoo language. The Geregeriquas were induced to engage to give up the slave on the stipulation that he should not suffer the slightest injury, and this the Governor was obliged to promise, else they would not have given him into our hands—although we are still on good terms with our neighbours, the native tribes—and have so far obliged them with small presents, that they have searched for, and given up such slaves as they could find who had deserted into the interior, always receiving a suitable recompense—still as neither hunger nor thirst, the fury of ravenous animals, nor the murderous hands of the more distant Hottentots, nor, finally, the certainty of death, will suffice to check the wicked resolution of the slaves, we have been compelled to give the distant Hottentoos, as well as those in our neighbourhood, for every captured slave, a recompense equal to what is paid in barter for an ox, and to every Dutchman three rix-dollars. Sergeant Visser, who went with 16 men to the Hessequas, bought 200 horned cattle and 615 sheep for the usual articles of trade. The Hottentots. 1680, March.

Memorandum from Commissioner Abbema for Commander Van der Stell.—The greatest want of the farmers is cattle,—and, as you have already begun to do, you must favor those who are zealous in farming as much as possible, on the former footing of repayment and restitution; the colonists are still unable from the want of means to work out the objects of the Company, still less will they be able to do so if we begin to give out lands, which are surely sufficiently extensive, upon such hard and intolerable conditions as were recently entered into; when land was given at Hout Bay, the granter to pay a tenth of the produce for ten years, when the land is to revert to the Company; a very hard condition, which de-

The Hottentots. 1680, March.

stroys the spirit of the cultivator, and which is the immediate cause of the land having been, for the last two or three years, so inadequately manured and cultivated. What can the Company do with the land? We have in the Corn Schuyr a notorious example that all the corn raised by the Company by means of salaried servants is more loss than gain.

November.

Resolution of Council.—It has been observed for some time back, that the Company's servants and free men have paid the natives for the smallest piece of service with money, instead of rice or tobacco; whence these savage natives have become so bold and presumptuous that they are not now to be satisfied or contented without money, and that they now insist on being paid in money for anything that we desire of them, by which means the natives are enabled to procure a large quantity of tobacco, with which they proceed into the interior and there purchase cattle and sheep from other tribes. Some of these natives went out for this purpose some days before our bartering party commenced their journey, and entirely spoiled the Company's trade. Every one residing under the Company's jurisdiction is, therefore, prohibited from giving any money to any of these natives, or receiving any from them. A resolution provides against the illegal destruction of game, on the ground "of the ruin of this place," that would follow the entire destruction of the large game, and the indolent habits fostered by the practice of hunting. Burgers to receive a licence to shoot one sea-cow, one hartebeest, one rhinoceros, and one eland, for the subsistence of their families, provided that they preserve the horn as well as the fat of the sea-cow, and do not as has been usual, leave the flesh for the beasts of prey. The chief injury arising from the contraband sale of tobacco is thus stated. Mr. Moodie says—

The Strandloopers buy up the private tobacco for a lower price, and carrying it into the interior, persuade the natives not only that the Company rate their tobacco too high in exchange for cattle, but that the Company's tobacco is not so good as that imported by individuals." This proposed regulation was aimed against "such mischievous infraction of the Company's trade in tobacco," "the only merchandize upon which the Company has been able to rely for annually *een moye stuyver*." The Hottentots. 1680, November.

It is rather interesting to find the Hottentots at this early period doing the European, and anticipating him in the cattle trade by preceding their party in its expedition for cattle barter into the interior; and to find even the Strandloopers purchasing up tobacco at Cape Town, and carrying on with it a trade with Hottentots at a distance. The Dutch government had before attempted to prevent barter between the several native tribes living beyond their jurisdictions; this is, apparently, only a prohibition against their own native subjects dealing with those who are not yet their subjects, in which they may succeed. Commentary.

Despatch from the Chamber.—We approve of the high premiums paid to the Hottentoos for the apprehension of deserted slaves. We wish that you could, in these peaceful times, reduce the garrison of 294 soldiers and sailors. 1681, January.

Despatch to the Chamber.—The most watchful vigilance and severest punishments can, in no degree, prevent the desertion of slaves; a gang of thirty assembled together in December last, with the intention of flying into the interior, but their design was discovered, and they were severely punished; some Company's slaves however escaped last year. It is strange that, although the Company has been in possession here so many years, we have never been able March.

The Hottentots. 1681, March.

to bring it so far as to live upon our own means. It appears by the account books of the Cape, that since 1657, the colony has cost the Company, after deducting all profits, *f.* 1,005,207. By God's blessing the Company's servants, burgers, with wives and children, amount to fully 600 souls, who may be fed on wheat, rye, and barley; the produce of their own harvests. But the slaves, amounting to an equal number, must be fed on rice.

1682, April.

Despatch to the Chamber.—We still continue on very good neighbourly terms with the natives, those nearest at hand, and those farthest inland, which gives great security to the free farmers, who are now fixing their abodes in various quarters, and prosecuting their agricultural operations with much zeal. But the fidelity of the natives is not much to be depended upon; not the principal chiefs and those subject to them, Gonomoa for example, who too well remember the war carried on with the Company; but the Souquas, a sort of Hottentoos who subsist by plunder, and who have nothing to lose by war. We have, therefore, directed that at a certain spot, named Stellenbosch,—where the principal farmers have either begun to cultivate, or are inclined to commence,—the habitations are not to be placed too far from each other, for the sake of mutual assistance in the event of attack. Gonomoa has not, during all the time that has elapsed, brought in any more than thirty head of cattle, in diminution of our tribute claim; for like all the Hottentoos who lie hereabouts, he is very poorly off for stock. We have therefore been obliged to send to the Hessequas for the necessary supply; they live on the coast of Africa, and are very opulent in cattle. We procured from them in three journeys 669 horned cattle and 2,374 sheep. We have suffered little from mortality among the cattle

last year—and but little from ravenous animals, such as lions, tigers, and wolves. We have recourse to trading-journeys rather to save our breeding stock than from any absolute want of cattle; and half-bred sheep of the progeny between the Dutch and Hottentot breed, is much to be preferred to the native breed, on account of nutriment as well as of size. We intended to have taken a journey to the Namaquas for the better examination of the country. But as we did not know the exact position occupied by that people, and were not inclined to risk the expense, we thought it better to tempt the Hottentoos by high presents to go thither and induce the Namaquas to come to us. We succeeded so far that some of the principal chiefs of the Namaquas came to the Geregeriquas, another tribe living about 50 mylen from this, where they remained under the plea of ignorance of our manners and customs, not having been at the Cape, and they desired either to be escorted hither by some of our people, or to return to their own country. A party was accordingly sent, and they came, to the number of twelve of both sexes, including four chiefs whom they called captains, and who explained as well as they could the situation and circumstances of their country. We learnt among other things that the river Vigiti Magna, which our people took such infinite pains to find, was known to them—that it was very wide and deep all the way to where it discharges itself into the sea in the North of Africa. They are entirely ignorant of the mode of smelting ore, yet showed us several bits of copper, taken by themselves out of the mountains in their country, and run together into a lump by the heat of the fire. They have also brought to our knowledge two other sorts of people, who live far to the North, and whom they called Bri and Griequas, the last residing furthest inland; and,

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according to them, the most distant are real (opregte) Kaffers, who trade with tribes still further off, among whom they say that a kind of metal is to be had not unlike silver. A great sickness has prevailed here; natives who are generally free from such visitations, have not been exempted, and many of them have been swept off, which very seldom happens, in comparison with the numbers carried off in the course of nature; we lost in the course of last year, among the garrison and the burgers, 85 persons, chiefly by fever. Mr. Moodie says in a Note, that in the same despatch the whole European population is stated to have been 663, of which number 300 belonged to the garrison, 162 were women and children, and 45 Dutch servants; 2,549 muids of grain had been reaped. "Thus it is evident that the Company's servants, the burgers, and their wives and children, may be henceforth subsisted upon grain grown by themselves, but not the slaves, who, including those belonging to the Company, will not amount to a less number, and must necessarily be fed on rice." Much, Mr. Moodie continues, was said of the flourishing state of agriculture, particularly at the new settlement of Stellenbosch, of the encouragement that had been held out to agrieulture, and of the still greater encouragement that was required "to keep up the present zeal of the farmers, for were we to restriet them too much, this needful work would be once more entirely crushed." The same despatch has this paragraph:—For the prevention of all monopoly, a priee must be fixed, at which the Company may henceforth receive the grain from the free farmers; in our opinion those who have made the contract with the Company should be satisfied with *f.* 10 for wheat, 8 for rye, and 4-10 for barley per muid, and should not be allowed to sell to private persons at the same

rate, otherwise they would leave the Company in want. The Hottentots. 1632, April.

It may appear at first sight that Resolutions and Ordinances of the Dutch government, of the character of that which I have just quoted, are foreign to the subject on which I am engaged. But, although such things have, of course, no connection with the condition of aborigines on the first arrival of Europeans among them, yet the restrictive proceedings of the Dutch government, and the close monopoly which they held, or attempted to hold in their own hands, could not fail materially to influence the future condition of the aborigines, as well as that of the colonists; for it was attempted to draw a wide gulf not only between the several tribes in the interior with each other, but between the colonists and the colonial aborigines, and between the colonists, aborigine, and European; and the tribes in the interior. I am not aware whether the same system belonged, in the same degree, and at the same period, to other planters of colonies as well as to the Dutch. But if so, it terminated with them at a much earlier period; for with the Dutch it has not terminated even at the present day in their Eastern colonial possessions; and it has necessarily driven almost all English occupants out of Java. The following are further specimens:— Commentary.

Despatch from the Chamber, 23d January, 1681.— The French, who state their intention of always touching at the Cape for refreshments, will be much disappointed when you have put into execution the directions as to the mode of receiving foreign vessels contained in our letter of 21st November, 1679, and 20th January, 1680, as well as in former letters. You will take care that no refreshments are furnished to them by the free men. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, the despatches here referred to contain the April.

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strongest censure of the profusion with which supplies were lavished upon the foreigners who were ready to pay for them, while the Company's ships were often in want, (I had but ae saxpince, I brak it in twa, and gae thee the half on't when I went awa) unless the law was infringed by supplies being purchased from the free men; abuse of the kindness shown to foreigners in some instances was another ground of the harsh regulations on this head, which were perhaps a necessary part of the Company's commercial system. An English vessel, of which nearly the whole crew had died at sea, was kindly brought into Table Bay by a Dutch ship, and repaid the kindness by seducing 43 of the garrison or the colonists to desert; another sent a boat's crew to shoot the Company's sheep on Dassen Island. But, on the other hand, the Company's system left no alternative. The first ship must have been abandoned, or sold to the Company for want of hands; and in the second instance, no concealment was used. The English said, "if you will not sell we must steal."

In compliance with similar orders it was resolved (30th December, 1680,) "when a small English vessel arrived from Mocha, in a very miserable condition, to render her stay here distasteful to those very unwelcome guests," by obliging the inhabitants, under a penalty of Rds. 25, "to charge these Englishmen 18 guilders for a sheep, and to sell their vegetables at a price proportionably excessive."

"Discountenancing the visits of foreigners" was soon after (20th March, 1681,) laid down as one of the most important duties of the Cape government. The notices may explain why (infra p. 90) Van Riebeeck apologises for the liberality to the English captains, by stating that the oxen supplied to them, "though not unwholesome," "seemed likely to die."

See also the dismissal of Commander QUAELBERGEN (infra p. 299), partly for letting the French, "doubtless on account of the advantages received from them," "pluck all the ripest pears, leaving the refuse for our fleet"—instead of "allowing them, as we have often directed, to drift upon their own fins." The Hottentots. 1682, April.

The above examples will be painful or funny, according as the reader may be in the humour to receive the one impression or the other—but in whatever humour he may be, he will not fail to be deeply impressed with his obligation to Mr. MOODIE, for thus throwing open the doors of the Dutch council chamber; the examples of this kind given in "The Record," will be of little use in the present enlightened period of colonial administration. But in more important respects the examples given of colonial administration at an early period of its history, under the new form which colonies assumed in modern times, cannot fail to be highly instructive—for in order to avoid evil courses it is important to understand how and where the evil commenced—whilst understanding this we can more readily correct the mighty injuries which such evil courses have produced. The greatest misfortunes to which the aborigines of South Africa have been subjected undoubtedly arose in no small degree from the close monopoly of the Dutch, which not only excluded the aborigines from intercourse with other European nations, but shut out from them all knowledge of the course which the Dutch had pursued. It has occurred to me, and I have before said that the portions of VAN RIEBEECK's Journal which are wanting may have been suppressed out of very shame. May not "The Records" of the Dutch government, from the 12th June, 1690, to 14th November, 1769, and from 1781 to 1795, which the British government is now so eagerly seeking from its Commentary.

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ally of Holland, have shared the same fate? However this may be we are under great obligation to Mr. Moodie for that portion of "The Records" which he has laid before us. How that obligation has been requited I need not here stop to inquire. I have often during my progress in the dissection of "The Record" feared that I might be doing an injustice to Mr. Moodie, that I was poaching on his manor, but since I have discovered that so little is known of his valuable Work, even in the colony, I have begun to entertain the hope that my occupation may be productive of good rather than of injury to that officer.

April.

Four pages and a half of "The Record" at the end of 1681 are filled with "abstract of criminal convictions before the Court of Justice, in the Castle of the Cape of Good Hope, 1672—1678, (continued from p.p. 254, 314.) These proceedings did not appear to me to be much connected with aborigines, especially as they, although living within colonial jurisdiction, were not for a long time held to be subject to colonial law—I may now, however, as well cite a few examples :—

120.—1672, February 11th.—Kkari, Dhaurry, T'Teulabre, Achlomy, and Chamtagon, all residing under the jurisdiction of the native captain Gonomoa—assault and robbery of sheep, &c. Sentence, first, second, and third prisoners to be flogged, branded, and banished to Robben Island in chains for 15 years; fourth and fifth prisoners to be flogged and banished for seven years. Executed on the 11th. Prisoners escaped to the main on the 4th of January, 1673.

123.—July.—W. Willems, burger—homicide of a Hottentot. Sentence, (in the absence of the culprit) outlawry, banishment, and confiscation of property.

125.—Aug. 17.—J. Jans, free man—theft of money by picking the pockets of a drunken man, (it is men-

tioned in aggravation, that the prisoner not only got drunk himself, but intoxicated the dogs and pigs also, with sugar and eggs mixed with wine.) Sentenced to be flogged, to work in chains for three years, and all his property confiscated. Executed on the 27th. The Hottentots. 1682, April.

128.—November 24.—Four soldiers—inciting others to mutiny, and to demand a greater allowance of food. Sentence, two of the prisoners to be hanged, and the two others flogged, and to labour in chains for 25 years; life or death to be decided by drawing lots. Executed accordingly on the 26th.

129.—November 24th.—Errick Orre, soldier—same offence in an inferior degree. Sentence to witness the execution of last sentence, to be thrice flogged, and to work in chains three years.

132.—1673, January 5th.—Jan Peters, surgeon of a Danish ship—stabbing. Sentence to be thrice keelhauled, to be banished from the Company's territories 25 years, and to recompense the wounded man for the pain, loss of time, and medical expenses. (Executed on the 6th.)

134.—February 13th.—L. Enakson, soldier—store-breaking (Company's store) and theft. Sentence to be hanged. Executed on the 15th.

135.—February 13th.—Three sailors—theft of rice. Sentenced to be pilloried, a sack of rice being suspended over their heads, and to hard labour at public works for four and two years. (The pillory remitted.)

148.—1673, September 22d.—Three slaves—desertion and inciting others to desert (in hopes of reaching Angola, not from want of proper support, but in hopes of having an easier life there). Sentenced to be severely flogged, their ears cut off, to be branded on the back and legs, and work for life in chains.

179.—1678, September 14th.—The Hottentoos Quisa, Gamaka, Comoko, Ore, and Derva, all

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five Sumquas of the Attiqua kraals, subject to the Chief SCHACHER—theft and robbery of cattle and sheep, until they were captured, and one of their accomplices killed by Captain CUYPER; having made it their profession to live by robbery. Sentenced to be hanged, and their bodies exposed, to forfeit all their property, and pay costs.

180.—October 5th.—Two slaves—desertion, sheep-stealing, and house-breaking. Sentenced to be hanged.

182.—1679, April 12.—PAUL, of the Malabar Coast, slave of the Burger ANTHONY, of Bengal, harbouring in his master's garden for three nights, a deserted slave belonging to the Company. Sentenced to be flogged and marked with a red hot iron.

189.—1680, May 20th.—EMANUEL, of Bengal, Company's slave—theft of cabbage. To be flogged with a cabbage hanging round his neck.

192.—1681, February 3d.—CUPIDO, of Bengal, slave—criminal connection with his master's daughter, and with another European female before and after her marriage, thus adding to his offence the greater crime of adultery. Sentenced to be hanged and buried under the gallows.

194.—February 3d.—ANTHONY, of the Coromandel Coast, slave, &c.

197.—November 30th.—PIETER, of Batavia, slave.

1679.—March 22d.—JACKJE, of Angola, free Kaffer, recovers a debt of Rds. 93 from ANTONI, of Bengal, free burger.

1680.—June 17th.—The black free burger ANTONI, of Bengal, fined Rds. 25, at suit of the Fiscal, for killing a steenbock.

September 2d.—The black free burger EERST, of Guinea, prosecutes the free burger THOM JANSEN, because his slave girl had beaten plaintiff's wife; plea

—plaintiff's wife had been so abusive that the slave girl could not bear it. Sentence—the slave girl to be flogged by Kaffers (slaves?) before the door of defendant's house. On the 9th, JANSEN prosecutes EERST for a debt of Rds. 7; debt admitted, but cannot pay before the arrival of the fleet. Sentence, "Fiat—Uytstel tot de vloot." The Hottentots. 1682, April.

For the curious and interesting proceedings of the Dutch Court of Justice, "The Record" can be referred to by those interested in such matters. It appears plain enough, however, that black free burgers had, at this period, equal rights in the eye of the law with the whites. But not so, that I see, the slave; for he is often defendant—never plaintiff. Commentary.

1681.—Jan. 6th.—Second default granted against J. MARQUART, at suit of C. STUMS, for recovery of the price paid for a free person who had been sold him as a slave. April.

For the guidance of Commander VAN DER STELL by Governor-General VAN GOENS.—We have further to consider whether the extent of the Cape lands will suffice for cultivation, and for the cattle to be reared in process of time; they are now enough for our present stock; 18,000 sheep and 2,000 head cattle; but the further increase of the colony must be thought of for the probable increase. Within a distance of 70 miles from East by North to North-east, some considerable rivers and large forests may be found, in all probability the river named on the coast Rio de Infante, but called in the interior Comissa, a very large river, the discovery of which will be a great point, and a step towards the subsequent discovery of the river Monomopota, and more and more of the countries of Southern Africa, so far at least as the service of the Company may in time require; this space comprises a great extent of country, which is

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to all appearance inhabited or wandered over by none but various tribes of poor ignorant Hottentoos in their migratory mode of life, but still it is abundantly stocked with oxen, cows, steers, elands, harts, sheep, all kinds of deer, hares, birds, and other useful animals. The Company and the burgers being thus supplied with abundance of land, time, and the future condition of the Company and the Fatherland, will point out what else is necessary. It would be a very desirable thing if we could induce the Hottentoos to adopt some kind of civilized habits, and thus teach them to be useful to us, which would give us much security in case of invasion by any European power. But of this, there appears but little hope, from the great barbarism and rude manners of these people; what may be effected upon these ignorant men in time and with skilful management, depends upon the will of Providence. But nothing will be accomplished by any kind of severity; and it will be necessary to exhibit much patient forbearance, discretion, and especially affability.

R. VAN GOENS.

October.

Resolution of Council.—Extracts of Instructions.—When you have approached the Namaqua kraals you will inform their chief that now, as for many years back, we wish to keep on good terms with them; but you will yourself, as well as through the Hottentoos, endeavour to discover the copper mine; you can persuade them that we do not choose to deprive them of it; should they still not listen to persuasion, you will remonstrate, but not employ force. We before made an attempt to pass through these Namaquas, and on their offering resistance the party returned; you will not follow this example, but in a friendly manner induce them to allow you to pass; should they continue

obstinate and resist, you will pay them in their own coin; should they on the contrary receive you well, you will do all in your power to induce some of them to guide you to the Gri and Bri, another race of people in the interior of Africa, if they are not too distant. The Hottentots. 1682, October.

Resolution of Council.—Schacher has got into contention with his subjects, and they threaten to make war upon him; those opposed to him are young active fellows, and those who adhere to him are old worn out men; and as he has requested assistance through mediation or force, both parties were summoned and heard in Council on their mutual grievances. The rebels promised, after shaking hands, to obey their captain in every thing, and soon to join his kraal, and both parties were fully contented. December.

Despatch to the Chamber.—The natives have for some time back shown themselves very turbulent, having committed several acts of violence and insolence towards our nation; this disposition increases daily, and it will therefore be necessary to apply some correction, in order to deter them from their evil designs. As the free colonists have now increased at Stellenbosch to a considerable number, we have appointed four of the most respectable burgers there resident, under the name of Heemraden, to provide against irregularities among them; and as several children have been given them, and more are daily expected, a school is necessary to instruct the youth in the Christian duties, and in reading and writing. 1683, May.

It is a question whether aborigines who lived as free men within the colony could have been named Heemraden "to provide against irregularities;" or whether coloured men of other countries who are in the Dutch records designated burgers, were ever appointed Heemraden. It does not appear whether these dark burgers were natives of other countries who had Commentary.

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emigrated to the Cape, or whether they were brought here as slaves, and afterwards emancipated. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, 21st October, 1682, "that the practice of emancipating coloured slaves had been discontinued on the 9th of April of that year, on the ground that several enfranchised slaves had subsequently become burdensome to the Company;" and "the opinion that the right of burgership was an exclusive privilege of the whites, seems to have had no foundation in law, and to have been of later origin; and the same observation applies to the practice (notwithstanding that opinion) of retaining in slavery the progeny of female slaves and free fathers, who by law were free." It appears therefore that England in her great measure of slave emancipation must have paid the Dutch or English colonists—if English colonists had slaves—for granting freedom to many persons who, according to Dutch law, never should have been held in slavery at all. But it does not appear any where in "The Record" that I see, whether burgers, of pure native or of mixed blood, were ever raised to the condition of heemraden or counsellors of the landdrosts of districts. Indeed, there does not appear under British, any more than under Dutch rule, any disposition to raise the coloured population to civil offices under the government. The highest office to which they rise, so far as I see or understand the working of our system of administration, is that of sergeant in the Cape Mounted Regiment.* What then

* I have been told since this was written, that at the Kat River Settlement none of the many respectable Hottentot landholders are ever summoned as jurors, either in civil or criminal cases; although, by law, they are equal in all respects with their European brethren. I saw at the Kat River Settlement a commandant of mixed blood, who exercises jurisdiction over many field-cornets; and there are doubtless many other examples in the colony of persons of mixed blood being both commandants and field-cornets. But I fear that there can be but little hope of a native rising

is the object of educating the coloured population, or where the hope of raising them either mentally or morally, so long as they are denied the honors and advantages of civil employment? It cannot surely have been lost sight of—that to raise man in the moral scale, it is first necessary to raise his condition to that of perfect equality in all civil rights and privileges with the higher classes of his fellow subjects; then, indeed, there may be some prospect of his embracing the religion, and devoting his life to the support of the institutions of the rulers who so exalt him; and of his using his influence to persuade others, whether colonial subjects or foreigners, to follow his example. In some respects the Dutch seem to have retrograded in their treatment of the aborigines, for at this period there is abundant proof in the proceedings of their Court of Justice that the black free man was by law equal to the white. What hope can there be of Kaffers and other tribes desiring the extension of British rule in South Africa, when they see their compatriots within the colony neither possessed of land, nor holding the most insignificant office under British rule. Those neighbouring tribes must very well understand that if we ruled over them they would sacrifice all the advantages which they now hold as free and independent states and communities, whilst under British rule they would be raised to—nothing. I hear many people say that the coloured population are not suited for civil office; true, that in the present state of their education they are not, and it would be unreasonable to expect that they should be. But let us throw office and emolument open to them, and then see

to high office in the colony, whilst the Colonial Office grasps at colonial patronage to an extent which leads to the supercession of such a man as Mr. Moodie in a civil commissionership, and leaves him almost without the hope of attaining even that inferior office again.

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whether they will not very soon qualify themselves for the highest offices under colonial administration. I had the honor of laying a paper before the Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, in 1823-4, proposing the formation of a college for the education of natives for judicial and revenue administration. Taking an enlarged view of his subject, Mr. Elphinstone recorded a minute on the proceedings of his government, in which he said, among other things, that our system in India was to some extent that of South America, where the Spaniards held all the principal civil and military offices in their own hands, or that of China, where the Tartar conquerors and rulers did the same thing. There is evidently no want of intelligence among the coloured colonial population here, and their fidelity to our government has never, that I know of, been called in question. A new day is now evidently dawning upon them, and upon other colonial subjects, similarly circumstanced, for the Committee of the House of Commons on the New Zealand aborigine question recommend, that they shall be raised to both civil and military employment. My scheme of education, for fitting the people of India for civil employment, was defective to the extent that it would have raised those so educated to almost exclusive office, in preference to their brethren who were not so educated,—and who, without that kind of education which our schools and colleges afford, are in very many respects better qualified to rule over the people of India than those so educated can, perhaps, ever be. On this subject I saw, about two years since, a very admirable paper from the pen of the Hon'ble Mr. Robertson, upon resigning his Government of Agra. When on this subject I may as well say, that in proportion as we have raised the people of India to civil

and military offices and emoluments of a higher kind, has been their individual fidelity to our administration, and the honor with which they have conducted their duties. So too, has the great mass of the people been incorporated, in sympathy and good feeling with our rule. It would, indeed, on other principles, have been impossible to have consolidated our power over the millions of India. In South Africa, the thousands of natives, subject to our rule, appear, neither at the capital nor in the provinces, to have a voice in our councils. Sir Andries Stockenstrom told me that the abolition of the office of Heemraden, as it existed under the Dutch, and for which, under our rule, nothing was substituted, caused the wide gulf which has so long existed between the Dutch subjects and the English executive in the provinces. Had there been free communication and intercourse between these parties, who can suppose that Ordinance 50, which placed the Hottentots on an equality, in the eye of the law, with the European, could have been understood by the latter to mean, that it extended to the incorporation of "his red red roses"; or, in other words, to the (compulsory?) giving of his fair daughters in marriage to his Hottentot neighbours; or that, in trekking across the border, the farmers should have been in a hurry to get across the Orange River by a particular day, since they believed that the cross was following them, and that if they remained in the colony they would be forced to embrace it. A minister of the Reformed Church told me that some of the best and most pious boers in his district refused to receive compensation for their slaves, and quoted scripture to show that it was lawful to hold man in slavery, and because they believed that the British government, in emancipating the slaves, were violating our Holy Religion. This is not, evidently, a case of the devil quoting scripture to

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serve a purpose, since many unclaimed thousand pounds of the compensation money remain in the colonial treasury. Sir ANDRIES STOCKENSTROM told me that at a meeting of the Dutch at Graaff-Reinet, when he was landdrost, and at which delegates from Cape Town attended, he was deputed to the capital to advocate the resolution carried at Graaff-Reinet, that all children born after a specified day should be free. In this manner Sir ANDRIES believes that emancipation would have been carried out, had the British government exercised the necessary patience. The people of England would probably not have done so. But even in this great and glorious matter different courses might have been adopted with advantage in different countries, for the slave in the Cape colony was almost necessarily in a much less pitiable condition than the predial slave in the West Indies, and other sugar producing countries.

There is, however, in all this abundant proof, were any proof wanting, that neither at the capital, nor in provincial capitals, are our subjects of pure, dark, or of mixed blood sufficiently represented, or protected in their interests in our Councils.—1*st February*, 1845.

June.

Despatch from the Chamber.—In order to live at peace with the Hottentoos, you must watch narrowly that no injustice is done to them, nor any annoyance given them by any of our people; you must direct your attention to drawing them more and more to us with their cattle, and to inspiring them with full confidence. It is much that you have in these journeys to the East Coast of Africa procured 669 cattle and 2,374 sheep; we trust that you may soon be able to subsist upon your own stock. After discussing the agricultural condition of the colony, rejoicing over the fact that 335 muids of seed corn yielded 2549 muids in return, sufficient for the maintenance of the

garrison and burgers, 663 persons, the Directors go on to observe, that "in time the slaves also may be supported by their own labour, which would afford great security; since the importation of rice is expensive, and accidents may sometimes occur, which might reduce you to great distress. We approve of the prices which you have fixed for grain for the prevention of monopoly, as you state them to be so regulated, that the farmers can subsist by them. With regard to the cultivation of wine, everything must be done to advance it, that can be done without injury to agriculture. We will trust that the measure of farming, the slaughtering of sheep to two persons, and fixing the price at two heavy stivers per pound, has been a judicious arrangement, and that care has been taken that the free men may get rid of their sheep at a fair price, so that they may not lie on their hands; that they may be thus encouraged in the propagation of this kind of stock. The Hottentots. 1683, June.

It was always thus with the Dutch government, they wished to live at peace with the native tribes, denounced the individuals who were guilty of injustice towards them, dealing with the individual grievance rather than with the mass; they would punish an individual of the colony for robbing them of a sheep, whilst the government had no hesitation in depriving them of whole districts, that the land might be distributed on free or quitrent tenures to its own subjects, and then they would use all means at their command to punish the tribes if they presumed to oppose this wholesale robbery. If they adopted any course for improving the moral condition of the aborigines, it was that they might thereby benefit by reducing them to a yet lower pitch of moral degradation in subjection to themselves. If they desired their officers to draw the aborigines more and more towards us, it was Commentary.

The Hottentots, 1683, June. Commentary.

that they might thereby benefit more and more through cattle barter. If they talked of laws for the abolition of monopoly, it was that fines might be established to prevent free-dealing amongst their own subjects; that a monopoly of everything might fall into their own hands.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that on the 28th of September, a clergyman was stationed at a certain place called Stellenboseh, where there are already about thirty families; among the grounds for the measure, is its tendency towards the advancement of the colony; and that on the 28th of May, the stock of sheep is reported to have increased to 7,052, of which 3,496 are ewes. It is stated that, "in two journeys performed this year, we have procured from the Hessequas 398 cattle and 1932 sheep; and if free from any considerable calamity or disease among the sheep, we hope to be able to dispense with the trading parties next year, in which we hope the Lord will lend his blessing; and that in a despatch of the 29th November, the Directors repeat their approval of discharging persons of industrious habits, locating their families upon suitable lands, and assisting them in everything reasonable.

1684, January.

Journal of Commander Van der Stell.—The captain of an English vessel had been nearly three years upon the East Coast of Africa, in latitude 20° ——; he had bought some slaves, gold, and ivory, which he had sold at Surat. The free men requested permission to buy some slaves brought from Madagascar by the English vessel *Frances*, which was granted.

February.

The commander sent to invite some Namaquas who had come to the kraal of the Cape Hottentoos, to visit him at the Cape, and some of their chiefs with their wives, children, and suite, came accordingly;

they were regaled with a pipe, tobaceo, and a *sopie*, which pleased them much. The commander questioned them as to the mine of which they spoke so highly two years ago, and they not only adhered to their story, but offered to show the way to it; they said it was fifteen days' journey off, and it was resolved to send a sergeant and fifteen men with the Namaquas, who have been entertained for the last eight days in the eastle. These African noblemen appeared well satisfied, and it is therefore hoped that they will keep their promise, and that this journey may not be as vain as the last. Instructions to the sergeant:—Although we do not anticipate the probability of the Namaquas eommitting any hostility against you, still you must not depend upon that, but be always on your guard, and in a situation to defend yourselves, partieularly at night, as they are a deceitful people, and you will avoid eneamping among bushes and thiekets, which are their usual place of concealment. The neeessary merchandize was again issued to Captain Claas, with which he purposes going immediately to buy eattle from the Hessequas for the Company. The Hottentots. 1684, February.

The sergeant returned from Zonder End River, stating that Captain Claas had again purehased a good many horned eattle for the Company, and that he had brought in three deserted slaves. March.

Despatch to the Chamber.—We have for several years lived on good terms with these Hottentoos. But those who live nearest have for some time shown themselves rather insolent. They have even gone so far as to threaten to set fire to the houses of our burgers living at a distance. Should they thus continue we shall be eompelled to apply a eivil eorreetion; should that fail, and should their threats be carried into exeeution, we shall visit the offence with a degree April.

The Hottentots. 1684, April.

of severity proportioned to its importance. We are, however, far from believing that it will come to this, as the war they had with the Company some years ago is still too fresh in their recollection. As we are now upon the subject of the Hottentoos, we must not omit to inform your Honors that we have agreed with the Soeswas' Captain Claas (upon whose fidelity, compared with that of others, considerable reliance can be placed,) that he shall purchase for us, for tobacco, cattle from the Hottentoos in the interior, receiving for his trouble nothing but the cows that may be found among them; with this servitude, however, that out of each hundred head he shall be bound to deliver 20 annually to the Company, and that in perpetuity, delivering to us, without deduction, all the rest of the cattle brought by him. Under these conditions he has already on two successive journeys brought us 393 cattle, of which 57 were cows, which cattle cost the Company in all no more than *f.* 237½. By this means we have also saved the rations' money and wages of 17 or 18 Europeans for six or seven weeks. Our expedition to the Namaquas, undertaken in September last, was not attended with the expected success. Our party reached latitude 30° 18' and turned back as they stated from want of water, and because they found it impossible to pass through inaccessible mountains, whilst the Hottentoos, living thereabouts, described the country beyond to be a sandy plain, destitute of water, and five days' journey broad.

May.

Our sergeant and party returned from the Namaqua journey on the 20th, all in good health, they were accompanied by the Namaqua captains, who were well lodged and entertained within the fort.

June.

The Commander Josias Plas Vosch returned from Stellenbosch, and a lion was brought into the fort;

it was killed at Tygerberg by our shepherds, being the third shot there in the last fourteen days.

August. The commander rode out to see three dead whales that had been washed on shore, and to ascertain whether it was worth while to keep them for the oil. He immediately gave orders that no Hottentoo (who had already almost stripped the two smallest) should come near them, and ordered out our wagon-drivers; 68 half-aums of very fine oil, from the whales washed on shore, were placed in the Company's stores.

September. Two more large lions were shot at the Company's post, about three hours distant. The Hottentoos near the Clapmuts caught a wild horse, but it unfortunately died on the way hither. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that "a minute account of the extent of the Cape settlement, drawn up by Mr. Vosch, makes no reference to the relations with the natives."

Commentary. Symptoms in this, I would say, of the poor Hottentots and Bosjemans ceasing to be of importance in the eyes of the Dutch invaders of their country; and of their withdrawing to the back settlements, or to countries yet free from the presence of the European.

October. The Hottentoos are to be told that they shall be bound to bring such things as they have to sell to the usual market place or passer. Mr. Ryckloff van Goens, Commissioner of this resideney, arrived in such a bad state of health, that he had to be carried into his room. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that Mr. Van Goens authorized a voyage by sea, to ascertain whether any communication could be had with the shore near the copper mountains; and the provisional occupation of lands by Company's servants, pending on application which had been sent to Holland. One of our sergeants returned with a fine flock of 250 sheep, which he had, in four or five days, purchased for the usual articles, from the neigh-

The Hottentots. 1684, October.

bouring or Cape Hottentoos; they were all very good for slaughter, for which, therefore, chiefly, they were bought; there being so many sick in hospital.

1658, February.

Despatch to the Chamber.—The cattle trade may almost be conducted for tobacco alone; we shall therefore keep the copper beads sent us by the Chamber for presents to the Hottentoo chiefs and captains, although they are much esteemed by all, and we request that no more may be sent. And as the colony is now, by God's blessing, brought so far that we have weathered the Cape of want of bread, wine, beer, flesh, fish, fruit, and vegetables; and as our colonists chiefly consist of strong, gallant, and industrious bachelors, who, for the solace of their cares, and for the managing of their domestic concerns, would most gladly be married; and as such bonds would establish the colony upon an immoveable basis, and much increase the zeal of the free men for agriculture, we have deemed it proper most respectfully to request your Honors, that, for the attainment of those desirable objects, thirty or forty young girls may be sent to us as soon as possible, all of whom will be well disposed of at this place. Mr. Moodie says, that a despatch of the following month states the Company's live-stock to be 157 horses, 1,331 cattle, 6,983 sheep and goats; and that the crop of the season had in a great measure failed, but that it makes no reference to the natives.

March.

Journal continued.—A lion was brought here from Stellenbosch, which had been shot by a free burger soon after it had devoured his neighbour, Barent Hendricks.

A case this of Hood's African Settler.

A certain captain, named Claas, brought to the castle a number of cows, oxen, calves, and sheep, which he had taken from the Cape Hottentoos, because they

would not barter with him. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that no explanation of this has been found; and the Journal says, that three days after the occurrence several captains of the Hottentoos were examined in Council regarding the disputes which had arisen between them and Captain Claas. The Hottentots. 1685, March.

Whatever Van der Stell may have thought of his friend and partisan, Claas, taking their cattle from the Cape Hottentoos because they would not sell them, Mr. Moodie need not surely have been surprised at this transaction, since we have seen from the very commencement, that the Dutch never carried on their barter transactions on terms of fairness or equality with the Hottentot tribes in the neighbourhood of the Cape—the Goringhaiquas and the Gorachoquas. We have seen in their own Records, as has been observed in the Parliamentary Papers, their commander standing on his castle wall, and lamenting that those tribes should have so many cattle, when the Dutch had few or none, and reproaching the tribes for not selling their cattle on the conditions which he himself dictated; and we have seen the same commander proposing to his government in Europe, not only to seize upon those cattle, by the thousand, for their own use, but to get their unhappy proprietors, who confided in his own honor? in the fair dealing of the European, within his castle walls, to make them drunk with his arrack and tobacco; then to seize upon them, put them in chains, and send them, man, woman, and child, as slaves to Batavia, or to the neighbouring islands, to kill seals for his own use; their only food being seal flesh; yet we have seen the man who made these atrocious proposals permitted to exercise authority at the Cape for years after the proposal was made to the Chamber in Amsterdam. Commentary.

Journal continued.—The commander heard the April.

The Hottentots. 1685, April.

statement of three inhabitants of Stellenbosch, concerning their adventures when lately at Berg River with leave to shoot sea-cows. Having come to the appointed place with a number of Cape Hottentoos, they were warned by some Soeswa Hottentoos to be on their guard, that they were about to be attacked by the Hessequas, which happened accordingly after three days, when the Cape Hottentoos killed three of the Namaquas.

Commentary.

In this brief extract from VAN DER STELL'S journal, there is room for deep reflection and for some remarks. Mr. MOODIE, in his translation of it, appears to think that they were Cape Dutchmen who killed the three men, and that they were Bosjemans, and not Namaquas, who were killed. According to this reading, we have sufficient reason afforded for the outrage committed upon the Stellenbosch party of boers who went with permission from their own government, but not from the Bosjeman, to shoot Hippopotamus in Bosjeman land or in Bosjeman water. But whether they were Dutchmen or Hottentots who killed the three men, and whether they were Namaquas or Bosjemans who were killed, we have in the transaction sufficient grounds for a very pretty quarrel, as it stands on the part of some one tribe with the Dutchmen. It is no wonder that one of their number was killed, and that their two wagons and sixteen oxen were taken. The only wonder is, that the other four Dutchmen, and all their Hottentot partisans, were not killed or taken, since they had to retreat all the way from Oliphant's River to Stellenbosch; they owed their safety, of course, to their fire-arms, and to the circumstance of the tribe of whose numbers three had been killed, and whose territorial rights had been violated, having only bows and arrows and assagais. We see, too, in this trifling affair, that the Dutch are

supported by the Goringhaiquas, that they are warned of their danger by the Soeswas, and in all this a breaking up of the Cape tribes to an extent which will hardly admit of future cohesion, even were the foreigner not there to fan the flame; or, unless the foreigner very well understood the material of which the aborigine society is composed. I hear many people say, that amongst the native tribes in South Africa, it was one perpetual scene of contention and massacre. But, surely, this is not a philosophical view of the matter; for if that had been the case, the native tribes would have been reduced to the condition of the Kilkenny cats long before Europeans came among them. It is natural, however, for the European and Christian to adopt this view of the matter, in the hope of palliating the atrocities which Europeans and Christians have committed against the aborigines of all countries where they have yet come in contact. Let any one travel through Kafferland and see how native institutions work there, how that country is cultivated and peopled in comparison with our own much-cherished and over-estimated colony; let him then say whether these things arise from rapine and massacre, or from any want of power on the part of aborigines to manage their own affairs in their own way, and so to produce great internal comfort and prosperity—if only left to themselves; let him again reflect on the comparative repose produced within our own border by the late proceedings of His Excellency the Governor of the colony, by merely treating the Kaffers on terms of reciprocity, by holding the chiefs responsible for aggressions committed beyond the limits which he has assigned to each chiefship, and by showing all that we have the power and the right to punish those who violate the rules laid down for their guidance; let the inquirer then

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say whether there be any want of power on the part of states and communities, like those of Kafferland, to produce peace through their own institutions, even after those institutions have been shattered to pieces by collisions and collusion for a series of years with their European neighbours.—*February 3d.*

April.

Minute of Orders by Governor-General R. VAN GOENS—sets forth that free men who had been permitted to go inland to shoot sea-cows and other large game, complained of the unsafe state of the roads and passes in the Soeswa country, where our Netherlanders had been attacked and robbed of their cattle and wagons—even of their lives—under the pretence that such acts had been committed by a people called Obiquas, as recently experienced by some of our free men; while in former times the Soeswa country was quite safe, and could be traversed without fear.—It was therefore unanimously resolved, to enjoin the chief of the Soeswas, now present in the castle, to take order within the country under his jurisdiction, that none of the Europeans be henceforth ill-used in any respect, as in the contrary event, he, the chief, will be held responsible, and must give us full satisfaction. A burger complained of the violence committed in the country on his domestics by the Hottentoos, and on his shepherd in the fields, who had been missed, and who was subsequently found dead and buried—and as the Hottentoos are violently suspected, it was resolved immediately to summon hither, on one or other plausible pretext, all the captains or chiefs of kraals, so as to remove their distrust, and to tell them that they must deliver the perpetrators into the hands of justice, detaining them meanwhile in the castle.

R. VAN GOENS.

Thus done in the Company's Garden
"Rustenburg."

We very often find a superior intellect like that of Van Goens, the Governor-General of the Dutch possessions in the East, appearing on the boards at Cape Town, or in Table Bay, to control the pottering operations of the local government, or to give a fresh impulse and direction to its proceedings—for all the commanders of Dutch fleets, and counsellors from Java, held, apparently, commissions for this purpose from the Home Government. But unfortunately the views of such personages, although fitted for superior things, were generally turned towards benefitting their own country and fellow subjects, and were therefore almost necessarily adverse to the rights and interests of the aborigines; there was this disadvantage, too, that they were not in their cursory visitations very likely to render themselves conversant with the proceedings of the local government, or with the condition of the aborigines; neither were they responsible for the carrying out the details of a system whose general principles they laid down for future guidance. In the case under review we accordingly find Mynheer Van Goens holding the chief of the Soeswas, now present in the castle, responsible for the conduct of the Bosjemans who had attacked the Dutchmen and their Hottentot partisans on their late shooting excursion on the Elephant River, where, as will appear in the sequel, the Dutchmen and Hottentots were the aggressors. He is also held responsible for the future safety of Europeans in his country—where Van Goens must have very well known that the chief of the Soeswas (whilst he had a very limited, if any, jurisdiction over the Bosjemans,) had quite enough to do to govern his own clan in peace, at home and abroad—poor Soeswa being, the while, on a friendly visit to the governor in his castle of the Cape. In the second affair with which the

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Governor-General deals, he calls the chiefs of kraals to Cape Town, "on one or other plausible pretext," to be detained in the castle, until they should deliver into the hands of justice the persons who had killed and buried a Dutch shepherd who had been tending a flock of sheep in the fields. Had he studied "The Records" of the time he would have ascertained that the colonists were quite capable of committing that or any other crime; and that, as the body was buried, they were more likely to be the robbers and murderers than either Hottentots or Bosjemans, who would hardly have taken that trouble about the burial of a Dutchman. This was indeed sowing the seed of dissension between all future native chiefs and Dutch governors—and since the effects of Dutch administration on the aborigines are already known, these are tedious details; but it is curious and interesting to trace the process through which the aborigines were extirpated by the Europeans.—*February 3rd.*

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that it appears in the *attestities* of the year, that on the 5th of April, certain burgers gave evidence upon their words as men, in lieu of oath, before the sworn clerk of the commander and council, to the following purport:—That in the beginning of February they, five free burgers, went in company with five others, with permission to shoot sea-cows. On coming to the Breede River, they were frequently warned by the Hessequas to be on their guard against the Obiquas;—proceeding along the river, the road became so narrow that their six wagons could only advance in Indian file; the people saw one of the Obiqua dogs, when the Hottentoos seized their weapons, and searched for the Obiquas; they found 40 of them fully armed, concealed in the bushes—the Hottentoos came to the Dutch for assistance, and

were attacked by the Obiquas, who shot arrows at them without effect—the Dutch advanced to the rescue of their friends, and the others fled. In their flight, five were taken by the Dutch, who shot three of them, as they well knew them to be Obiquas, as was testified also by TROMPETER and DIKKOP, (who had lived two or three years in their kraal) and released the two others, (because they said the one belonged to COOPMAN's kraal, the other to the Hessequas). On the following day, on their return, they met two kraals of Captain CLAAS' people, among whom were some Obiquas, being in all about 250 men, a Hottentoo was sent to them to learn what was their intention or what they wanted, they said they wished to have a fight with us. One of Captain CLAAS' Hottentoos, who spoke good Dutch, was called, and asked whether his people, too, wished to fight the Dutch; he said no, and that they only came to look on; they were told to leave the Obiquas, when the said Obiquas went away, accompanied by Captain CLAAS' people.

Here is a scene worth a volume of Dutch records, when those records refer only to their own proceedings as founders of the Cape colony. It is curious to find that two Dutchmen had lived two or three years in a Bosjeman kraal, and that they could so well discriminate between Bosjemans, Goringhaiquas, and Hessequas, as to consider themselves justified, on a summary inquiry in the bush, in shooting in cold blood three of the first tribe who had fallen into their hands, whilst they saved one man belonging to each of the other tribes, who had fallen into their hands at the same time. Then, on their way home, on the following day, they fell in with two kraals of 250 Goringhaiquas, among whom were some Bosjemans, and with whom the ten Dutchmen held a palaver, touching the, to them, important matter of peace or war; and

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they are permitted, after all the atrocities they had committed on their hunting excursion, to depart in peace. This text and comment belong, perhaps, rather to the Bosjeman than the Hottentot Head of the Memoir, but one does not sometimes see this until the thing is booked; so here let it stand.—*February 3d.*

Journal continued.—One of the Hottentoos who had been given up to justice by his captain, admitted that he and three of his comrades had recently murdered the servant of the free burger HENNING HUISING; and the commander received some information respecting the murder of the free man's servant from CUYPER. The Court of Justice was assembled on the 26th to hear the imprisoned Hottentoo, and four of them were condemned to death for the murder of one of the free men's servants. On the following day their sentence was read to them in the castle, and they were beaten to death with sticks by their own tribe, in the presence of their captains. The commissioner, actuated by the natural kindness of their disposition, presented to some Hottentoo captains a dozen sharp-pointed irons, suited to dig out a certain root, in flavour not unlike the European earth nut.

July.

The commissioner communicated to Council the instructions given by him to the commander. He combats the general opinion that the new castle, which stands 72 roods nearer to the Wint Berg than the old one, was very ill placed, for, although so much farther from the Lion's Rump than the former, he observes that it is still commanded by the latter hill, and that no fort can be so placed in Table Valley as to command the water and the anchorage, without being subject to being commanded in turn. The labour of the Company's slaves produces much profit, and holds out equal hopes for the future. But these poor men must be looked upon with other eyes, for they

are the Company's own people, not hirelings; they cannot quit the service of their master when tired, but are bound not only for all their lives, but for those of their children and descendants; the better we make them, the fitter will they be to perform their duty, the more will they love their masters, and the more faithful will they become to our nation. How do we know what God, in his mercy, has determined as to these people, and what will not foreign nations say to our shame, if we allow them to live together by hundreds, like brutes in utter licentiousness, and do not provide herein as for our own countrymen. You are therefore to cause the orders now given to be duly observed. The origin of the office of landdrost is thus stated:—For the superintendence of the Company's eight farms a superintendent of good character, having a knowledge of accounts and of farming, is to be selected and appointed, with a monthly salary of *f.* 24, and 4 *reals* provision money; he is to be allowed a Company's horse, and one slave, to have two Dutchmen to assist and keep him company, to have the title of landdrost, and to be the Company's sheriff and officer over the village of Stellenbosch; a very great deal depends upon the preservation of peaceful relations and friendly intercourse with the natives. They are a people who are satisfied with very little, and who may be entirely won by a kind address, but ill-treatment estranges them and makes them hate us; from their wandering mode of life they may do great injury to the colony, indeed entirely ruin it. We must also arrange with them, when our people, by their farther advance, shall narrow the bounds of their pasture lands, for they derive their subsistence solely from their cattle. The condition on which they ceded to us these lands was that both parties should pasture them in common, and it would not be fair that we

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The Hottentots. 1685, July.

should expel them indirectly, by occupying not only the arable land, but such as they require to depasture their cattle; and thus, their bounds not being sufficiently extensive, they would be driven, in retiring from us, into war with their neighbours; to send them away, even, although we assisted them against their neighbours, would be anything but just; and therefore we should try whether an arrangement could not be made with them for a separation of bounds and of pasture. This should be commenced with care and circumspection, lest they be led to entertain suspicion of any evil design, such as that the Company was contemplating their expulsion. You should begin by previously impressing our good institutions upon the captains and chiefs, and by rendering our proposals acceptable to them by presents. To keep them divided by jealousy is wisdom, while to allow no wars among them, and to suffer none of them to be oppressed, is the course dictated by prudence; we will thus be useful to them, while they will neither become too powerful for, nor useless to us.

H. A. VAN RHEEDE.

July 16th, 1685.

Commentary.

Far more merciful views in all this, on the part of Mr. Commissioner VAN RHEEDE, towards slaves and aborigines *(naturellen)* than are to be found in any former part of "The Record" of the proceedings of the Dutch government. It is interesting to find the representative of the Chamber XVII.—the then ruling chamber apparently—considering that, by their engagement with his government, the natives had equal rights of pasturage with the colonists in the ceded lands; to find him foreseeing that by narrowing their pasture bounds, they would necessarily be driven back upon, and into war with their neighbours; to

find him proposing that an arrangement should be entered into with them for a separation of bounds and of pasture. We find, too, in his instructions to Van der Stell, the nucleus of such a treaty as His Excellency the Governor has just entered into with the Kaffer chiefs, for assigning separate jurisdictions to clans, for the prevention of war between chiefships, and with the colony; a treaty, in short, essentially defensive. But this good and wise man had not been long enough at the Cape to discover that the government never had the power to prevent its subjects "from extending themselves farther from time to time;" nor did he perhaps know that the country over which they were to extend themselves was of so worthless a character, as not to pay the expense incurred by government in occupying and defending it; a country designed by Providence apparently for, and occupied through all ages by, man in the condition of Hottentots, Kaffers, and Bosjemans; neither could Mynheer Van Rheede have foreseen that his country was entering into a struggle against nature, which must fail.—*February 4th.*

The Hottentots. 1685, July. Commentary.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the following refers to the power of political removal, frequently exercised by the Company, and occasionally by their successors; and I will venture to say that Van Rheede's paper, even in the brief form in which it is given by Mr. Moodie, will be read with pleasure and advantage by any person. "Things well commenced may be expected to turn out well, and the remark may apply to this colony; for to bring hither a number of people, who might afterwards be of no service to us, or with whom we might be at a loss what to do, would have been a bad beginning, and would have promised no good result; and, accordingly, no one shall be discharged from the ships and the

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garrison, with a view to residing here as a burger, except subjects to the state; nor of bad character, but as far as is known, honest; neither subjects of German states, whose princes and sovereigns do not fit out any shipping;" "nor need any one who has already become free, and who, in consequence of dissolute or irregular habits, is no longer capable of fulfilling the good objects with which the colony was founded, be suffered to remain here, but should rather be sent back to the Fatherland."

August.

Journal continued.—The party who were to go into the interior were busy preparing the burthens of the oxen, and to go into the interior to try whether they could procure a loan of the necessary pack-oxen from the Hottentoos; and a number were purchased for tobacco from the Soeswas; they were absolutely necessary for the ensuing journey to the Namaquas. The commander set out on the 25th, on his journey to the Namaquas.

September.

Two hundred and seventeen sheep and forty-two cattle were brought to the fort, purchased for tobacco and other merchandize by a sergeant and his party from the Soeswa Hottentoos beyond the mountains.

October.

Intelligence was received on the 20th from the commander, who, with his party, had reached Oliphant's River in good health.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the visits of Commander Van Rheede to all the Company's establishments in the East, are frequently noticed by Valentyn. In his account of Bengal, p. 176, is a full account of the commissioner's endeavours to prevent the private and illegal traffic carried on by the Company's servants. The abuses attendant upon monopoly were the objects of the attention and legislation of the Company. "A Director in Bengal," says Valentyn, "had no other acknowledged income than 160 guilders

monthly, while a few years smuggling would command a large fortune." "Mr. Van Rheede knew quite as well as the Directors, that no servant of the Company there, or elsewhere, could live on his bare salary without smuggling, unless he possessed some private income, and therefore it was formally contemplated to double all salaries, and to impose heavier punishments upon smuggling, but the plan was not carried through." "The dismissal by Commissioner Van Rheede, of the best servants of the Company was not only useless but injurious, and the smuggling increased ten-fold; those newly-appointed were, like hungry lions, beyond all comparison, more ravenous than their predecessors, who had been already fattened." In a letter of the 20th September, from Batavia, the council mention, Mr. Moodie says, the departure of the commander, on the 25th of August, "to seek in the North of Africa to lighten the heavy expense borne by the Company." The Directors state, that they had been induced by the reports received by Messrs. Van Goens and Van Rheede, to "increase the number of the colonists, for the advancement of agriculture, and to relieve us of the expense of that large garrison," and announce the embarkation of 48 young women. The Hottentots. 1685, October.

There is little in all this deserving of comment, except that Van Rheede appears to have been employed by the Chamber as a commissioner, for the correction of abuses in all their Eastern possessions. I thought that we had got a superior intellect on the scene at the Cape, but was not aware of this fact when I wrote the Commentary this morning, on his proceedings there. He did not certainly recommend the introduction of European colonists, as supposed by the Directors, but thought it best to employ, more extensively, the natives, enfranchised slaves, and their descendants, in the cultivation and improvement of Commentary.

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their own country—for VAN RHEEDE appears to have seen from the first that South Africa was not a country in which a prosperous European colony would be planted.—*February 4th.*

November 9th and December 21st, two attestations of these dates, refer 1st, to the apprehension of three Dutch deserters, by Captain CUYPER, who claims payment of four sheep, supplied to provision them; 2d, to the purchase of several cattle from the natives by private persons for dogs and tobacco, during the last expedition.

October.

Extracts from VAN DER STELL'S Diary and description of a Journey to Amaquas' Land. Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, that the Journal may be seen at full in VALENTYN'S General History of the Company's possessions, and that he had abridged it by the omission of unimportant details. On Saturday, the 28th of August, we marched out of the castle with our baggage—in the name of the Lord—Amen! being in number 56 whites, besides the commander; also DIRK, the Bengale, and his slave, being Macassers, and three slaves of the commander. Our equipage consisted of a coach and five horses, eight asses, saddle horses, two field-pieces, eight cars, seven wagons, about 298 oxen of draft or burden, and the wagons of eight free farmers, each with eight oxen, who were to escort us to Oliphants' River. At Hooge Kraal we found the lat., by observation, 34. 9. When the commander arrived in the evening with several members of council, and others of inferior quality, our people stood in full order, and saluted him with three volleys. The Tygerbergen mountains were inhabited by a people called Hottentoos, who live together in assemblages of men and cattle, which they call kraals,*

* I think it appears somewhere in "The Record" that the term kraal was, from the Brazils, introduced into South Africa by the Dutch, and that it is a Spanish word.

and of these we passed three on the 27th. The first two were part of those under a captain called SCHACHER; the third was one of Captain CUYPER's kraals. In the evening Captain CUYPER brought the commander an ox for slaughter, and was in return presented with a bottle of brandy. The Hottentots. 1685, October.

Such information or observations as VAN DER STELL gives or makes in his five months' journey into Namaqualand, through four degrees of latitude, have been transferred to the Bosjemans' Paper, and commented upon there, for, although several of the tribes through whose territory he passed, and with whom he held negotiations and discourses, are not Bosjemans; still it was better to preserve the thread of his narrative unbroken. All that relates to the proceedings of the Dutch themselves, among themselves, or which does not describe their intercourse with the natives, or the pursuit of wild game, has been omitted, as utterly uninteresting at the present day; neither have I placed in my Record his descriptions of country, scenery, and other things, not referring to the native tribes—for these have already been sufficiently described by pens and minds immeasurably superior to VAN DER STELL's. I must, however, indulge in a few observations on these subjects, for I have myself been travelling for the last eight months through the districts of George, Uitenhage, Albany, Cradock, part of Colesberg, Graaff-Reinet, and Somerset. Nature has, doubtless, done much for this portion of South Africa—and if nature had been left alone in her operations, it would have remained, with its wild game, a highly interesting country to a traveller, from whatsoever land he may have come. He will not find rivers of any magnitude, nor any which are navigable for even boats, above a few miles from the sea. The pretty Knysna is, on the East Coast, the only exception to this law of nature in this country, and that river is navigable Commentary.

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only for small craft, if a river can be called navigable because a vessel may ascend it for ten or twelve miles. He will not find a lake, except near the sea, in the George district, either natural or artificial, in the colony that I know of—for the Salt Pans in the Uitenhage district and in the North East corner of the Cradock district, have not the least pretension to be called lakes; they are mere pools, arising solely from the flow of rain water into them at particular seasons. This is soon evaporated or absorbed, and leaves an encrustation of salt, which Providence appears to have designed for the use of the few inhabitants which such a country can support—for their cattle and wild game. Where the European collects the deposit it only yields him a revenue of a few thousand dollars a-year—compare these and their revenue with the great Sambre Salt Pan of Rajpootana. I have seen four of them, and neither is above five miles in circumference, with a very trifling deposit of salt. The Sambre is 25 or 30 miles in circumference, and has yielded for the last hundred or two hundred years a deposit of salt which, on an average of years, gives employment to two hundred thousand oxen, which carry it to the markets of Northern India—whilst the salt itself yields a yearly revenue of £50,000 or £60,000 to the States of Jeypour and Joudpoor, to which the Sambre lake belongs. There are other salt lakes of equal or greater magnitude in Armenia, Georgia, and Abyssinia—all governed, apparently, by the same laws of nature, and showing, to this extent, at least, that those were designed to be densely peopled countries,—whilst the salt lakes of South Africa were designed for the support of her few migratory Hottentot, Bosjeman, and Kaffer inhabitants. The traveller who has not ascended the glorious Himalea Mountains may be surprised and gratified by his ascent of the Cockscomb, the Sneeuw-

berg, the Winterberg of South Africa, but that is all. He will, however, at every turn, be delighted with the profusion, the beauty, and the exquisite hues of the bulbs and flowers which nature has spread over the Cape; when troops of elephants, rhinoceros, giraffe, wild horses, quagga, zebra, gnu, eland, hartebeest, and other antelope (for there were never, I believe, any deer in Africa) were scattered amongst the forests, shrubs, and flowers, the country must have been worth visiting; now the animals have mostly disappeared; for, although I have travelled with my eyes and ears open, I have only seen and galloped after troops of gnu, quagga, and ostrich, with other smaller antelope and birds; these I did not find in any number, and the three first named not at all, until I reached the Tarka Plains in the North-east corner of the Cradock district. In the room of all these, the traveller will only find flocks of fine woolled sheep, a few horses, and white-washed and gable-ended houses; and these, in the more remote parts of the colony, at the distance of ten miles from each other; whilst in a farm, comprising from 10 to 20,000 acres of land, he will see a small garden, and perhaps 100 acres of cultivated land near the house, with a population of $1\frac{1}{5}$th to the square mile; and this is all the progress which European colonization has made in South Africa in the last hundred and fifty years. Even now it may be a question whether things are not retrograding rather than advancing; and of this there would be no question at all were England to withdraw her Regiment of Dragoon Guards, and her Regiments of Foot, with a small sprinkling of artillery, and the £300,000 per annum which go to support all this martial array; whilst there never has been, and is not now certainly any enemy worthy of their steel, or any enemy at all except those of

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our own creation; and they only unarmed and naked Kaffers. Let the traveller pass into Kafferland, only a short distance, and he will see a far more densely peopled country, with cultivation comparatively on an extensive scale; horned cattle much more numerous than in the colony; and if not so many horses and sheep, still enough for the use of the population. The Kaffers themselves living in their capacious bee-hive shaped houses, in the midst of their cattle, and fields of Indian corn, millet, melons, and pumpkins; altogether a prosperous, and comfortable, and happy people, in spite of the encroachments of the European, and the dissensions which he has sown among them; for they have not, that I see, in any respect benefitted by the presence of the foreigner; except in so far as the missionary and the schoolmaster may have exercised a benign influence over them. Even this the Kaffers do not yet appreciate, as is too plainly shown by the protests which they have made against such parts of the late treaty, as would force missionaries and schoolmasters upon them. But that, too, is obviously our own fault.—*February* 11*th.*

1686, May.

Van der Stell's Journal continued.—We have just heard from Overberg of the wreck of a Portuguese ship, between False Bay and Cape Aguilas, and that the captain, clergyman, two mates, seventy-six men, with the surgeon and his assistant, have arrived at Hottentoos' Holland. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the Journal of this year has lost several leaves, and commences in February. (Abstracted by the writer?) It contains voluminous details relative to the well-known wreck of the ship *Nostra Senora de las Milagros,* with ambassadors for Siam. These details do not relate to the natives, except that, on the 7th June, one of the ambassadors set out with an escort of ten men to seek his lost companion; the escort was

ordered "to purchase cattle among the scattered Hottentoo kraals." A field-cornet and lieut. were instructed on the 7th of July to attend to the interests of the company, in searching for and securing all that might be saved from the wreck:—"You will instantly send away any Hottentoo who may live thereabouts, unless you should require the assistance of some of them, in which case you will take care that the Company's interest does not suffer from their thievish disposition." It does not appear whether the Company's interest sustained any injury from the cause apprehended. One of the officers employed was long confined on Robben Island by the authority of Mr. Van der Stell, for secreting some valuables; and the commander was severely censured by the Directors for retaining a valuable sword, all of which were procured from this wreck. The Hottentots. 1686, May.

It appears then that one of the Portuguese ambassadors who was wrecked in the ship *Nostra Senora de las Milagros*, bound to Siam, and who had reached Cape Town in safety, from a place between Cape False and Cape Aguilas, was furnished with an escort of ten men, to enable him to search after the missing ambassador—and that the escort had orders to purchase cattle from the scattered native kraals—so that the native communities were then broken up, and their cattle were still to be sought after. Those sent to look after the Company's interests, in securing the property of the wrecked mariners and ship, are directed to drive away the native inhabitants, lest the Company's interests should suffer from their thievish dispositions. I think it will appear in the sequel that there are many instances of shipwrecked mariners being well treated, and their property respected, by the tribe now called Kaffers; and of this we have at all events one instance under the First Head of the Kaffer Memoir.—*Feb. 11th.* Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1686, May 27. Received the following letter from Saldanha Bay:—"We have heard from the Hottentoos who lie at our post here, that the Namaqua Hottentoos have come into Gonieman's kraal, and said that the Namaquas and Griquas had joined together with the intention of coming hither; I shall send what further information

July. I may receive from Gonieman's Hottentoos. On the 13th of July we heard from Saldanha Bay that the Namaqua and Griqua Hottentoos had signified that they would shortly come to burn the Company's forts and the houses of the free inhabitants. A free man's slave, who had deserted, had got among them, and had narrowly escaped after receiving several wounds with an assagai.

Commentary. It does not appear who commanded at Saldanha Bay, or who was the governor's correspondent from that post. But it is curious and interesting that he should have ascertained from the Hottentots at this post, and that he apparently believed the fact, that the Namaquas and Grigriquas had combined, and that they were advancing towards the colony. These rumors, seventeen days after the report, appear to have got a more authentic shape, for the commandant at Saldanha Bay reports, that those tribes had signified their intention of coming for the specific purpose of burning down the Company's fort and the houses of the free inhabitants. What will come out of all this? time, as the Dutch governor so often says, will show. But if there be a combination among the Namaquas and the Grigriquas, to invade the colony—it obviously arises out of the unfavorable impression produced on the minds of the native tribes by Van der Stell's proceedings in the country of the Namaquas—a thing worth watching in the progress of this movement of the native tribes, will be whether the tribes in the neighbourhood of Cape Town will join those who,

probably were, at some time or other, their enemies, or whether they will join their new and more formidable enemy, the European usurper.—*February 11th.* The Hottentots. 1686, July.

The commander in his journey to the Eerste River, in search of land to be given to the free men, either in freehold or in loan, found a fine rich valley, watered by various streams, and intersected by a river—very necessary as a post to shut up the passage over the mountains, and prevent all smuggling and private trade between the free men and the natives.

A Portuguese sailor arrived here, who had been hurt by a blow of the tiller when his ship struck—and who, being unable to follow his shipmates, had been found, taken up, fed, and cured by the Hottentoos, and at last brought, safe and sound, to Hottentoos' Holland. August.

The work of leading the water, in wooden pipes, from the spring, was this day, November 30th, completed; upwards of 1,000 bored trees, fastened together with iron rings, were thus used.

The Cape burgers were paraded in arms, 80 in number; and on the 7th the commander was visited at Stellenbosch, with every expression of attachment and obedience, by the Hottentoo Captains Cuyper and Thomas, between whom a little tobacco having been divided, they presented the commander with an ox in return, and as a mark of their respect. 1687, January.

The commander returned from the outposts, bringing with him the captain of the Trakonkwase Hottentoos, named Gamnou Kouchama, chief of the banditti, a powerful people, laying above the Soemquas, and beyond the Breede River, bordering on Inqua Komsakou, who is supposed to be the king of Monopotapia, by whom the chief states himself to have been sent hither, to open a communication with the commander and with this country, after which he February.

The Hottentots. 1687, February.

is said to intend sending his brother Gonkha; the chief also stated, that he delivered into the hands of the said Gonkha, the presents which the commander had last year sent by the Khenouquase captains, and that Gonkha was pleased with them. He returned his thanks to the commander for the civilities shown him, with assurances of his disposition to serve the Company—promised that henceforth no injury should be done to deserted slaves, and that he would soon return with an ambassador of the king Komsakou. Gamnou Kouchama then departed for his country well satisfied, under the guidance of the Khenouqua captains.

Commentary.

It is impossible at present to foresee, and it may be impossible hereafter to ascertain, who this captain of the Trekoukwase Hottentots was whom the commander got hold of on his visit to the out-posts on the 4th of February; and who, after remaining two days with his honor, took his departure for his own country, under the guidance of the Chonouqua captain. Van der Stell appears some time last year to have sent, by the hands of this person—and probably during his journey into Namaqualand—presents for a person called Gowkha, the brother of Gamnou Kouchama, chief of a powerful people, whom his honor is pleased to call banditti, whose country bordered on that of Inqua Komsakou, the king of Monomotopa, and by whom he was sent on a mission to the Dutch, with a promise that the king's own brother would be sent hereafter. These are all new sounding names, and the tribe are only, I conclude, called banditti, because they would not do what the Dutch required of them. But since Van der Stell's vision extended no farther than supposing that this king's country lay above that of the Bosjemans, and beyond the Breede River, without saying how far, the probability is, that the whole

affair will end in smoke, like the Monomotopa and the new St. Helena of the Dutch or Portuguese; the whole thing may, however, relate to the people whom we now call Kaffers; although, what that people originally called themselves, or what they were called by the other tribes of South Africa, I have not yet been able to ascertain, or it would have been described under the Kaffer Head,—yet, after what has already been ascertained, I shall be almost ashamed hereafter to designate that people by that opprobrious term.—*February* 12*th*.* The Hottentots. 1687, February. Commentary.

In the afternoon of the 18th, one of the Grigriqua Hottentoos came under the guardianship of a party of Hottentoos from Saldanha Bay. He was sent by his chief, whom he called PORTUGIES, to make peace with the Company, fearing that the faults committed when the commander was on his journey to the February.

* May not the inhabitants of the East Coast of Africa be of Scythian origin? There can be no reason why a tribe of that nation should not have emigrated from the shores of the Black Sea and Caspian into Africa, as well as into Scandinavia, and probably about the same time. Since this Memoir was concluded I have read somewhere, in a No. of the Quarterly Review, on Captain OWEN's Work, I think—(for I have not the Quarterly here to refer to)—that temples resembling those of the Druids are to be seen on the East Coast near the Portuguese Settlements. The Kaffers in Dos SANTOS' time, had neither temples nor images—but they had their consecrated groves. Their princes, like the Scythian princes, assumed the honors of divinity—like the Scythians their lives were spent in hunting, pasturage, and predatory war. Professor TYTLER says of the Scythians:—Their dress, their weapons, their food, their respect for their women, their religious worship, were the same (with those of the Scandinavians.) They despised learning, and had no other records, for many ages, than the songs of their bards.—"Elements of General History—London, 1844, section 47, page 50—of the origin, manners, and characters of the Gothic nations, before their establishment in the Roman Empire." Lord Woodhouselee's History of the Scythians might have been referred to with great advantage under the Kaffer Head, had I, when writing it, possessed his Elements of General History.—*Plettenberg's Bay, September* 25*th*, 1845.

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Copper Mountains would be punished as they deserved; for he had moved away from his kraal, contrary to his promise and duty; and thus kept some tired oxen that had been given into his charge until the commander's return, and done all the disservice in his power; notwithstanding which forgiveness and favor were promised to him through his ambassador, in consideration of the service he might hereafter do the Company, and on condition that he should deliver, in person, at the Company's kraal, in consequence of the injury, 30 cows and 100 wethers, which the said ambassador promised to state to his chief.

Commentary.

It will perhaps never appear who this chief was who sent a Grigriqua "ambassador" to the Dutch. The circumstance of VAN DER STELL's calling him PORTUGIES, of course leads to the probability that he had held communication with the Portuguese at some of their settlements on the West Coast, to the Northward of the Orange River; for I do not know that they ever had any settlements between that river and Cape Town. The chief was, according to VAN DER STELL's view of the matter, afraid that he would bring down upon himself the vengeance of the Dutch, because he had moved away from his kraal contrary to his promise and duty, and thereby kept some tired oxen which the commander had entrusted to him until he should return to the kraal,—and done, in other respects, all the disservice in his power; the other acts of offence were of course of less importance than this mighty affair, else they would have been first specified; but for the specified offence, and the other disservices, whatever they may have been, the commander now requires him, through his agent, to deliver in person at the Company's kraal 30 cows and 100 wethers; which must, of course, have appeared

to the Grigriqua chief a bad opening of a negotiation for peace. Peace was, however, only thought of by Van der Stell, in consideration of the service which he might hereafter do to the Company; and of this "good lot," as the Dutch doubtless called them, of sheep and cattle, yet to be received. That agents should in the month of February, 1687, have appeared at the Cape from the Trakoukwase and the Grigriqua tribes, is proof sufficient that the visit of the Dutch commander to the territories of the Namaquas in the end of 1685, had awakened the anxiety or the curiosity of the native tribes about the Orange River. The agents may, of course, only have been sent out of curiosity, to see what sort of barbarians these were, with round hats and square-tailed cloth coats, who had come amongst them,—what they were doing; or they may have been the forerunner of that formidable combination amongst the Namaquas and Grigriquas, which, in May and July of the previous year, had occasioned some anxiety at Saldanha Bay, and even at Cape Town, the leaders of which had threatened to burn down the forts and the habitations of the free men in the country. The native tribes had of course their internal wars and dissensions,—else they would have been in a more advanced state of civilization than any other tribes in the world at the end of the 17th century. Each tribe may have been anxious to enlist the services of the Dutch in its cause against those opposed to it; and contemptible as the Dutch power then, if not always, was at the Cape of Good Hope, they must have always been, with their artillery and fire-arms, formidable in the eyes of the native tribes of South Africa. Had the administration been in the hands of the Prince of Orange, of the Dutch ministry, or in any other hands than those of the Dutch East India Company, a very different fate might

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have been reserved for the unhappy inhabitants of South Africa. We do not unfortunately require to search into their records, or into details, to discover that their course of administration from first to last was one of unmitigated tyranny and aggression over the native tribes. It would have required the very opposite course, and a far better understanding of native manners and institutions than the Dutch of that period could be expected to possess, to have preserved the native clans unbroken, and in the degree of organization which we now know them to have enjoyed. The course which is under adoption by the British government, of forming defensive alliances with the several tibes will almost necessarily give peace to the whole, and may be carried as far into the centre of Africa as that government chooses, or, at at all events, until it comes into contact or collision with the Portuguese settlements of the North, and then a course of European negotiation must ensue, which may be the more difficult to carry out, as a death blow would thus be given to the Portuguese slave trade; a measure of this magnitude would necessarily be attended with some considerable expense, and that the Cape colony cannot of course bear. But if undertaken as a national affair, there cannot be much difficulty, provided good agents are employed. I would venture, in this instance, to point to Captain Stretch, the present Political Resident with the Amakoses; that officer appears to me to have the high merit of having entrenched himself on the frontier, behind Sir Andries Stockenstrom's Treaty, to have been governed by the spirit and letter of the Treaty, and to have resisted all demands upon the Kaffers—which the Treaty did not in his judgment justify—whether the demand was made on the part of his government or of individual colonists. He

accordingly now carries with him the Kaffer chiefs and people in his negotiations or demands respecting the new Treaties, and has every prospect of hereafter preserving peace on both sides of the border. It is a question whether many such men as Captain STRETCH, or Mr. FYNN, the Political Resident with the Tambookies, can be found for employment here. But there is no question that only such men must be employed; if we desire to gain the confidence of the native tribes, and to spread the blessings of civilization through Southern and Central Africa. The details of the scheme are, I think, simple enough. The first and great principle is to leave unbroken the native tribes, or to restore their organization where it has been broken; the second, to leave, in the first instance, at all events, the native institutions untouched by the hand of power, or to be corrected, in what they are atrocious, through the slow operations of the missionary and schoolmaster, who, too, must be unprotected and unsupported by British power. If force be requisite to carry out the scheme, then organize contingents formed of the chiefs and people of the native tribes, with European arms in their hands, and commanded by British officers,—acting under the authority of the several political agents accredited by the British government to the native chiefs with which it has defensive treaties.—*February 13th*, 1845. The Hottentots. 1687, February. Commentary.

A sergeant and some soldiers were sent out to buy a half thousand fat sheep, for tobacco, from the nearest Hottentoos. February.

Sent the boat, on the 1st, to Saldanha Bay, with the following letter:— March.

Extract.—On the arrival of the captain of the Grigriqua Hottentoos, named by us PORTUGIES, you will show him every kindness, and give him a drink of arrack and a little tobacco; and give him every

The Hottentots. 1687, March.

assistance, so that he may drive hither without hindrance the cattle and sheep which he has promised to give to the Company; and you will take care that he does not suffer the slightest annoyance from Sounquas or other Hottentoos. On the afternoon of the same day appeared here Captain Willem Knyff, with ten of his crew, having lost their ship, the *Stravenisse*, on the 16th February last year, on the coast of Terra de Natal, as appears detailed in the following statement of the said Captain W. Knyff. (See Kaffer Head.)

April.

Despatch to the Chamber.—On the 24th of March the English ketch *Providentia*, arrived here, producing a licence signed by His Britannic Majesty on the last day of September, 1686. The mate speaks good Dutch—and sailed from the Macse in that vessel, of 50 tons burden, 15 men, and six small guns, intending to buy slaves at Madagascar, in exchange for arms and other articles, and to sell them at Barbadoes.

We have, indeed, abundant cause, but want the power, to give adequate expression to our gratitude to the Almighty, who has permitted us to reap the fruits of our labour an hundred-fold, in health and peace.

Journal continued.—The commander received intelligence that one-half of the Hottentoo kraal had died, and that the other half lay sick. The mate of the English ketch *Providentia* returned from Struis Bay; they had heard nothing of their captain or people. The Hottentoos told them that they had seen a number of Dutch at the river Zonder End, who were coming this way. We believe these may be the crew of the *Stravenisse*, which may God grant. They state also, that there is a very severe and deadly sickness among the Hottentoos who do not know what to do for it, and although they decamp and move from place to place, the sickness still pursues them; the burning fever drags many, both old and young, to their

graves. But as the South-east wind begins to blow, we hope it may purify the unwholesome air, and that the mortality among the Company's slaves may cease. The Hottentots. 1687, April.

Four armed men, who came from Saldanha Bay, had been in great danger from elephants, lions, and tigers; one of them had his hat taken from his head by an elephant. The greater part of the Company's house at Riet Valley, was pulled down; for the paths were beset by lions and tigers: some of them so bold as to approach within ten paces when the men were lying by their fires. As it is necessary to maintain a good posture of defence, the landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch are summoned to attend at Cape Town with eighty or more men fully armed; the remainder of the men there keeping a watchful eye on their own concerns; and, above all, taking care that the Hottentoos do no injury to any one. The Hottentoo Captain Schacher having recently died, his brother's son, named Massinisse, was chosen in his stead by the commander. He was presented with a staff of command in name of the Company, and some tobacco, arrack, and beads. June.

Van der Stell could not of course have hit upon any more effectual manner of breaking up a native tribe than that of taking upon himself to name the brother's son of the late Schacher, chief over the tribe in the room of his uncle; giving him at the same time one of those Dutch emblems of office—a copper-headed stick; this was only pursuing in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, the same course which he attempted on his journey to Namaqualand.* But there the remoteness of their position saved the fine race of Namaquas, for a time at all events, from this, perhaps greatest evil of European infliction. Schacher was, I think, one of the chiefs of the Goring- Commentary.

* See Bosjeman Head.

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haiquas, or Caepmans, as they were called by Europeans; and that unhappy tribe was more exposed to the persecution of the foreigner than any of the other tribes of South Africa. It was the first tribe whose lands he coveted and appropriated, and it was consequently the first tribe which was shattered to pieces and broken up through his presence.—*March 8th.*

August.

The commander returned from the country, having discovered a suitable place for fishing for the Company's slaves, and fine fertile land to be divided among free men. On arriving at the castle he found a party of Grigriqua Hottentoos, who, after delivering in the name of their whole tribe a present of six young oxen, requested to enter into a treaty of amity with the Company.

Commentary.

We hear no more of the threatened invasion of the colony by the Namaquas and Grigriquas, for the purpose of destroying the fort and burning down the houses of the free men. It appeared at one time as if the journey of Van der Stell into Namaqualand, and his outrageous proceedings towards the native chiefs and people of that country, had awakened the chiefs and people to a sense of their danger, and as if they were about to arm for the expulsion of the European invader. The probability is, however, that the clans had not the power of uniting or adhering to one another, to an extent sufficient to enable them to make a journey for such a purpose from the banks of the Orange River, where the Namaquas and Grigriquas then resided to the promontory. They would, too, have required to pass through the territories of many intervening tribes before they could have reached the Dutch possessions; and it is probable that those tribes would not have granted them free passage, stimulated as they would be by the Dutch to avert the coming storm. The appearance of the party of Grigriquas at the castle, with an offering of six young

oxen, in the name of the whole tribe, looks more like peace than war,—and it is to be feared that we shall not now witness the interesting spectacle of the native tribes arming for mutual defence and protection; nor have the means of ascertaining whether the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Cape most feared the encroachments of the European or of their distant compatriots. The Grigriquas are of course the same tribe with that which is now arming under ADAM KOCK for the expulsion of the Dutch boers from their country; and if they will only unite with MOSHESH and his people, they may turn the tables upon the British subjects who are depriving them of their lands, and drive the invaders within the colonial border; but, should they fail to do so, and continue to appeal to His Excellency the Governor, international law will force him to interpose, and to send troops to bring our subjects back by the nose, if they will not return except in leading-strings. Lord STANLEY has read, as we have just seen in the Cape papers, a lesson to the Governor of New Zealand, on the subject of the territorial rights of aborigines, which will not lose its effect, or be very soon forgotten in any of the crown colonies. It is curious to see how, in this instance, and in the late report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the New Zealand question, the Cape government find a guide for such proceedings as it may find necessary to adopt in the settlement of land questions; which are, after all, the great questions in dispute between colonists and aborigines.—*March 8th.*

The Hottentots. 1687, August. Commentary

The landdrost returned with 227 oxen, cows, and calves, and 684 sheep, bought from the surrounding Hottentoos for tobacco and other wares. Many sailors are daily importuning the commander with applications to be set free, that they may subsist by farming

October.

The Hottentots. 1687, October.

here. A female named Maria Jans, of Amsterdam, having recently come out in man's clothes as a sailor, was lodged in the castle for security; she was asked in marriage by several of these inhabitants, but as she was found to have been of loose habits, the commander rejected the suit of the gallants.

Commentary.

It will have been observed through the whole of the barter transactions how reluctant the natives, of all tribes and classes, were to part with their cattle, whilst tribes remained entire or in their strength—and that the barter of the Dutch governors or commanders bore rather the character of requisitions, or of compulsion, than of free trade. So hopeless had it latterly become, even through these measures, to obtain cattle, that his honor found it necessary to employ a native agent, Captain Claas, to purchase cattle from the more distant tribes, allowing him a very substantial per centage on the transaction. It may therefore fairly be questioned whether the landdrost obtained the 227 oxen and the 684 sheep from the surrounding Hottentots, by measures so little objectionable as those of forced requisition. That the commander should have been pestered with daily importunities from sailors who wished to become farmers, obtaining substantial grants of land, will not surprise any one. But in this, as well as in the gathering together at the fort such herds of the cattle of the native tribes, we have unfortunately proof enough of the approaching downfall of the native communities.—*March 8th.*

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the following entry is characteristic of the manners and government of the time—which no one can deny:—

22nd October.—Gentle N. W. wind and delightful weather, with hot sunshine—which induced several women to turn off the rays with parasols—the use of which articles was civilly forbidden by the commander,

as something too bad, and inconsistent with the interests of this colony; for they were used by people who, far from having any pretensions to pomp or luxurious display, need not shrink from heat, cold, or other hardships, but may well keep their hands out of their sleeves. The Hottentots. 1687, October.

Journal continued.—The commander went from Stellenbosch to Berg River, attended by the free burgers, who had applied for land; passing Simon's Valley and Croesenspruit, he marked a large fertile valley, and pointed out to 23 of the free men their land along the river, being in the same line, and side by side, 60 roods broad and 600 in length, so that from their living close to each other, they might be more secure against attacks of the Hottentoos, and might have an open rear for their cattle towards Simon's Berg. His honor named this district Drakenstein, fixed its boundaries, and the free men went away well satisfied and elated; the landdrost and surveyor were ordered instantly to measure and divide the land.

Whether the fertile and pleasant district, which VAN DER STELL now named Drakenstein, belonged to the Cape and Hottentots' Holland districts, which had before been purchased from the natives for trifles, I cannot exactly tell. But I think it will hereafter appear that separate contracts were entered into with natives, for the purchase of this district, after its division amongst 23 free men; and in this case the present transaction was of course a mere usurpation of native lands, like several former, and thousands of the later transactions during the Dutch administration in South Africa.—*March 8th.* Commentary.

Despatch from the Chamber.—We have read the instructions furnished you by the *Heere of Mydrecht*, with which you will be pleased to comply. We ob- November.

The Hottentots. 1687, November.

serve, with deep concern, from your letters of 18th April and 20th May, the loss of the richly-laden ship *Stravenisse*, to the Eastward of the Cape, through the shameful negligence of the officers; as also the capture of the *Westenryck*, by English pirates, at Madagascar. We have now to apprise you that we are sending out to you, among other free men, some French and Piedmontaise fugitives, all of the Reformed religion, upon the conditions of which some copies are enclosed in French and Dutch; among these persons you will find wine farmers and brandy distillers, and may thus supply the wants so much complained of. For the exercise of their religion we have allowed them a clergyman, who is about to embark in one of the ships of the Chamber, *Zeeland*. You will find these people destitute of every thing, and must therefore assist them until they are able to earn their own food —they are an industrious people and easily satisfied. If we were to sum up what the Cape has cost us up to this time, it would amount to an immense sum; and, therefore, we must turn our attention to the means of reducing the expense. It has solely, or at least principally, served as a place of refreshment for shipping. You appear to have 358 in the Company's service—their wages amount to *f.* 68,120, besides *f.* 40,788 for provisions.

Commentary.

The British government of 1845 might say, as the Chamber said in 1687, that the Cape is principally or solely valuable as a half-way house to the East, and as serving for a place of refreshment for shipping; and if we were to sum up what the Cape has cost up to this time, it would amount to an immense sum. There appears to be but little prospect of the expense decreasing, whilst the value of the Cape, even as a half-way house, is becoming daily less and less. If a rail-road is established, as England appears to wish,

from Suez to the Nile—or if a canal is cut, as France appears to wish, a portion of the commerce will very soon take the course which it held before the Portuguese discovered the passage round the Cape in 1492. Yet, the promontory of the Cape can never fail to be of the highest importance to a maritime power. I hear some people urge, as a reason why England should continue to spend £200,000 or £300,000 on the frontier districts, that if she gave them up some other country would take them. The people of Europe are, however, now generally wiser than to spend their money in a wilderness such as the frontier districts have continued after 150 years of European colonization, and such as, to all appearance, they must continue through all time. Even at this very place—Algoa Bay—their principal seaport, there is at present some appearance of decay, and if England discontinued her yearly expenditure that decay would be rapid indeed.—*March 9th.* The Hottentots. 1689, November. Commentary.

The commander represented to Council that amongst all people, and in all ages, the liberty of the chase had been granted to people to whet their valour, and to prevent its evaporating from want of an enemy, or being weakened by luxury or voluptousness. It was therefore resolved to allow the principal officers of cavalry and infantry to hunt large or small game with two dogs, twice a week within the boundaries of this government, so that they might be accustomed to indure every hardship, and become expert in the use of their weapons. The burgers of Table Valley assembled in arms to the number of 112; and the burgerraden and officers presented a petition that these men might be brought under stricter discipline. 1688, January.

Dorba, captain of the Sousequa Hottentoos, called by us Claas, having complained to the meeting of February.

The Hottentots. 1688, February.

the rebellious conduct of his revolted Chief COOPMAN, and as he has been always true and faithful, and as we derive much assistance and good service from him, it was resolved to help CLAAS with the strong hand of power, and to summon KOOPMAN through a sergeant and four men, and then to order him under severe threats to conduct himself submissively towards his chief, and to restore to him the stolen cattle. Should KOOPMAN not obey them, to authorize CLAAS to attack, strip him of his cattle, and everything, and to appoint another chief in his stead. CLAAS was also to get tobacco, arrack, beads, and other things from the Company's stores to purchase cattle for us from the neighbouring Hottentoos.

Commentary.

Truly, Mr. VAN DER STELL, you little cared what was the character of the native chief whom you took into your closest friendship and supported with your power, provided only he were base enough to betray his own countrymen and prove serviceable to you; for this unhappy man, CLAAS as you call him, or DORKA as the Hottentots called him, a chief of the Sousequa tribe, who had been at an early period corrupted by intercourse with the European, and alienated from his own people, who had so long and faithfully served you as an agent in your barter transactions with the distant native tribes, is the same person who in March, 1686, so treacherously and barbarously murdered the Bosjeman captain and seven of his men whilst partaking of an entertainment, which he had invited them to and prepared for them; and for which act of almost unheard of treachery, your honor rewarded him with copper beads, arrack, and tobacco.—See Bosjeman Head. It may readily be supposed that such a person would become obnoxious in the eyes of aborigines, although, unhappily, not so in the eyes of Europeans; and there is not much difficulty in force-

seeing to what purpose he will apply the services of the sergeant and four soldiers whom you are now placing at his disposal to reduce to subjection his rebellious Chief KOOPMAN; they and the tobacco, arrack, beads, and other things, which you are placing at his disposal for trade, will of course be employed in the wholesale plunder of the neighbouring Hottentots, friends and foes, and if we ever hear anything more of your friend CLAAS, it will probably be to the effect that he has brought you a good lot of cattle.—*March 10th.* The Hottentots. 1688, February. Commentary.

Despatch to the Chamber.—Your honors will perceive from the above statement, that we can muster in arms, including the free servants of the free men, and their grown up sons, 350 free men, so that it is likely we shall be soon in a condition to defy any power which might attempt to fix itself here. As to the Hottentoos, there is not the slightest danger to be apprehended from them, but, on the contrary, every kind of good offices and fidelity is to be expected: the captains and chiefs, even those who live at a distance, having either in person or by ambassadors requested friendship and protection; well knowing that it is owing to the dread felt for the Company that they live in peace with each other; their number of men and cattle greatly increasing, and they becoming more and more attached to us; so that in the busiest of the harvest, or the ploughing season, they come down among us like the Westphalians in the Netherlands, continuing so averse from the English, Danes, and in particular the French, that we have often to restrain them by force, so as to keep them from coming to blows with any of those nations whom they meet on shore. The commander is in treaty with some of their captains for the formal purchase of new lands, as, with a view to the extension of our April.

The Hottentots. 1688, April.

bounds, he has recently occupied a fine and fertile valley named Drakenstein, on Berg River, four mylen Eastward of Stellenbosch, were 23 free men have been settled close together, on lands equal in extent, each having 60 morgen of 60 roods in breadth, and 600 in length, they can thus assist each other, and we propose extending a line of houses along the same river all the way to Saldanha Bay. The commander having assisted these people, turned his attention to the neighbouring bays, and has at last had the good fortune to discover in False Bay, a fine and well situated place, where 14 or 15 ships may lie as securely as in the safest haven in the world, if necessary without either anchor or cable, with a good landing place, abundance of fresh water, the sea full of fish, and the land of elands, hartebeests, and other game, as shown in the annexed chart and description. We have exerted every industry for the attainment of your honors' objects with this colony, and have now advanced so far that we have in our lofts 3,664 muids of grain, a provision which will last us for two years, besides what is at the Company's posts and private farms; to store the grain we have not lofts enough, nor cellarage enough for the wine, of which we have a stock of 69 leaguers, in spite of our exportation of 14 to Ceylon and four to Mauritius. We trust soon to bring it so far that the shipping may be supplied from the tithe of the cattle reared; and that this Company may be thus relieved from the heavy expense of maintaining so large a garrison; the 10th sheaf, and the 40th, 20th, and 10th penny upon the sale of fixed property, in proportion to the time it has been possessed by the seller, will in time be something considerable; the licences to retail spirits, &c. were this year sold for *f.* 19,925.

Commentary.

It was of course the object of Van der Stell and

his Council to make favorable reports of the condition of their administration at the Cape to their masters in Holland. But it was drawing largely on their credulity to expect them to believe that every kind of good office, and every species of fidelity, was to be looked for from the Hottentots; and that it was owing to the dread which the chiefs at a distance felt for the Dutch East India Company, that they lived at peace with one another. Such traitors to the cause of their country, and such renegades as CLAAS, the principal friend and instrument of the Dutch up to the present date in their iniquities, doubtless stuffed the Governor in Council with all sorts of stories, well understanding that their safety depended on the support of the foreigner. But VAN DER STELL could not himself have believed that any measures of the Dutch government in South Africa were of a nature calculated to produce harmony, concord, or peace amongst the native tribes; and it required no small degree of assurance in the Governor and Council of that period so to report to his government in Europe, adding that the population and cattle of the native tribes were greatly increasing, and that they were becoming more and more attached to the Dutch, whilst their aversion to the English, the Danes, and especially to the French, was extreme. This might have been believed in that day in Holland, but we are in the present day too well acquainted with the nature of Dutch colonial administration to render it possible that it should now be believed, or listened to with common patience, anywhere. No one would, however, grudge Mr. VAN DER STELL and the Chamber the 3,000 or 4,000 muids of corn, and the 69 leaguers of wine which had been placed in store at Cape Town, were not every one certain that it was all produced by the European on land of which he had robbed the native. It turns out, as I thought it would,

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that the pleasant and fertile district of Drakenstein, which his honor the governor divided amongst 23 of his countrymen on the 16th of October, 1687, was a farther encroachment on the lands of the natives; for he reports to the Chamber on the 26th of the following April, that he is in treaty with some of the native chiefs for the purchase of the fine and fertile valley named Drakenstein, on the Berg River. The governor was wise, however, to limit his grants to each individual to 60 morgen, and had all future governors followed his example in this, the colony might have become a valuable agricultural instead of a costly pastoral possession to the European possessor of it.—*March 10th.*

December.

Resolution of Council.—The commander stated that he had endeavored three years before to enter into some communication with the Inqua Hottentoos, who live about a month's journey distant; and that, at length, after great trouble and sending presents, he had received a message from the chief of the tribe, who had arrived here yesterday—two of his companions having been detained by sickness among the neighbouring Cape Hottentoos. The messenger requested, in the name of his chief, that he might be admitted into the friendship and confidence of the Company, and that both parties might enter into an exchange of their several articles of merchandize—adding, that their country was very populous, almost overstocked with oxen, cows, and sheep, and that no European or white people had ever been there. It was, therefore, resolved to send a messenger there without delay, under the guidance of the Inqua and some Cape Hottentoos, to endeavour to purchase cattle, or whatever merchandize or mineral their country might produce, for tobacco, arrack, beads, assagais, or other articles; also, to try whether it may not be

possible to open a communication in that direction with Terra de Natal, to procure some intelligence of the missing people of the crew of the *Stravenisse*. It was determined that Ensign ISAAC SCHRYVER, with a sergeant and 18 or 19 well-armed soldiers, shall be employed in this expedition, with two wagons and a proper train of supplies and ammunition. The Hottentots. 1688, December.

Ensign SCHRYVER and his party, with three wagons, set out on their journey to the Inquase Hottentoos, on the 4th, in good spirits, and on the 23rd, Capt. DARKA, or CLAAS, chief of the Sousequa Hottentoos, brought in 250 cattle and 200 sheep, which he had bought of the nearer Hottentoos for tobacco. He met Ensign SCHRYVER, and sent with him eight or ten of his Hottentoos, with orders to be faithful to the Hollanders—and in the event of a hostile attack, to fight bravely, and rather to die with them than live without them, in which case they had to expect certain death from him. 1689, January.

It was quite obvious that the governor's friend DORKA, or CLAAS, chief of the Sousequa Hottentots, accompanied by a sergeant and four soldiers, would bring in a good lot of cattle, and accordingly in the tenth month he returns with 250 cattle and 200 sheep, bought from the nearest Hottentots for tobacco; or VAN DER STELL might, probably, have said, plundered, with the aid of his soldiers, without. He was truly a faithful friend to the Dutch, however, to send eight or ten of his people with Ensign SCHRYVER, whom he met on his journey to the Inquahese* Hot- Commentary.

* Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, that Inqua, as designating a tribe of Hottentots—was written Inquase in the adjective sense, as Gonemase, Obiquase, &c. This tribe, like the Saldanhars or Cochoquas, do not long retain their original name; but, like the tribe of Gonomoa, take the name of their chief, and are thus occasionally named as the Hecon Hottentots.

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tentots, telling them to be faithful, and rather to die with the ensign and his party than to return without them. This sort of trait in the character of the natives of S. Africa—scoundrel and murderer although Claas was, in the cause of the Dutch—leads us the more to reject the breaking up of such tribes, of whom so much might have been made through just and merciful treatment.—*March 11th.*

February.

The Sousequa captain, Dorka, alias Claas, set out for his country, accompanied by his wives and retinue, well contented. Several diseases prevail among the whites as well as the blacks; 50 slaves are ill in the Company's slave lodge. Table Hill was on the 21st enveloped in clouds to below the Company's garden, in a manner never before witnessed.

March.

A letter was written on the 7th to Stellenboseh, to put the inhabitants upon their guard, as it was reported from Saldanha Bay that 52 kraals of Namaquas and Grigriquas had encamped on this side of Oliphants' River, that they might reach Berg River in three days, and are not to be trusted. But the Heemraden of Stellenboseh reported, ten days after, that persons who had been sent out for intelligence, and who had gone further than the Twenty-four Rivers, saw nothing but Gongemans, and that they knew nothing of any cause of alarm, saying that all was well; and ten days after this a report was received by the commander that the Namaquas and Grigriquas had suddenly attacked a kraal of the Cape Hottentoos, near Saldanha Bay, killing some of them, including their chief, and carrying away the rest to their country, with women, children, and cattle.

Commentary.

There is a prospect in all this as if the combination of the Namaquas and Grigriquas, for the expulsion of the European, was still on foot—and likely to turn to something. The report received from Saldanha Bay

that 52 kraals of that people had suddenly encamped on the left bank of the Oliphant River, was not believed at the then advanced interior station of Stellenbosch, when suddenly they attack a kraal at Saldanha Bay, dependants of the Dutch, kill the chief and some of his people, carrying the rest, with the women and children, and cattle, in triumph to their own country. Whether, or to what extent, they will continue their irruptions, time must show!—*March 11th.* The Hottentot Commentary. 1689, March.

Despatch to the Chamber.—It was deemed very advisable that a mission should be sent forthwith to the king of the Inquahase Hottentoos, under the guidance of the said Inqua his messenger, and some of the Cape Hottentoos, to endeavour to procure from them some oxen, cows, sheep, and other cattle, or whatever produce of grain, merchandize, or minerals their country might offer, in exchange for tobacco, arrack, beads, assagais, or other trifles; and, also, to try whether we could not open a road in this direction to Terra de Natal, procure some intelligence of the missing crew of the *Stravenisse*, and discover the whole country as far as Rio de la Goa, so as to bring into the hands of the Company, and of this colony, whatever profits that country may afford. Ensign Schryver was despatched thither on the 4th of January last, with .... well-armed soldiers, two wagons, and a proper number of oxen, provisions, ammunition, and merchandize, with orders to pay every attention to all minerals, shrubs, plants, crops, &c., and to render a due report, in writing, upon his return. After an absence of three months he returned on the 5th April, without the loss of a man, bringing with him 1,000 oxen, cows, and calves, and 300 sheep, bartered from the said Hottentoos. They had been engaged with the Makriggas, after they had April.

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surrounded our party on every side, and many of them had prepared to attack them by day as well as by night. Fully 40 of these robbers were killed on the spot, and the cattle which they had stolen from the surrounding Hottentoos were taken from them.

The Makriggas live by plunder, chiefly residing in the mountains; they are very populous, and in constant war—attacking all travellers and robbing them of every thing; but that these people lie between, the Hottentoos could travel safely from the Cape to the Rio de la Goa, or even to the tropic of capricorn, as may be more fully seen by the journal of the expedition, which want of time prevents us from sending till the next opportunity.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the diary of Schryver "contains a minute account of the first journey into the interior, by crossing the Swellendam range of mountains, and is therefore given, with the omission of a few unimportant details, in a complete form." I shall, of course, only extract such portions as relate to the manners or condition of the native tribes at that period, as described, or ascertained by the ensign, his sergeant, and 20 well-armed men:—

Started on Tuesday, January 4th, and on the 8th came to the kraal of the Sousequa Captain Dorka, or Claas, from whom we borrowed two pack-oxen to carry our baggage. On the 17th thirteen Hassequa Hottentoos came to us, and reported that the Swarte Captain's kraal lay not far from us. On the 19th started early through a flat country, inhabited, probably from its good quality and extent, by many kraals of Hassequas—passed the great Palmiet River, and pursued our journey along its banks, till we came to the kraal of Ouden Heer, where we outspanned. On the 20th we stopped at the old *Heer's*, as we required some pack-oxen, which were not to be had

sooner—proceeding onward we saw, on the same day, Hassequa kraals on all sides. On the 25th we found that Mossel Bay bore S. S. E. On the 28th, after four days' journey, we got through said kloof at 10 A. M., and named it Lange Kloof. On the 30th two Hottentoos from the Attiquas' kraal came to us, and told us that they lay at no great distance—but as they pointed S. S. E. over the mountains, we resolved not to follow them; about 11 A. M. on the following day, many Attiqua Hottentoos came to us and informed us that HYKON, chief of the Inquahase Hottentoos, lay but four days' journey off. (It is useless to repeat the Dutch names given to the places passed by the ensign in his journey after he passed the Lange Kloof, still more so to give his description of country, and the Hottentoo names of rivers and tracts of country, are not only better sounding, but far more interesting.) The first river the Dutch passed was called by the Hottentoos Kankose; the second river, the ensign says, the Hottentoos called Captains River; the third river they called Kamnasy—this the party was obliged to pass six times; "the river is very large in the rainy season, with many turns and high rocky banks, sometimes pikestaff deep—the hills we passed are well covered with acacia and other large trees—the valleys between the hills are at present eaten bare, and that through which the river runs is good ground.

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About 2 P. M., on the 1st February, we arrived at a valley called by the Hottentoos Xanga, having about 20 morgen of fine ground, and divided by the river Kamnasy. This is evidently the river now called the Kromme, and the valley Xanga, may be that in which the Moravian Missionary station of Clarkson is placed on the left bank, and in which Mr. MEEDING resides on the right bank. On the 2d, we came again to the same river Kamnasy, and found good pasture; we

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therefore stayed there; the place is called by the Hottentoos Humtata. On the 3rd, we came, about 5 P. M. to a river called by the Hottentoos Tihate, that is Oliphants' River; we rested at the place called by the Hottentoos Naukoti, that is Roodsand. On Friday, the 4th, leaving Naukoti, and travelling East North-east and East by North, we came to a flat kloof called by the Hottentoos Quanti; the Hottentoos with us no longer knew the road, and one of our men was sent with them to reconnoitre; they saw a kraal in a kloof to the left and instantly returned; a sergeant and five men with six Hottentoos were then sent to fetch some of the people that they might show us the road to HYKON; as soon as the kraal people, called Souquas, perceived the party, they placed themselves in a posture of defence, and shot briskly at our people with bows and arrows, our people fired two muskets at them and they fled, but quickly recovered themselves; our people seeing this, quickly saluted them with another shot, when they again fled, but soon placed themselves in their former posture; they fled altogether when some shots were fired by our people for the third time, and hid themselves in the mountains, leaving behind their flock of ewes and lambs, which our people brought with them; when the Souquas saw this, three of them were at length induced, by the invitation of our Hottentoos, to accompany them to our tent, we received them kindly, and having presented them with some tobacco and brandy, we asked them how far it was to HYKON's land, they said it was four days' journey, but they refused to show us the way or to accompany us, this was the reason for taking them with us, together with their lamb flock, of which we took good care; they told our Hottentoos that three of their people were severely wounded, whom they had dragged away by the hands and feet.

Here is a curious, and on the part of Ensign Schryver, a barbarous scene, enacted on his mission from Cape Town to the Inqua Hottentots. He goes merrily along with his sergeant and twenty men at arms, from the 4th of January until he passed through the Long Kloof and reached the banks of the Kamnasy River; on the 4th of the following month, sent out one of his men with some of his Cape Hottentots to reconnoitre, as the road was no longer known to the people with him; a kraal was seen amongst hills to the left, which his Hottentots must have known to be the kraal of Souquas or Bosjesmans, for they instantly returned; then five Europeans and six Hottentots were instantly sent to fetch some of the people of the kraal; the hardy little mountaineers placed themselves in a posture of defiance against this outrage on their rights, opened a brisk discharge of arrows against the invaders; this was returned by a fire of musquetry; the little fellows fled, but quickly recovered themselves, although it does not appear that they again discharged their arrows; they were again, in Dutch phrascology, saluted with another shot; they again fled, but soon recovering themselves, assumed their former posture; a third fire of musquetry drove them to their mountain fastnesses, but they could not carry their sheep and lambs with them, and these fell into the hands of the invaders; and the Bosjesmans were induced by the Cape Hottentots, belonging to the ensign, to accompany them to the camp, doubtless in the hope of recovering their flock of sheep; they refused, however, to point out the road, or to accompany the party to the head quarters of Hykon, the chief of the Inquas, although the ensign endeavoured to corrupt them with his brandy and his tobacco; and they were, with their flock of lambs, carried along with the Dutch party; they confessed that three of

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their men were severely wounded, and dragged away by the hands and feet. Who will not feel that three Dutchmen, instead of three Bosjemans should have licked the dust in an affair of this kind? the first that had been enacted against that unhappy people beyond the limits of the Cape district, and the country of the Namaquas; this is, too, the first occasion on which we hear that the Souquas had flocks of sheep.—*March* 13*th.*

April.

On the 5th our new guides showed us a road quite different from that we had expected, but we found it tolerably good; their kraal lay about a mile from our halting place and consisted of twenty round thick huts made of thorn bushes; the kloof is called by the Hottentoos Naudan, that is white kloof; about 2 P.M. we came to a river entirely salt, the place is called by the Hottentoos Kxakie, or salt water; about 1 P.M. on the following day came to a river called by the Hottentoos Kaly. Towards evening of the 7th, some Hykon Souqua Hottentoos came to us, but could give us no certain information of HYKON'S kraal, the place they called Udiganga, and the river Kaluiga. On Wednesday, the 9th, we found a female rhinoceros and a calf, which last we caught, but as we could not rear it, we resolved on killing it. We sent three Hottentoos with some tobacco and pipes to inform HYKON, chief of the Inquahase, of our approach. Two Hottentoos were sent after SIGISMUND STELLER, a soldier who deserted, but they returned having seen only two Souquas, as did the Hottentoos, unsuccessful, who were sent to find HYKON'S kraal. Our guides told us on the 12th, that we were on HYKON'S land, and that he sometimes lay with his kraal on that river. A sergeant and party who had been sent in search of the kraal, and the master miner, and two of his men, who had been sent in search of minerals,

returned on the 12th, both parties unsuccessful; the sergeant bringing back the deserter Steller. Early on the morning of the 15th, six Hottentoos came to us from Hykon's kraal, saying that they had not seen the Hottentoos we had sent to look for the kraal, but that one of the Souquas had apprised them of our approach; that Hykon was very much rejoiced to hear that we were coming, that he was already on his way, and that he requested we would remain here until he came; we therefore sent two of the said Hottentoos to him with small presents, to hasten his coming to us. One of the Hottentoos whom we had sent out on the 13th, returned on the 18th, telling us that Hykon with his kraal had set out to meet us yesterday, and afterwards two of Hykon's Hottentoos came and told us that he would, with his kraal, be with us to-morrow at noon. The Hottentots. 1689, April.

There is not much of importance in the proceedings of ensign Schryver and his men since we parted with him on the 4th of February, after the affair with the Bosjemans, in which, unhappily, he prevailed,—for he and his government were the agressors. But as we have now brought him to the 18th, and as the ensign has received a message from Hykon, telling him that he, with his kraal, would be with him on the following day, by noon, it is as well to take a slight review of what passed intermediately. Those whom he calls the Hykon-Souqua Hottentots, who visited him on the 7th, were probably the Souquas or Bosjemans in the service of Hykon, the chief of the Inquas, the person to whom the ensign was deputed on a mission by Van der Stell. Their pretending that they did not know where to find the kraal of Hykon was of course a little bit of Bosjeman blarney, adopted under instructions from the chief in whose service they were, in the same manner as we have already Commentary.

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seen the Bosjemans in the service of the Namaquas, and of other Hottentot tribes; and we see that it was a Bosjeman who gave HYKON the first intelligence of the approach of the ensign, his sergeant, and 20 men at arms, for these little mountaineers were always employed by the Hottentot chiefs in their intelligence departments—and the Dutchmen themselves used them as intelligeneers, until they got into such disrepute with these independent little fellows that no Bosjeman would, apparently, any longer serve a Dutchman. None of the native tribes would bring back, or give intelligence of, the Dutch deserter from the party—SIGISMUND STELLER—and he was brought back by the Dutch sergeant on the third day after his desertion. Udiganga and Kaluiga, the Hottentot names of a place and a river, smack very much of Hindoo names of places and rivers—Ganga meaning the great Ganges. Much of the text and of the commentaries ought to be placed under the Bosjeman Head, but in this case, as in VAN DER STELL'S journey into Namaqualand, it is best to preserve the narrative entire.—*March 13th.*

April.

On Saturday, the 19th, about 1 P.M., HYKON'S messengers came, desiring in his name that we would not remove from this place until their captain arrived. They received a piece of tobacco, and a piece for their captain, and returned to him. In about an hour he himself came, with fully 150 men, under the guidance of the two Hottentoos whom we had sent out on the 13th. This captain is taller and larger than any of our volk; they are in general larger in body than the Cape Hottentoos, well proportioned, active and strong, though in countenance and beard they resemble the Cape Hottentoos. This captain has great respect shown him by his people—whatever he orders is done by them, running and leaping—his people are much

bolder than our Hottentoos; at first they were much afraid of us and shy, even the captain shook and trembled, but it soon passed off when he perceived the copper crown which we put on his head, with which he was much delighted—he was temperate in drinking arrack and in smoking tobacco, he had little or no knowledge; and after giving us good information in reply to our questions, he left before sunset, and returned to his kraal. The Hottentots. 1689, April.

His neighbours informed us as follows:—The Kubuquas lie at the distance of five days' journey on the coast; they live in houses of clay; possess much cattle—and perhaps a barter might be carried on with them. They live sometimes in great enmity, and do each other great injury and damage. The part of the country where they lie was pointed out E. S. E.; upon them, border the Damaquas, who reside in clay houses, populous and rich in cattle; they lie on the sea coast; are provided with copper and iron beads, which last they fetch from shipwrecked vessels. Hykon's people told us that there were three other tribes on the sea coast, well provided with cattle, called the Ganumqua, Namunqua, and Gonuqua, from whom the Inquahase Hottentoos barter *dakka,* which is used by them as the Indians use opium; towards the North lie three other tribes, Gly, Bry, and Bly, from whom the Inquahase procure thin and flat copper plates, which they again dispose of to the Kubuquas and Namaquas; lastly, there is another race of people known to them, called Briqua, who are cannibals. On the 20th Hykon came to us with more people than yesterday, and we began to barter. He returned on the following day with his people, and stayed until late in the afternoon; they were very anxious for strong drink, of which they had taken a good deal the day before;—the day was passed in bartering. On the 22nd he held a

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council in his kraal, and did not come, but the day was passed in bartering. We were told the cause of his absence was this: one of our people had shot a bird after the chief's departure; he therefore appeared much offended, because there is a custom among them, that when any one of his people kills any game, be it tiger, lion, hartebeest, or the like, they may not eat it before their captain, Hykon, has received from them a fat sheep. This seems strange to us—it seems he wished to keep up that custom with us, we therefore sent him the same evening a present of beads, and this made him quite contented. He visited us on the following morning, and his people came very early to barter. He came again on the 24th with his people, and we were employed in bartering. On the following day he and his people stayed with us until noon, and the barter went on tolerably well. He then took his departure, saying that he was obliged to go lest the Souqua Hottentoos in the neighbourhood should attack his kraal during his absence, but recommended himself to the favor of the Company and the great captain, desiring that we might soon return and bring him assagais; he seemed well pleased and contented with the traffic which had passed between us. On Saturday, the 26th, as we were preparing to depart, about seven, Hykon came to us once more for the last time, and went some way with us; here we bartered more than 500 cattle and some sheep. We called the place where we had lain the Vervallen Casteel, (Fallen Castle,) for, beyond the river Kaluiga, to the S. S. E., there was a high mountain, which, on the summit, resembled a fallen castle. To the N. E. by E. we had before us a high mountain, divided by a long and crooked kloof; and in this kloof Captain Hykon lay with his kraal and people, about a cannon-shot from our kraal.

Ensign Schryver having now, on the 26th, closed his intercourse and barter, which commenced on the 19th, with Hykon, chief of Inqua Hottentots, and begun his return journey to the Cape, it may be as well to take a slight review of the proceedings of the parties. These commenced on the part of the chief by sending the ensign a message, through nine of his people, desiring him to remain where he was until the chief's arrival. In about an hour after the dismissal of his messengers, with a present of tobacco for himself, Hykon arrived with 150 followers, accompanied by two of the Hottentot messengers whom the ensign had sent to him six days before. He must have been a fine tall stout fellow, since he was taller and stouter than any of their servants, whether including the Dutchmen does not appear, and his people were in general stouter and much bolder than the Hottentots about the Cape, although resembling them in countenance and beard—well proportioned, active, and strong, showing great respect for their chief, obeying his orders in every thing—running and leaping. Who in this does not see a Kaffer chief and his followers, except that they were at first much afraid and shy—even the chief shaking and trembling —which a Kaffer chief would not have been likely to do in the presence of a Dutch ensign and his few soldiers. The farce of this representative of the representative of the Dutch East India Company placing a copper crown on the head of an African chief is almost too ludicrous, except that unhappily the power of making and unmaking rulers rested with them—and that they exercised the latter vocation to the ruin of all whom they found in South Africa. The copper crown appears, however, to have reassured Hykon. His abstinence in the use of arrack and tobacco seems to have surprised the Dutchman; and this, with

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his giving good information in reply to the questions put by the ensign, may be received as further proof that HYKON was a Kaffer chief. He came about 2 o'clock, and left, with his people, before sunset, for his kraal, which lay in the gorge of the mountain, about a gunshot distant beyond the Kaluiga River. On the top of a mountain was a rock resembling a fallen castle, and the spot is of some interest, as being the place of meeting between probably the first Kaffer chief and the representative of the Cape governor. The river is, apparently, the present Gamtoos, and the mountain, that which is passed on the left in going from its banks to Uitenhage; who the Kubuquas were, who lay in a E. S. E. direction on the shore, four days' journey off, and who their neighbours, the Damaquas, who lived in clay houses along the sea coast, populous and rich in cattle, wearing copper and iron beads—and what has become of these tribes of men, who can tell? HYKON's people said there were three other tribes on the sea coast, well provided with cattle, the Ganumqua, Namunqua, and Gonaqua, from whom they bartered *dakka*, which the ensign says they used as the Indians used opium. Further to the North lay the tribes Gly, Bry, and Bly, from whom they procured flat and thin copper plates, in which they traded with the Kubuquas and Namaquas. The Briqua, of whom the Inquase spoke, as living still further North, and as being cannibals, are probably the same tribe whom the Portuguese describe as cannibals in the neighbourhood of Rio de la Goa, but of whose cannibalism Dos SANTOS gives no evidence as coming within his own knowledge. HYKON appears to have visited the ensign almost every day, and his people to have carried on their barter transactions with him whether the chief were present or absent. Ensign SCHRYVER carried on his conferences and inter-

course with the chief with great propriety, I think; the only bit of a row into which they were likely to get, originated in a violation of the game laws; these appear to have been rather stringent, for none of the people were allowed to kill game, or, at all events, not to eat it until they had presented the chief with a fat sheep. A Dutchman having killed a bird, violated this law; the chief took offence; absented himself the next day from the usual conference; the ensign was surprised that he and his people should be held answerable for a breach of law in a foreign country; but very wisely made friends with HYKON on the same evening through a present of beads; from that time visits and barter went on as before; on one occasion the chief appears to have shown a liking for strong drink. It is curious to find HYKON taking his departure suddenly about midday, on one occasion, lest the Bosjemans should attack his kraal during his own absence and the absence of his followers; and whilst taking leave of Ensign SCHRYVER, on this occasion, recommending himself to the favor of the Company and their great captain at the Cape, little thinking, poor man, that this favor would be such as the wolf shows to the lamb; finally, on the eighth day the chief takes leave of the ensign, again recommending himself to the favor of the same parties. It does not appear what number of cattle were obtained by barter from this tribe, but as 500 and some sheep were bartered on the last day, we may suppose that a "good lot" was procured.—*March 14th.*

April. On Tuesday, the 1st, reached our resting place of the 7th February. Seven Souqua Hottentoos came to us and told us that their kraal, with two others, were going on two days' journey before us; we could not learn why; meanwhile we kept well on our guard; stayed until 5 P.M. the following day, for the Hesse-

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quas informed us that there was no water in the river Kaly; at nine came to the Kromme Kloof; found neither grass nor water. On the 4th, we reached our encamping ground of the 4th of February, and halted near the Souqua kraal, whither went the three guides whom we had taken with us. Here a party of Hottentoos, called Hougliquas, and Souquas or Thonuny, came to us and told us they had been fighting with the Attiquas, and had killed two men, having also lost two, and that they had taken part of the Attiquas' cattle; after they had sufficiently examined our bartered cattle, and got a few beads as a present for their captain, they left us about 2 P.M., but they were hardly gone when four women of the Thonuny, that is of the kraal of our guides, came and told us that the three Hougliqua captains had asked the Thonuny to assist them in attacking the Dutchmen, taking their cattle, and offering to divide the booty; these Hougliquas are thieves and greedy, for they kept for themselves the cattle they had taken from the Attiquas, they even took some cattle from their friends who had helped them in the fight; hearing this we took every precaution, placing good sentinels round the cattle, that we might not be suddenly attacked. On the night of the 5th, the Hougliquas twice tried hostilely to attack us: first, about 10, eight of them came, pretending that they would barter a beast to us, but seeing that we were prepared they went away unsuccessful; but about one in the night, two Hottentoos crept on their hands and feet, meaning to surprise one of our sentries, but were at once discovered and seized, on this they all fled; we kept a good watch all that rainy night; at 10 the next morning we went on to near our encampment of the 3rd February, where we found the Souquas divided into four kraals, of which the Hougliquas made three, and the Thonuny

only one. Here three captains of the Hougliquas came to us (at our earnest request) with a good number of their people, which obliged us to be no little upon our guard; they bartered two cattle to us, and having got a *sopie* of arrack and some pipes and tobacco, they at length went away. As soon as they had put their cattle into the kraal, they made many fires around it, one of which was not far from our guard, and with their screaming, shouting, and other noises, drove towards us perhaps one or two cattle, (in order, by this stratagem, to throw our cattle and people into disorder,) but they were immediately driven back by our Hottentoos; we were therefore obliged to keep a good watch with all our people. On the following morning, the 6th, the Hougliquas were very early busy in driving out their cattle, which gave us great suspicion, and we were then warned by our guides, the Thonuny, that that tribe subsisted by murdering, stealing, and robbing, and that during last night they had consulted how to destroy us; we sent the sergeant and eight men to hinder them from driving out the cattle; having done this, they returned with the three captains, who professed a desire to sell us some cattle, after we had purchased from them a few, (of little value) a party of Hottentoos came, whom, as well as those who came with the captains, we could hardly keep from among our herd of cattle, they constantly kept going backwards and forwards, now to our tent, then through our cattle, and then to their kraal; as we could no longer see this without suspicion, and being warned by the Thonuny Hottentoos that they had an evil design against us, we all resolved to give them a general volley, which being instantly executed, we knocked down thirty of them, the rest, together with those in the kraal, took to flight, and were pursued by the Thonuny Hottentoos,

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who had a great fight with them; meanwhile we took possession of their cattle, and moved off about noon, and as we no longer required our guides, we gave them back their sheep, which until now we had kept with us, and gave them besides, for the faithful service they had done us, some tobacco and beads, with which they were highly gratified, and offered to conduct us still farther, but as we now knew the road we separated from them, (the principal among them is called Damon) and as we could not reach our encampment of 2d February, we encamped at a small stony river, called by the Hottentoos Ikumsay or Steen Rivier. On Monday, the 7th, we came to a small river called by the Hottentoos Kaerte, here four Attiqua Hottentoos came to us, whose kraal, as they said, was not far off; they said they had come hither in consequence of the Hougliquas; they expressed great joy when we told them that we had been in fight with that people; they ran back as hard as they could with a piece of tobacco for their captain, but returned with some more, about eight, with a beast, which they offered for barter; it was dark, and we sent them back. The next day the four Attiquas came to the river Kamnasy, and told us that the night before their kraal had moved over the nearest hills, which caused us some uneasiness, we therefore kept good watch, attending to their proceedings and conversation. On the 10th, about 1 P. M., four captains of the Attiquas, with a great number of people, came to us at the Captains' River, expressing great joy for the defeat of their enemies, the Hougliquas, who had often made hostile attacks upon them, they sold us three cattle and one wether, and would have sold more but that the Hougliquas had stolen their cattle; they complained bitterly of the annoyance suffered from that tribe, and returned to their kraal before sunset. On

the following day, the 11th, halted at a river called by the Hottentoos Bikamma or Milk River; and on the 14th reached our camp of 27th January, in the Lange Kloof. On the 16th, we got through the Lange Kloof, and reached our resting place of the 24th January: found here three kraals of the Hessequas, and some of them came and bartered to us a few cattle. On the 20th, we left the river called by the Hottentoos Abua, and got into our old road over Palmiet River; halted at a river called by the Hottentoos Gauku: here we learnt from the kraals lying about us that Ouden Heer, with greater part of the Hessequa kraals, lay not far off; and the ensign, with five men, went on, desiring the sergeant to take good care of the people and cattle. We lost six cattle and ten sheep; our Hottentoos soon brought back the sheep, but could not find the cattle; the sergeant had two Hottentoos, who were suspected, bound, and taken with us. At sunset, on the 21st, we found the ensign and his people among the Hessequa kraals. He complained to Ouden Heer, who sent off his son with three captains, and some Hottentoos, some of whom brought back the stolen cattle the same evening; they had been abandoned by the thieves. On the following day Ouden Heer's Hottentoos brought one of the thieves who had stolen our cattle and sheep, they found him feasting with three others who escaped; the prisoner was rather old, and they brought him with us in form, to the river called by the Hottentoos Aukau, where we had hardly turned out our cattle and pitched our tent, before the Ouden Heer had the culprit put on his trial according to the custom of their country; he was instantly sentenced to be beaten to death with stieks, which sentence was forthwith carried into execution in our presence. On the 25th, the Swarte Kaptein, now lying with his kraals at

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Quaalberg's Kasteel, came and bartered some cattle to us. On the 27th, crossed Breede River, and reached River Zonder End, and being assured that there was not the least pasture in the Hessequa Kloof, stayed at Gansekraal.

On Sunday, the 10th, setting out from Rietkraal at 12 at night, we reached the Cape at 6 A.M., thanking God for his mercy that we had all returned through so many dangers in good health and spirits.

Mr. MOODIE notices, in a Note, the several corrections and interlineations, (in the journal of SCHRYVER) chiefly grammatical emendations, which appear in a different hand, apparently that of Secretary GREVENBROEK; and amongst other things says, it is probable that the word *versoek*, "request," may be employed in one or other of its obsolete meanings of "an attempt," "a temptation," or "a visit;" and the writer of the journal may have as little intended to convey the idea that he was obliged to be "no little on his guard" in consequence of his own "earnest request" as that "they twice requested to attack" him. The passage "consulted how to destroy us" is substituted for the words "at over ons geastereered hadden," which are, and perhaps were, unintelligible.

Commentary.

It is proper to follow Ensign SCHRYVER in his journey, and to notice in this form his proceedings from the period when he took leave of the Inqua Chief HYKON, apparently on the banks of the river now called the Gamtoos, in the Uitenhage district, on the 26th of February, until his arrival at the Cape on the 10th of April. It appears that the three men whom he forcibly carried with him to show the road to HYKON's kraal, were Souquas or Thonuny, a tribe of Bosjemans; on his return, halting near the kraal of this party, whose sheep he had also forcibly carried away, the men returned to their kraal, and came-

back to him on the same day accompanied by a party of people called Hougliquas; they told the ensign that they had been fighting with the Attiquas, had taken some of their cattle, and that two men had been killed on either side. This is, perhaps, no bad specimen of the loss sustained in a battle of aborigines, for we know that, until the invention of gunpowder, the loss sustained in battle, by people far superior to Bosjemans or Hottentots, was in killed comparatively small indeed; and we know that in affrays of the same kind it is but small at the present day. Who the Attiquas were does not appear; may they not have been inhabitants of, and taken their designation from, the neighbouring Outiniqua range of mountains, which tower so beautifully over the present village of George? On the same day four Bosjeman women came to inform the ensign that the Hougliquas wished to form a combination with their tribe for the purpose of attacking the ensign and his party, offering to divide the spoil; they at the same time condemned that people, calling them thieves, and saying that they had not only kept the cattle taken from the Attiquas, but had taken some from their allies. This was deemed sufficient evidence by the ensign why he should look with great suspicion upon the Hougliquas; and that suspicion was strengthened when eight of them came about 10 o'clock the following night, to barter an ox with him. He believes that these eight men came to attack his party, and that they only went peaceably away when they found the Dutch on their guard; then about 1 o'clock in the morning, two Hottentots are supposed to have intended to surprise one of the sentries, but one of them was seized, apparently unresistingly, and then they all fled; nothing further happened that night, but at the end of their next stage they found what he calls

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four kraals of Souquas or Bosjemans; *i. e.*, three of Hougliquas and one of Thonuny. Three chiefs of the former tribe, with a good number of their people, came to him on the same day, bartered two cattle, and went away after they got a *sopie*, some tobacco, and pipes. Having prepared their cattle kraal, and housed them, as all travellers, including the Dutch, then did, the Hougliquas made many fires round their kraals; one of which was close to the Dutch guard; then amidst much shooting, screaming, and other noises, they are supposed to have driven one or two cattle towards the Dutch encampment, in the hope of creating disorder. If the aborigines really had recourse to this stratagem it was very creditable to them. It is curious enough that a similar expedient was tried by, I think, the founder of the Maratta Empire—Sevagie; who in his war with the Mahommedans, let loose several thousands Brinjare bullocks, with flambeaus tied to their horns, in the hope of creating disorder in his enemies' ranks, and I think the Huns or Goths had recourse to the same stratagem. The circumstance of the Hougliquas having been busy in driving away their cattle the next morning, with the warning which he received from the Bosjemans that they were planning mischief, was considered by the ensign sufficient to justify him in sending his sergeant and a party of men to seize all their cattle. Three chiefs of the Hougliquas accompanied the sergeant on his return to the ensign, and sold him some cattle. Then a party of Hottentots came—who, as well as those who accompanied the chiefs, were hardly to be kept away from the Dutch cattle; they went now to our tent, then through the cattle, and then to their kraal. The ensign looked with suspicion on this proceeding, and having been warned by the Bosjemans that they had evil designs, the Dutch were all resolved to give them a volley,

which was instantly done, and with such fatal effect that 30 of the Hougliquas fell. Van der Stell, in his despatch to the Chamber, calls them Makriggas, and says, "fully 40 of these robbers were killed on the spot, and the cattle which they had taken from the surrounding Hottentots were taken from them." It may readily be supposed, as the ensign says, that the rest, as well as those in the kraal, took to flight. The Bosjemans, it appears, followed the flying; had a great fight with them—and the Dutchman took their cattle. Not requiring the assistance of the Bosjeman guides any further they were here dismissed and their sheep restored, receiving for their faithful services a present of tobacco and beads. It does not appear whether the Hougliquas were Hottentots or Bosjemans—but the probability is that they belonged to the former race. They were, at all events, at enmity with the Thonuny or Bosjemans, although they appear to have occasionally joined in their plundering excursions and wars, as in the case of their attack on the Attiquas. Had the Thonuny joined the Hougliquas, as the latter proposed in attacking the Dutch, instead of informing against them, the probability, of course, is that neither the ensign nor any of his men would have returned to Van der Stell; a fate which, of course, all richly deserved, if they entered these countries without authority for so doing from the tribes to whom the country belonged. It really appears as if the pretended night-attack on the sentry, and that of driving the cattle, to create disorder amongst the Dutch, were stories got up by the Bosjemans, and that the bloodshed in this deplorable massacre must rest on the head of ensign Schryver and his men; unhappily the Hottentots in the Dutch service joined in the hostility, for the ensign says, that in the supposed night attack they were immediately driven back by our Hottentots.

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It appears that the Attiquas were in enmity with the Hougliquas, for they expressed great joy when the Dutch told them that they had defeated that people, who were their enemies, and had often made hostile attacks upon them; or this may have been done to please the Dutch. The ensign appears, however, to have placed no confidence in either party—for when the Attiquas told him that they had moved with their kraal over the nearest hills, the intelligence caused some uneasiness; he attended closely to all their proceedings and conversation, and kept good watch. The only other incident worthy of notice is when the party lost six cattle and ten sheep; the latter were readily found, but it was not until Ouden Heer sent his own son, three of his chiefs, and some of his people, that the former were found, and, with one of the thieves, an old man, brought to the Dutch; the thieves apparently belonged to another tribe; the trial of the thief who was caught, according to the customs of their country, must have been as interesting a sight as his being beaten to death with sticks, in conformity with the sentence, in presence of the Dutch, must have been painful, if their residence in South Africa and their dealings with slaves had not rendered them more callous and unmerciful than aborigines. Ensign Schryver, like Governor Van der Stell, in his journey among the Namaquas, was far too much concerned in securing the interests, or supposed interests of his employers, to admit of his giving any attention to native institutions or manners—and accordingly in this respect, his journal is a perfect blank. His dealings with the natives as tribes, could not fail, however, to throw some light on these interesting subjects; and we see them, whether Kaffers, Hottentots, or Bosjemans, living in communities, under established forms of government—which would have

led any people less hardened than the avaricious European, to respect their rights, and to endeavour to raise, rather than to depress, those who were already low in the scale of humanity. It will be asked where are now all these native tribes, for a single kraal is not to be met with in that part of the country, or in the colony—and the Dutch must answer, we first took their land, and then their cattle, when they had any, starved—so we destroyed them, man, woman, and child—reduced them to a condition of servitude, or forced them to quit the country of their birth and inheritance. Who will not wish that the whole of the native communities could have had wisdom and foresight to combine to destroy or expel their invaders? What an expenditure of native blood would this have saved—and what an expenditure of treasure to Holland, and to England, too—uselessly scattered on the barren wastes of Africa.—*March 15th.* The Hottentots. 1689, April. Commentary.

Extracts of the Journal continued.—The commander informed the council, on the 18th, that in consideration of the excellent cattle-trade with the Inquase Hottentoos, he intended to give out of the bartered sheep, one to each of the council, two to the clerks, and ten to the garrison; he informed the council at the same time that the king of the Inquase had sent to him a present of ten cows. The Hottentoo prisoner was, on the 21st, sentenced to death by the Court of Justice for the homicide of the Frenchman. He should have been executed on the 22nd, but the secretary of the court was unable, from drunkenness, to write out the sentence, on which it was resolved—that the secretary, Melchior Kemels, being intoxicated, the sentence which he should have prepared for signature, was found to be "mutilated in all its members, and unfit to be signed." The secretary had insolently said "don't beat me," when the commander "gave him April.

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some blows with his stick," and the commander "at length threw a chair-cushion at his head." The Hottentot was executed, according to his sentence, on the following day.

Resolution of Council.—The commander stated to the Council that the Namaquas and Grigriqua Hottentoos had approached to Oliphants' River, intending and threatening to make war upon the Cape Hottentoos, who lay near Saldanha Bay, upon which it was unanimously resolved to send three or four men to strengthen the post, with orders that the sergeant—KLING—is to keep a watchful eye on the said Namaquas and their allies, and to tell them to leave the Hottentoos, who are under the Company's protection, in peace and undisturbed, or that otherwise we shall be compelled to attack them and to repel force by force.

Commentary.

There is at all events some fun in the Cape Records of this month—1st, the commander's declared resolution in Council to give one of the sheep bartered from the Inqua Hottentoos to each of the members of his Council; 2dly, the drunkenness of the secretary of the court, which prevented his preparing for signature the sentence which had been passed on a culprit. His instantly saying to the governor "don't beat me," when his honor was belabouring him with a stick; and the governor then throwing at the secretary's insolent head the cushion of a chair; 3rdly, the governor's resolution to send to Saldanha Bay three or four men to oppose the threatened invasion of the Namaquas and Grigriquas, with instructions to tell those tribes to leave the Company's Hottentoos alone, else that they would be forcibly repelled. Be quiet Don Furiosa, and don't kick up a row.—*March 16th.*

May.

The last of the young women, sent from Rotterdam, was this day, the 8th, married to the son of a Stellenbosch burger.

One of the Hessequa Hottentoos came to complain to the governor, and to request help against the violence of the Ubiqua Hottentoo Bosjemans, who had recently driven him from his kraal, and taken away his cattle; and thirty of the Company's oxen which had strayed in the wilderness, were brought back by the Hottentoos. An elephant was shot on the 24th at Hout Bay; and another that was wounded retreated to Table Mountain. On the 29th, received intelligence of six French ships of war having been seen at St. Jago; the two following letters were sent to Stellenbosch. Extract:—"As we are threatened with a hostile attaek, which it is our duty to guard against in due time, you will on the receipt of this letter, and without loss of time, proceed hither with all your men, cavalry and infantry, (through Canterbury?) fully equipped, led by the landdrost, leaving only ten or twelve men to protect wives, children, cattle, and other property against Hottentoos or other harm. P. S. Three ships are in sight, and three signal guns have also been fired from Robben Island,—the landdrost will therefore eall in the men from the Company's posts, leaving only one man at each to take care of the cattle until further orders. The Hottentots. 1689, August.

The seeond letter was merely to countermand the orders, as they were Company's ships.

The important change which took place in the relations between England and Holland about this time is thus noticed by the Direetors:—

1688, December 1st.—Extraet from Despatches from the Chamber.—The fleet sailed with a fair wind, and His Highness the Prinee of Orange anchored with his troops in Torbay, in the Channel, where they landed without any opposition, and great numbers of people flocked to them. It is said that the King intends advaneing against His Highness at the head of

The Hottentots. 1689, August.

an army. God alone knows what will be the result. The King of France continues capturing our ships and imprisoning the crews.

1689, March 18th.—You have heard from time to time of the course of European events, and particularly of the state of affairs between the crowns of France and England and this State since our last meeting, and what astonishing revolutions and changes have happened in England, with the election of the Prince of ORANGE and the Princess, and of their having been proclaimed King and Queen of that kingdom without bloodshed. The late King has retired to Ireland, and nothing but Ireland, or the greater part of it, now remains on the side of the King. We have nothing further to communicate at present, except that their High Mightinesses issued a proclamation in reply to the declaration of war recently issued by the King of France against the States. England intends very soon to declare war against France.

September.

Despatch from the Chamber.—Since your free men residing either at the fort or in the country, including their sons and servants, amount to 350, fit to carry arms, and since the well-grounded fears which we felt last Autumn are now much abated, you will, in consideration of the more peaceable prospects now held out to us by the Divine mercy, send on the 150 men which we authorized you to embark to strengthen your garrison, to Batavia and Ceylon, where they are much wanted. It is also most gratifying to us to read of the perfect reliance reposed by you in the Hottentoos, and the security in which you feel yourselves placed in as far as they are concerned. It seems that you have lately purchased from that people, and thereupon taken possession of a fine rich valley at Berg River, four mylen East of Stellenbosch, which you have called Drakenstein, and divided it among 23

free men, in portions of 60 morgen to each; with this arrangement we are much pleased, and anxious to hear how you have arranged with the French refugees, where you have placed them, and whether in a body or divided? We are happy to hear that 20 of the crew of the shipwrecked *Stavenisse* have been brought to the Cape, and thus restored to their country; from what is testified of the fertility of that country, you should fully inform yourselves upon all points connected with it, and in particular whether there are any good bays and harbours where ships may lie in safety. The State still continues at war with France; it is unnecessary to tell you anything of the victorious progress of the arms of the high allies, as that is known to the whole world. The Hottentots. 1689, September.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that a despatch of the end of this year, refers almost exclusively to the improvement of the colony, in the growth of wine, indigo, olives, pattattas, &c. "The letters from Persia, tell us that the Kirman wool may be produced by a cross between the woolly and the hairy sheep, and as most of your sheep at the Cape are of this description, a trial may be made, and a sample sent us."

Journal continued.—Sergeant Koningshoven returned, having purchased from the nearest Hottentoos about 200 cattle. The sickness that has for some time prevailed in the garrison, has now found its way into the Company's slave house, and two to three have died daily for some time back. A star with a tail was seen about the end of the month. November.

Whites and blacks, slaves and free men, are daily dying of a certain complaint in the chest, after two or three days illness. The tailed star no longer seen. One of the banished Macassar Princes was buried on the 27th, and soon after the Sousequa and Henouqua December.

The Hottentots. 1689, December.

Hottentoo Captain Dorka, called by us Claas, who, in consequence of a severe sickness in his country—annoyed—bitterly complains—attacked by the Ubiquas, who had recently driven off the cattle of three of the kraals subject to him.

Resolution of Council.—In presence of all the members—except Mr. Cornelis Lennis—Assumpts, Scipio, Schacher, Cuyper, Couchouma, Hannibal, Begou, &c., all Hottentoo captains.

Ghabokakama, a Hottentoo captain, having complained to the meeting that a certain female Hottentoo, named Kras, born in the kraal of Kouchasu, had, after the death of her husband, who was a subject of Khemaski, become subject to him, and married one of his subjects, and that after the death of this her second husband, about a month ago, returned to him, Ghabokakama, and that she was pursued by Captain Kees, and some of his men, for the purpose of obliging her to return; that she, not being disposed to do so, and Yuqui, his (Ghabokakama's) son, wishing to defend her, and protect her against annoyance, was shot through the body by an arrow discharged by one of Captain Kees' people, so that he instantly died of the wound.

Whereupon Captain Kees having been heard, and having voluntarily admitted the truth of this statement, it was unanimously resolved, after ripe deliberation, and consideration of all the circumstances, in order by times to prevent all the disputes and bloodshed which might result from their misunderstandings and fostering disputes, to reconcile the parties, and to remove all discontent by allaying their feelings of anger and revenge, provided that the said Kees and the Hottentoos subject to him, pay to Gabokakama, as an atonement and fine for the blood of his son, ten head of horned cattle and 100 sheep, as soon as they

shall have returned to their hut or kraal; both parties declaring themselves thus fully satisfied. The Hottentots. 1689, December.

And should it happen that he, KEES, does not comply with what is here specified, but be bold enough to proceed in his former course of conduct, and to resort to his late irregularities, it is resolved and agreed, that the Hottentoo captains SCIPIO, SCHACHER, CUYPER, COUCHOUMA, HANNIBAL, BEGOU, &c., assisted by the Company, shall attack him in conjunction, and rigorously punish him as an example to others. Thus resolved in the Castle the Good Hope, day and year as above.

S. VAN DER STELL and five others. The mark of Captain SCIPIO X; this is the writing of Captain MASSENESSA X; this is the mark of Captain CUYPER X; the handwriting of Captain COUCHASON X; this is the mark of Captain HANNIBAL X; this is the handwriting of Captain BEGOU X. In my presence,

S. DE GREVENBROEK, Sec.

This is the last resolution of the Dutch government on which I shall have to comment for a long time—for here that great hiatus occurs in the "Record," which must prevent, unless it can be filled up, all hope of our acquiring a knowledge of the course of proceeding through which the Dutch government usurped the land of the Hottentots and Bosjemans, and entirely broke up, or dispersed, those classes, as communities living under their own forms of government. The hiatus extends from the middle of 1690 to the 14th of November, 1769. I have observed that in various parts of "The Record" portions of the Journal of the Commanders and Governors, or of the proceedings of government, have been suppressed when any critical period is at hand; now at a very critical period Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1689, December. Commentary.

59 years' Records are altogether wanting—and the Records of the last 14 years of the Dutch rule, from 1781 to 1795, are no where to be found. Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, p. 446, that a portion of those Records have been in vain advertised for in the *Government Gazette* of the 29th March, 1839—and I hear that an attempt is being made to recover them from the Government of Holland, if they are to be found in Europe, or in Batavia, where it appears that duplicates of all despatches from the Cape government were sent. The probability is, however, that they are not of a character to bear the light, that it does not suit the purpose of the Dutch government to produce them; that they have been destroyed, or that, at all events, they will never be produced. These circumstances render, however, the last proceedings of the Dutch government of 1690 more important, and worthy of comment or observation. It appears, then, that at the last meeting of the Council, on the 28th of December, 1689, the governor and five European members were present, also seven Hottentot captains, whether associated, or entitled to vote with the European members does not appear; four of the Hottentots attest the proceedings in their own handwriting, and the other three only attest them with their mark. The case under consideration was an important one. The Hottentot Captain Ghabokakama being the plaintiff —the Bosjemans' Captain, Kees, the defendant. The latter is, I think, the same person from whom the Dutch plundered the cattle of a Hottentot chief some years before in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay, with which Kees had been entrusted for the purpose of pasturage.* It may therefore be supposed that the

* I have to this period corrected the proof sheets—thereafter the Publication remains in the hands of Messrs. Pike & Philip, as I am embarking for India. J. S.

November 1st, 1845.

Bosjeman chief had not, from that period, lived on very friendly terms with the Dutch, whilst he had the cattle account to settle with the Hottentots; yet there is no representative of his tribe amongst those by whom he was to be tried; as, indeed, there hardly could be, for the Bosjeman tribes were always in an inferior organization to even the Hottentot tribes; and their condition, too, as a united people, is at this time fast drawing to a close. How it closed altogether we shall never know, unless the Dutch government will give us their records. The plea was, that a female Hottentot, not originally his subject, had, after the death of her first husband married a subject of his, and thus become a subject of the plaintiff; on the death of her second husband she went to the kraal of the Bosjeman chief, the defendant, whence she returned to the plaintiff; then the defendant and some of his people followed her for the purpose of obliging her to return; this she was not disposed to do; and, being protected by the plaintiff's son, he was shot through the body with an arrow by the defendant's people. Kees was heard in his defence, and voluntarily admitted that this was true. It was therefore resolved, in order to prevent further dispute and bloodshed between the parties, that the defendant and his people should pay to the plaintiff as compensation for the loss of his son, and as a fine, 10 cattle and 100 sheep; both parties are said to have been fully satisfied with this decision; as to the satisfaction of the Bosjeman party that may fairly be questioned; and we cannot believe that there was much decorum or temper observed on the part of the Dutch towards the Bosjemans; for we have lately seen the commander caning the secretary in the Council or Justice Hall, and afterwards, when the secretary complained, throwing a cushion at his head. It is further declared, that

The Hottentots. 1689, December. Commentary.

if the defendant did not comply with the conditions specified, but persisted in irregular courses, six of the Hottentot chiefs, assisted by the Dutch, would attack and punish him as an example to others; what followed in the next sixty years we know not, but when the curtain next rises, we find the Dutch engaged in a war of extermination against the Bosjemans, assisted in some instances by Hottentots.

It is much the fashion, in most countries, for one class of people to interfere in the affairs of others, and one hears that course of proceeding everywhere advocated in this colony. Let us only pursue it towards our neighbours, the Kaffers,—take the management of their affairs into our own hands, as the Dutch did the affairs of the Hottentots and Bosjemans, and we shall very soon find that fine race of men melt away under our rule, if we even leave their lands untouched; or forced to back far away from us into the centre of Africa to disturb the integrity of other tribes. —*March 16th.*

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the first instructions issued to the first district magistracy, December 29th, now established at Stellenbosch, authorized their board to settle *de plano*, and without formal process, petty disputes and questions of debt to the amount of 50 Rds. The object of the landdrost being made president of the court was, that he might watch over the interests of the Company. The board were to assess and tax the inhabitants for the repairs of roads and bridges; to keep a book of titles to lands, which were not to be sold without the previous knowledge of the landdrost and heemraden, or transferred except before the secretary of the council and commissioners, with consent of the commander. The fourth article declared it to be the duty of the board to see that "free men, who, from their dissolute habits, did not

fulfil the object of being settled in the colony, should not be suffered to remain there, but be sent to Father-land by order of the Governor and Council." The object of directing an exact list of the free men to be kept, was to prevent all smuggling, evil practices, and evasions, by which criminals or spies might escape detection. The board were to take care that every farmer planted annually at least 100 oaks round his corn land. The Hottentots. 1689, December. Commentary.

Resolution of Council.—Sets forth that as many inhabitants of the Swellendam and Stellenbosch districts, in order to procure a better subsistence for their families, had settled themselves beyond the limits, which, by the resolution of 31st August, 1745, were assigned for the jurisdiction of the two landdrosts, and as disputes respecting jurisdiction had thereby arisen between these officers,—It was therefore resolved that the landdrosts and heemraden should cause a more exact line of demarcation to be formed—inquiring also whether it was not inexpedient that some of those farms should continue to be occupied by reason of their remote position. The authorities were to report accordingly, that the council may come to such resolutions as may be deemed most advantageous to the said colonies. 1769, November.

The landdrosts and heemraden of Swellendam and Stellenbosch frame an elaborate report, which is not of the slightest interest at the present day, as it only shows the route by which the parties proceeded, and the system by which they proposed to mark out the jurisdiction of the two landdrosten. Proceeding from Hex River on the 4th of December, they arrived on the 16th, at a certain great valley, lying along the Swarte Berg, between the sources of the Oliphants and Gamtoos Rivers; the inhabitants residing there said it was the same to them under whose jurisdiction 1770, February.

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they lived, as they were subjeet to the same supreme government. The eommissioners then solemnly proceed to mark out the boundaries of the two landdrosten; they then ehanged their eourse and travelled N. E. to the Western angle of the Camdeboo mountains. On the 22d they reaehed the first sprout of the Fish River; two days after they met some Hottentoos, who said they were going to barter eattle with the Kaffers, promising to show the way—adding, that two years ago some Europeans, with whom was the farmer Jacob Joubert, had at that spot bartered cattle with the Kaffers. On the 29th Joubert said that the Kaffers lay a day's journey thence. To inquire into that point Joubert and three others were sent in advance; they fired a shot and made a fire, but saw none of that people, and they returned. N. de Bruyn said—I thought so, for the Kaffers, although they spread out of their own country, lie still fully two days' journey from this. On the 1st of January a Hottentoo named Samson, with some more of his tribe joined the Commissioners, and was interrogated through some of our Hottentoos who eould speak his language; he said Captain Ruyter still lay upon his old place; they said that when the party should get into the beaten wagon road, they would still be two days' journey distant from Ruyter, who lay close to the Kaffers, whose people, aceording to their pointing out, lay to the S. E.,—so that Joubert's statemen: that the Kaffers had moved Northwards, and thus were nearer to this place, appears to be false. On the 2d they reached a road which had been formerly used, leading from the Swellendam distriet to Hermanus Kraal, and eonsequently Eastward of the abodes of Kaffers, who lay about two days' short journey from this place. Having travelled from the first branch of the Fish River S. W. in thirty hours, they were joined by

several Hottentoos, of whom two spoke good Dutch; they said they came from Captain RUYTER, from whom they had bartered for iron, copper, and beads nine cattle to be used as pack-oxen; they said they lived on the upper part of Oliphants River, and they proceeded in that direction; but the commissioners did not see the cattle. After passing the Sondags River, the party halted on the 4th at the Coucha; from this point the river falls into the sea, about six hours to the E. S. E. At the Coucha they found the remains of a straw hut, which had been occupied by the burger ANDRIES DRUGER, who had lain there for some time with a herd of cattle, on the farm of burger Senator S. JACOB VAN REENEN. Having passed the Swartkops and Van Stadens Rivers their course from the Bosjemans River to this was west, and they rode N. W. to the Gamtoos River; they outspanned at the Galgenbosch, over the Van Stadens River—some straw huts were still partially standing, which had been occupied by JACOB KOK, a burger, who was found with his cattle about an hour's distance off. They outspanned close to the kraal of the Hottentoo Captain KEES, and of another Hottentoo named JORIS, with his people and cattle. KEES with some of his people visited the commissioners, JORIS lay in the same kraal with him—but he was ordered to decamp with his cattle, and return to his old place, as he had too many cattle, and thus injured the pasture of the inhabitants. JACOBUS SCHEPERS had lain there some years before with his cattle. Having pursued their journey S. W. to the residence of J. KOK, upon the Great Seekoe River, they arrived there the same evening, having travelled from the road, leading to the Kaffers, West to the Gamtoos River.

The commissioners submit to his excellency that, if the boundary of the Camdeboo Mountains is formed by

The Hottentots. 1770, February.

the Swarte Berg, and those residing to the North appertain to Stellenbosch; and if the inhabitants of Swarte Berg, in consequence of the difficulty of the passes leading to Swellendam, must belong to the Stellenbosch district; it was still more necessary that the inhabitants of the more distant range should be incorporated with that district.

On the questions as to whether the loan farms could be continued on loan, with safety and advantage to the Company? and whether more loan farms may be given there? the commission was of opinion that, as there is there no road leading into Kafferland, through which an illicit cattle trade could be carried on, and as the country was only inhabited by wild Bosjemans and Hottentoos, who had no cattle, and who must subsist solely by the game in the fields, and as on that side no evil was to be apprehended, the loan farms should be continued, whilst more farms might be given out along the Bosjemans' Mountains to the Eastward, as far as a height they had called De Bruyn's Hoogte, lying between the Bley River, which is the most Easterly branch of the Sondags River, and the first branch of the Fish River. The commission was further of opinion, that if the farms lying on the Camdeboo could remain as they then were, it would be better; but they feared, as the country thereabouts was a more profitable tract, and rich in grass, that the occupiers of the loan farms would take their *trek* farms there—from which there would be no profit to the Company—whilst, were farms given out as far as De Bruyn's Hoogte, they would receive the stipulated loan-rent; and a fixed boundary would, at the same time, be agreed upon on that side. Three of the five commissioners maintain that the extension to De Bruyn's Hoogte would correspond in distance with the Gamtoos River, and that the farms which might be

granted there, would not be more distant than the loan farms then granted on that river.

L. S. TABER,
J. F. MENTZ,
M. MELCK,
J. B. HOFFMAN,
N. DE BRUYN.

Stellenbosch,
7th February, 1770.

Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, on the words wild Bosjemans and Hottentots—see April, 1655—examination of Hottentot chief, 1701, and early papers, *passim* for the distinct habits of the tribes called successively Souquas, Ubiquas, Makrigas, Bosjesmans, Bosjemans, and Bushmen.

To the Honorable RYK TULBAGH, Lieut. Governor:

Honorable Sir,—

We, together with the landdrost and heemraden of Stellenbosch, departed from the farm of DANIEL HUGO, lying beyond the Hex River, along the range of mountains called the Swarte Berg, which is intersected at two different points—1st, where the Buffalo River takes its source in the Roggeveld; and 2nd, that of the Oliphants River, both of which form the Gouritz River; we then came in 79 hours to a valley called the Groote Valley, being a branch of the Gamtoos River. We are of opinion that the Swartenberg, as far as the Groote Valley, may serve as a fixed boundary between the colonies on both sides, and that all that lies beyond the mountains to the North may belong to the district of Stellenbosch, all to the South to the district of Swellendam.

We cannot omit to inform your excellency of our further journey, that we travelled thence through a desert

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and uninhabitable country to the Camdeboo, and along the Camdeboo Mountains to the last farm of the Heemraad. Mr. Hendrik Kloete, lying on the Swarte River in 42½ hours; the Swarte River being a branch of the Sondags River, and thence to the Fish River, along the Camdeboo Mountains, which, under the name of Bosjeman Mountains, extend to the Fish River, in 28 hours, where we came to a wagon road, which was unbeaten, but had been used by travellers in former times, leaving Kafferland to the East, behind us, and thence to the Gamtoos River, in 42 hours, having seen the coast in the distance—and thence to Swellendam in 91 hours; thinking thus to have fulfilled our duty, we submit this as our humble report.

NIC. de BRUYN,
HERMANUS STEYN.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, this paper bears original signatures, and as it was found at Swellendam, and is not dated, it would appear that it was not forwarded to Cape Town. No copy of either report is to be found in the Colonial Office.

Extract of Resolution of Council.—Governor Tulbagh states in the resolution of the 13th, that the landdrosts having, with the assistance of two heemraden and the secretaries of the Stellenbosch and Swellendam districts, fulfilled the duty required of them on the 14th of November, regarding the demarcation of the district boundaries, and the more remote farms, and delivered to the governor, a detailed report of their journey, which has been produced to the Council, it was resolved, &c.—defining boundaries—and that as the commission met several persons grazing considerable herds of cattle far from the places where they possessed loan farms, whilst others wandered with

their cattle hither and thither several days' journey from their loan farms, which was injurious to the interests of the Company with reference to the rents derived from cattle farms; and as such covetous conduct must be practised in order that they may drive an illicit trade with the Hottentoos, or with the so-called Kaffers, in the bartering of cattle; and as the commission found a beaten wagon road leading out of the Swellendam district to the residence of the Kaffers, notwithstanding that cattle barter has been prohibited on pain of bodily and capital punishment, especially by the proclamation still in force of the 8th December, 1739,—Resolved that no more cattle farms shall be granted on loan beyond the Gamtoos River; that no one shall depasture his cattle elsewhere than on his own loan farm, or on any pretext proceed from his place of residence into the interior. If landdrosts shall connive, or not prosecute offenders who barter cattle with Hottentoos or Kaffers, they shall *de facto* cease to hold their office, and as faithless servants, forgetful of their honor and their oaths, be declared incapable of ever serving the Company; and it is lastly resolved that—amplified by the orders now framed—the proclamation of the 8th of December, 1739, shall be again renewed.

Ryk Tulbagh, Counsellor Ordinary of Netherlands India and Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with its dependencies, does accordingly, on the 26th of April, issue an ample proclamation—forbidding any one to settle beyond the Gamtoos River—to despasture his cattle elsewhere than upon his own loan-farm; or to prosecute the least cattle-barter with the Hottentoos or Kaffers, under penalty of being arbitrarily punished upon the body, aye! even with death; as disturbers of the public peace and violators of law and liberty.

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It almost appears to me as if I had just awoke from a dream or slumber of sixty-nine years—from 1690 to 1769—and returned, without any new lights from Dutch Records, to discuss the nature of their administration. All our friends, the native tribes, of former days, have disappeared from the scene.

1. The Goringhaiquas, under their chief Gogosoa.

2. The tribe of great and little Chinouquas, or Huncumquas, under their chief, or as Van Riebeeck called him, king Sousa and his son Zebo.

3. The Gorachoquas, Van Riebeeck's tobacco thieves, under Choso, with his 1,000 armed men.

4. The Hessequas, allies of the Chinouquas; their kings, as Van Riebeeck said, being brothers.

5. The Cochoquas, under old Oedasoa and his brother Gonomoa.

6. The Goringhaiquas, under their chief Ankeysoa, the great shepherd.

7. The fine tribe of Namaquas, under their chief Akembie and his two sons, half-giants like himself.

8. The Souqua, Ubiqua, and other tribes of Bosjemans.

All, all have disappeared; and their place has been taken by the European, with his round hat and square-tailed coat—a far less interesting character, certainly, for the European to deal with.

At the commencement of my slumber we left the Dutch under their commander Van der Stell, in possession of only the Cape, Hottentots Holland, and Drakenstein districts, of which they had, after taking possession of the districts, made fictious purchase from the native chiefs for a few hundred francs. We then left Ensign Schryver with his sergeant and 20 men at arms, just returned from the first mission to the Kaffers, bringing with him 1,000 oxen and

300 sheep, bartered from that people, principally on the banks of the river Gamtoos.

On awakening from it we find his Excellency, Governor TULBAGH, appointing a commission to inquire into, and settle a difference which had arisen between the landdrosts of the Stellenbosch and Swellendam colonies, as they were then called, respecting territorial limits and jurisdiction—and these were declared to extend to the great valley situated between the sources of the Oliphants and Gamtoos Rivers, in the present district of Beaufort. It was of course a matter of perfect indifference to the colonists under which of the jurisdictions they lived, so long as they were, as they said, under the same supreme government.

The commission had two other objects of inquiry. 1st. To ascertain whether any of the colonists pastured their cattle beyond the boundaries of their loan-farms, and whether any more loan-farms should be granted further in advance. 2d. To ascertain whether any of the colonists continued the forbidden cattle-barter trade with Hottentots or Kaffers living beyond the border,*—for by that time no Hottentot within the border possessed any cattle, or any land to pasture them on—the avaricious and grasping European having deprived them of this, in other countries, most precious commodity. The commission ascertained that the colonists did pasture their cattle beyond the limits of their own farms, and that they even went hither and thither with their cattle to a great distance for

* The only good reason that I trace through the whole of "The Record" for prohibiting the colonists from barter-transactions with the aborigines, is that—if injustice were done to Kaffers by individuals, they were likely to take revenge, and that their vengeance might fall on the unoffending. Otherwise the restrictions which cause such dissension between the government and its people appears to have been exclusively in favor of government monopoly.

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pasturage; and they declared that both these measures were adverse to the interests of the Company, since it was thus deprived of the rent which colonists would pay for land granted to them on loan. They were further of opinion that farms might be granted on loan as far as the most Easterly branch of the Sondags River, and the first branch of the Fish River, or on what they called De Bruyns Hoogte, which was a profitable tract, rich in grass; and which would still not carry the colonial border to a greater distance than the farmers already occupied on the Gamtoos River, the then limit of the colony.

It was at the same time determined that no more loan-farms should be granted beyond the Gamtoos River, and that any person who had settled there should be recalled. The commission also found that in spite of all the the prohibitions against cattle-barter with Hottentots and Kaffers, the colonists carried on their barter transactions—and the estimation in which the Cape government of that day held its landdrosts, may be seen by the rule which prescribed that any of those functionaries who were ascertained to connive with the colonists in that forbidden trade, should be held to have forfeited their offices, and be declared incapable of ever again serving the Company.

The only objection taken by government to the expansion of the colonists through their own free will, was, that they would thus deprive the Company of its rent; not that they would encroach on the lands of the Bosjemans who, having no cattle, lived on the wild game of their fields. The rules against cattle-barter are in the true spirit of Dutch monopoly, and lead one to suppose that the government had retrograded to the dark days of Van Riebeek and other commanders of his stamp.

The views of the commissioners were approved of

by the government—the grants of farms to certain parties* named on the Camdeboo were confirmed by a resolution of council; other farms were to be given in the Camdeboo country and along the Bosjcmans mountains to the East, as far as De Bruyn's Hoogte, to respectable persons of good name and repute, in order, as far as possible, to prevent all irregularities on the remote farms. No more cattle-farms were to be granted on loan beyond the Gamtoos River, and any persons who were found to have settled there, were forthwith to be removed—whilst others were to be prevented from going there, or on any pretence proceeding from their places of residence far into the interior, on pain of having the cattle kept in the prohibited manner confiscated for behoof of the Company.

This is, indeed, a mighty expansiou of territory in the short period of seventy years. It is unnecessary here to dwell on the frightful amount of sorrow and suffering which must have befallen whole tribes of unoffending Hottentots through this wholesale usurpation of their lands, for we do not hear that the Dutch had even the slender pretext of war for taking the lands of even the Hottentot chiefs; and if at war with chiefs this would not have justified them in taking the lands of the people. But the process through which the lands of the Hottentots were taken, or that through which the people fell from a condition of independence, living under the patriarchal rule of their several chiefs, can only be known when it shall please the Dutch government to surrender their Records for publication. Even after this mighty encroachment,

* Malan, De Beer, Oberholzer, Liebenberg, Opperman, Erasmus, Rossouw, Ds., and Wyberg—whilst burger Senator Jacob van Reenen, and Heemraad Mr. Hendrick Kloete, are named as amongst the Camdeboo farmers of that period.

The Hottentots. 1770, February. Commentary.

there was not, it will be seen, any hesitation on the part of the Dutch government in promising to its subjects further extension, if they would only pay the rent of loan-farms, not to the aborigines, the lawful possessors of the soil, but to the colonial exchequer. The same system of encroachment and unjust usurpation has carried the European through the centre of the Peninsula, and along the Western Coast, to the banks of the Orange River; and if the Kaffers have remained comparatively exempt from this great evil, (although they too have been pushed back from the banks of the Gamtoos River to those of the Keiskama) it is because they are a fine sturdy race, living under a better organized form of Government than that under which the Hottentots and Bosjesmans lived. The Kaffers have undoubtedly amongst them institutions which may not only enable the British Government to preserve that people unbroken, but which, under good management, may hereafter raise them to far greater importance in the scale of nations, —for it appears through the proceedings of the Missionaries, just published in England, that the greater portion of the people of Central and Eastern Africa, speak the same language with the Kaffer tribes on the colonial border,—and they are receiving, through the donations and the exertions of the good and pious men of Europe, the blessings of education, and a translation of the Scriptures,—things which may yet extend civilization to the more remote portions of Africa.

It is curious to find the legislation of the Cape government of 1770 holding possession of men's minds in the present day; for it has been pretended that the rule which then prevented Dutch subjects from removing into the interior, now applies to Dutchmen living under English colonial law; nor do I see it any-

where defined in the discussions relating to the emigration towards Natal, that whilst, as British subjects, individuals might proceed to, and live under the laws of, any country they chose, yet that British subjects could not, without violating the laws, national and international, combine for the purpose of making conquests, or of establishing independent administrations.

We are as little indebted to this commission, composed apparently of some of the most distinguished men under TULBAGH's government, for information relating to the manners and institutions of the aborigines, as to either VAN DER STELL or Ensign SCHRYVER, for information on those interesting subjects, during their missions to Namaqualand and to the Inqua, or, as I suppose, Kaffer tribe on the banks of the Gamtoos River. It does not appear that the commission actually met any of the Kaffers; neither who the chief, called Captain RUITER, was, who lay close to the Kaffers. But on that subject Mr. MOODIE refers to April, 1764, the records of which period are not of course within my reach; also to SPAARMAN, 1775, and to COLLINS' Report, 1809. Colonel COLLINS says—Journal of a Tour to the North Eastern Boundary in 1809. "The Record," page 10.—"Soon after ZAKA had been promoted to the rank of chief, he proceeded to the neighbourhood of the Beeka River. The Zuurveld was then inhabited by Ghonaqua and other Hottentots, under the command of a Hottentot named RUITER; this man was a native of Roggeveld, from whence he had been forced to fly in consequence of a murder which he had committed. By address and superior knowledge, he acquired an easy ascendancy over the minds of this then untutored people. But he is stated to have afterwards maintained his authority by the most sanguinary measures. His country being well-stocked with game of every description,

The Hottentots. 1770, February. Commentary.

ZAKA applied for leave to hunt in it, and at first paid for his permission; but wishing to remove from the vicinity of his powerful neighbours, ZLAMBIE and SANGA, he was indueed to try to establish himself on the right bank of the Great Fish River; as a justifieation of his eonduct he gave out that he had purehased the Zuurveld. Having understood that his sueeessor founds his elaim to that eountry in a great degree upon this transaetion, I have thought the subjeet worth inquiry. The grandehildren of RUITER are still living; and they deelared to me, in eommon with all the other Hottentots whom I questioned on this point, that there was not the least truth in the asser-tion. Ineapable of opposing any effeetual resistanee, RUITER, after some skirmishes and remonstranees, retired by degrees to the Bosjesman River, where he died soon afterwards, foretelling that misfortunes awaited his people. At the same time that ZAKA entered the eolony from the eastward, the settlers advaneed from the Gamtoos River, whieh before the year 1778, had been eonsidered as the boundary of the colony." Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, "upon this point," ZAKA having purehased the Zuurveld from RUITER, "the evidenee of the Graaff-Reinet papers, 1786—93, is deeisive.—Vide printed list."

We are thus indebted to Col. COLLINS, for aseer-taining that RUITER was a native of the Roggeveld, from whieh he retired to the Zuurveld, and put him-self at the head of the Ghonaquas, a raee, I think, deseended from Kaffers and Hottentots. ZAKA, who either purehased, or pretended to have purehased, the Zuurveld (the eountry between Graham's Town and the sea) from him, was of eourse a Kaffer ehief, and is probably the Chaeka, the seeond in Mr. STRETCH's list of "Plebeian Chiefs." His powerful neighbours ZLAMBIE and SANGA were of course powerful Kaffer

chiefs, the former of the posterity of HAHABEE,* whilst MALOUW,* KYNO, KAMA, TOBI, KAZA, and GALEBA belong to the posterity of SANGA. It does not appear who was the Hottentot Captain KEES, near whose kraal the Commissioners outspanned, near the ford of the Gamtoos River, and who came with some other Hottentots to pay their respects to the Commissioners; nor does it appear who was the Hottentot JORIS, who lay in the same kraal with KEES, and who was so unceremoniously ordered to decamp with his cattle, and return to his old place, because he had too many cattle, which were likely to injure the pasture of the inhabitants. This is the same pretext on which VAN RIEBEECK so often ordered the Hottentots in the neighbourhood of the Cape to quit the land of their birth; and it is painful to find the same tyranny exercised on the banks of the Gamtoos, by some of the first men under TULBAGH's administration,—for whoever JORIS and his people may have been, or to whatever tribe they may have belonged, they had certainly more right to be there than the Dutch had. Poor JORIS is probably the last of the Hottentots who had any cattle under Dutch rule—or who could be dealt with in this cruel and summary manner.—*March 22nd.* The Hottentots. 1770, February. Commentary.

July. The landdrost of Stellenbosch L. S. FABER, reports to Governor TULBAGH, that he had received a report from the field-corporal beyond Salt River, behind the Coup, that the Hottentoos residing there had robbed a farmer of 34 cattle; the field-corporal went in pursuit with a commando, overtook them, and came to a fight, in which they shot six of that tribe, and recaptured, though slaughtered, all the cattle; the remaining Hottentoos were found lying near the cattle

* Col. COLLINS, p. 809.

The Hottentots. 1770, July. Commentary.

of another farmer, and were taken prisoners, except two, who, as they would not surrender, were shot.

This was in all probability an affair with a party of Bosjemans. They are called Hottentots by the Dutch, who never, even at a later period than this, very well discriminated between Bosjemans and Hottentots. It is not however likely that at this late period any of the tribes of Hottentots had retained union as a tribe to oppose the field-corporal and his commando; the party appear to have stolen 34 cattle, and to have slaughtered them all for food—in the attack made upon them six of their number were killed. The remainder, because they were found lying near the cattle of another farmer, were made prisoners, all except two; who, as they would not surrender, were shot. It was probably a sufficient reason in the opinion of the Dutch of that period, for making prisoners of either Hottentots or Bosjemans that they were found lying near Dutch cattle; although, as the whole country was in possession of the Dutch and pastured by their cattle, the aborigines, if they remained in the country at all, must have found a resting place somewhere. It was probably, however, the circumstance of their being found in a gang or in combination, which was deemed an offence. If we could find the Records from 1690 to 1770, how many histories of those plunderings and massacreings would be brought to light! Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, p. 11 of Colonel Collins' Tour—"A correct knowledge of the relations with the Kaffers, from 1786 to 1795, is only to be obtained from the official papers, which, under the plea afforded by an article of the capitulation of 1795, Commissioner Sluysken removed to Holland, whence they do not appear to have been returned until the cession of 1803." If these and the Records from 1690 to 1770 were carried to Holland,

at the period of the capitulation, and are still there, the chances are that they will never now be given up, let the British Government plead ever so eloquently for them.—*March 23rd.* The Hottentots. 1770, July. Commentary.

Despatch from the Chambers.—Instruct the government to send a small quantity of rye, barley, wool, wine, brandy, hides, and tallow, as a trial, and to make up the residue of the cargo with wheat; and say that they had authorised the Chamber of Amsterdam to demand of the government such quantity of these articles as they shall deem proper, as they are sure that the government will purchase the goods of the best quality, and at the lowest prices, in order that the Chamber may thus be encouraged, for the benefit of the Cape Colony, to continue and extend this branch of commerce. 1771, October.

Letter from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch to acting Governor Van Plettenberg,—Reports that he had received information from the field-corporal in the Nieuweveld, behind the Roggevelds' Berg, that the Bosjemans had carried off from the field-corporal 14 cattle; and from nine other persons 88 cattle and 519 sheep; upon which the field-corporal overtook the body of robbers, and shot 51 of them without recovering any of the stolen cattle. 1772, April.

The landdrost reports that he had received a report from the field-corporal in the farther Boggeveld, to the effect, that nine of the Hottentoos in hire upon a farm, had shot a burger, his wife, and daughter, and carried off two guns, with powder and lead; that the number of the fugitives daily increased; that they had eventually six guns; that they had carried off 515 sheep with their herds, a slave boy, and a Hottentoo; some granades were therefore requested by the field-corporal, with a person who knew how to manage them, as he had with a commando enclosed the May.

The Hottentots, 1772, May.

Hottentoos in a cavern in the rocks, and saw no other way of getting at them, since they had blockaded the way with a stone, from which they safely fired. It was hoped thus to smother in its birth this murderous and rapacious band, for the greatest mischief was to be apprehended should the Hottentots, united with the Bosjemans, fall upon the inhabitants of that quarter, three of whom had already abandoned their farms. A corporal and five other grenadiers were accordingly sent from the Governor of the Cape to assist in attacking and getting the better of this gang, and the field-corporal was instructed to assist with word and deed, in the most circumspect manner, so that the robbers might be attacked without exposing the soldiers in situations where they, without being able to injure their enemy, may themselves be in danger.

June.

The Landdrost of Stellenbosch reports to the government, that the field-corporal beyond the Hex River had taken with him to the Roggeveld, the Hottentot Captains KEES and BOEKEHAAS, who were lying there, together with the people of their kraals, to assist in the apprehension of the gang of Hottentots, who had murdered the burger, that KEES and BOEKEHAAS, after six had been shot and one had escaped, had succeeded in securing them, together with their wives and children and the stolen cattle. The Landdrost accordingly sent the gang, to the number of 58, great and small, to the Cape, under charge of a commando, and reported that only one of them, named KLYNBOOY, was present at the murder of the farmer, and himself shot that man,—whilst two others, named JANTYN and DIRK, in company with four other Hottentots, seized and held a shepherd belonging to the widow LANGE, whilst two of them stabbed him with an assegay, and then cut his throat, and

that they committed that act, because a bastard, also residing with the widow, had stated, that he (having brought a letter from the Cape,) was ordered to murder all the Roggeveld Hottentots, and the other Hottentots had fled to the cave out of alarm. The Hottentots. 1772, June.

Here is a new complication of affairs. It appears that a gang of Hottentots had murdered their master, a Roggeveld farmer, and taken post in a cave from which the field-corporal of the district and his commando could not dislodge them, and that grenadiers were sent from the Cape, with their hand granades, to effect this. But before their arrival two Hottentot chiefs, named KEES and BOEKEHAAS, with the people of their kraals, had joined the field-corporal, and after killing six of the gang, had secured the remainder, 58, great and small, with the cattle they had stolen. It appears further, that fifteen days after the murder of the farmer, six of the gang had killed a shepherd in the service of a widow, because another person in the service of the same widow, had spread a report that he had brought a letter from the Cape, and that he was ordered to murder all the Hottentots in the Roggeveld, on which account the other Hottentots had out of fear fled to the cave. However this report may have originated, it appears that the Hottentots still living with their people in their own kraals in the Roggeveld, assisted the Dutch in securing and punishing the runaway servants, who had murdered their master and found refuge in a cave. —*March 23rd.* Commentary.

In two days, on the 28th, the government acknowledged the receipt of the Landdrost's letter, and inform him that the apprehended Hottentots had arrived with their wives and children,—those who had been put in irons were sent to jail, and the women and children were disposed of elsewhere. The latter June.

The Hottentots. 1772, June.

caused us no small degree of embarrassment, and government desires to be instantly informed how many of the Hottentots, male or female, must be imprisoned as guilty, or detained as witnesses, in order that the rest, who would otherwise come to great expense to the company, may be got rid of by dividing them, that is to say the women and children, among such of the inhabitants as will take any of them into service for their food.

The Landdrost replied on the following day that the ironed Hottentots should be detained in prison. He had been unable to ascertain in how far the residue who may not indeed have been guilty of the murder, were guilty of aiding and abetting; but no charge had hitherto been made against the women. He therefore conceived that they had merely followed their husbands, without having implicated themselves in the guilt of the murder, and had he been aware that it would not have pleased His Excellency to employ them *ad opus publicum*, he would in the first instance, *propria auctoritate*, have placed them for their food with one or other of the inhabitants. Now that the Landdrost was fully informed of the Governor's pleasure, he sent two police riders and one Kaffer, to carry them back to Stellenbosch, as he had divided them among the inhabitants as well in the village as in the vicinity; and as the Hottentots could not perform the march in one day, he begged that they might be victualled for two days.

Commentary.

Because nine Hottentots in the service of a farmer in the farther Roggeveld had deserted, carrying with them four guns, in the month of May; shot another farmer with his wife and daughter, and taken from his farm two guns, with powder and lead, carrying off 515 sheep with their herds, a slave boy, and a Hottentot, fifty-eight persons, including women and

children, are in June apprehended and sent to Stellenbosch. It is aeknowledged by the Landdrost that no charge had been made against the women. Yet these unfortunates are distributed amongst the inhabitants of Stellenboseh and those in its vicinity, to work for their food. This is the first instanee that occurs of these distributions, although how many occurred during the 70 years for which we have no records, who can tell? It is plain enough that the field-corporal had authority to send these people, against whom no charge had ever been made, all the way from the farther Roggeveld, in the Beaufort district, to Stellenbosch; and that the Landdrost had authority to distribute them amongst his eountrymen of that town and district. This only differs in degree from the distributions made by the Spaniards in South Ameriea; and in some respects the African distributions were of a character still more cruel and revolting, for in South America the people were distributed with, and apparently upon their lands, to grandees of Spain—here wives and children were torn from husbands and fathers, and given into a condition more eruel and degraded than that of the slave—for by the Dutch law of 1636 the aborigine could not be sold, and was therefore less likely to be well cared for than the slave, who had a saleable value. After this single exhibition of the manner in which the authorities of the Dutch government could play into each other's hands for the supply of labourers, who will wonder that the natives melted away under their rule. It does not appear whether the nine men who committed the murder, and who were in the service of a Dutch farmer, were Hottentots or Bosjemans—but the probability is that they belonged to the former race, and that they were joined in the cave by the Bosjeman inhabitants of the Roggeveld. When the Dutch made prisoners of Bos-

The Hottentots. 1772, June. Commentary.

The Hottentots. 1772, June. Commentary.

jemans, the wives and children, as is well known, almost necessarily followed the commando, for they had no tame cattle, and must otherwise have starved, since they could not catch or kill the wild game. This has been urged in excuse for the Dutch in making apprentices, or in other words, slaves, of Bosjeman women and children; but it may on the other hand be looked upon as an aggravation of the iniquity of waging a war of almost extermination against the males—and it afforded them an object, of more value probably in their eyes, than the land of which they deprived that unhappy race. The Kaffer sent by the landdrost, to escort the women and children from Cape Town to Stellenbosch, was not probably one of the Kaffers now known to us, but an emancipated slave, for these were so generally employed as constables, that constables are called Kaffers all over the colony to this day. Whether the Hottentot chiefs KEES and BOEKEHAAS, who, with the people of their kraals, assisted the Dutch in apprehending the people thus disposed of, were Hottentots or Bosjemans, does not appear—but the probability is that they were Bosjemans, since they were living in their own kraals on the Roggeveld. These poor people should have had foresight enough to understand that their time would come next, and that soon.—*March 24th.*

June.

The Governor PLETTENBERG informs the landdrost of Stellenbosch, on the 31st January, that he had granted two farms in loan, on the Camiesberg, to a farmer, on the 5th of the previous October, but that he had since been informed that the use of one of them had been granted by the late Governor TULBAGH to another farmer, and that the Hottentoo captain WILDSCHUT has lain with his kraal upon the other. The governor therefore revoked the grant of those

loan-farms, and instructed the landdrost to see that the farms were forthwith vacated by the grantee; and that the former farmer, as well as the Hottentot captain and his kraal, should continue to enjoy respectively the undisturbed use of those farms. The Hottentots. 1772, June.

Government informs the landdrost of Swellendam that the doctor of medicine and botanist, Carel Pieter Thunberg, had arrived from Europe, and had been sent into the interior to collect herbs, plants, insects, &c., accompanied by the gardener Johan Andries Auge, and a person named Sconhardy, and the landdrost was directed, in case of their requiring assistance towards the fulfilment of their commission, to afford it to the utmost of his means. Mr. Moodie, in a Note, refers to Thunberg's Travels from October of this year. August.

The governor requires the landdrost of Stellenbosch to ascertain whether in the selection of two loan-farms, granted to him by the late governor, in the Nieuwveld, a farmer named Prinsloo had settled beyond De Bruyn's Hoogte, contrary to the Resolution of 13th February, 1770, which provided that farms to be granted in the Nieuwveld, should be within De Bruyn's Hoogte. If the landdrost found that Prinsloo had established himself beyond the Hoogte, he was to direct him to decamp, and to return with his cattle within the Hoogte; and the same with respect to any other persons who might have settled beyond the limit. October.

The landdrost of Stellenbosch reports to government, on the 20th, that he had got into custody the Hottentoo Claas, who formerly lived with a farmer in the Hantam, and who belonged to a gang of Hottentoos who attempted to destroy that farm, and who shot arrows at the farmer, as reported on the 26th of June; he was accordingly sent to the Cape. The

The Hottentots. 1772, October.

landdrost also reports that he had received information from the field-corporal of the further Roggeveld that the Bosjemans had stolen from him 88 cattle, of which he retook 39, and that with the Commando which went out, he shot 31 Bosjemans.

December.

Extract of the Journal, Colonial Office.—The Court of Justice was assembled, in which eight Hottentoos and one Bastard were arraigned—two of the former for murder committed on a burger, and on a shepherd, and the other six for a previously formed resolution to fly to a cave in the mountains, as for a knowledge of the said committed murder—and the Bastard for a certain rumour by him propagated, and thereby giving inducement to the said gross excesses of the said Hottentoos—were condemned to be brought to the place of execution, the first bound on a cross and broken thereon alive, from under upwards, with the *coup de grace;* and the second to be punished on the gallows with the rope, until death ensues; the remaining seven to be bound to a post and severely flogged with rods on the bare back; four of them to have the sinew of the heel cut asunder, and to be banished for life to the public works at the Company's slave lodge; the Bastard to work for ten years at the public works at Robben Island, without wages, with payment of the costs and dues of justice. Two of the Hottentoos were discharged from their confinement without expense or injury.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note,—see Report of Court of Justice to Sir J. Craig, 1796, on Capital Punishments; see also, May 23rd, p. 11.

Commentary.

These are the men, some of whom, after murdering a farmer of the Roggeveld, fled to a cave in the mountains. The Dutch had given them names, apparently of their own invention: such as Kleyne Booy, Kleyne Jantje Links, Kleyne Dirk, Cupido,

Spanger Springveld, Jantje van Tuyteman, (Jan Hendrik Tuytman being the name of the murdered farmer.)—Whether if the prisoners had been arraigned under their original Hottentot or Bosjeman names, it would have been possible to have ascertained to which tribe they belonged, I cannot tell. Of the two men apparently actually concerned in the murder, one was sentenced to be broken on the wheel, from under upwards, and the other to be hanged; four of them, after being flogged with the other three, were sentenced to have sinews of the heel cut asunder. The Bastard Thys, who had propagated the report (that the inhabitants of the Roggeveld would be killed,) which induced the Hottentots of that district to commit such excesses, was sentenced to banishment to Robben Island, and to labour without wages for ten consecutive years, also to payment of costs and dues of justice. As none of the Hottentots were sentenced to this payment, it is probable that they were not, in the service of the Dutch, allowed to accumulate property; whilst it is plain enough that the Bastard had property.—*March 24th.* The Hottentots. 1772, December. Commentary.

Extract of the Journal, Colonial Office.—The Court of Justice assembled, when the Hottentoo Claas—in that he, in the night time shot a poisoned arrow at the farmer Christian Bosk, then in his house, and with whom he for some time resided, and attempted to take his life, and also, because he was presumed to have set fire to the house,—was condemned to be bound to a post and severely flogged by the public executioner, with rods upon the bare back, and thereupon branded and rivetted in chains, in order therein to labour for life at the Company's public works on Robben Island, without wages. 1773, March.

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the Journal of 1773 contains no other notice relative to the natives.

The Hottentots. 1773, March. Commentary.

The person called Claas, Hottentot, noticed in the proceedings of the Court of Justice, as sentenced to be flogged, branded, rivetted in chains, and to labour on Robben Island for life, on the charge of having shot a poisoned arrow at a farmer with whom he had for some time resided, and because he is presumed to have set fire to the farmer's house, is obviously a Bosjeman, and not a Hottentot. It does not appear by the proceedings of the Court of Justice what evidence there was against Claas, and as he had apparently been brought from the farther Roggeveld, the probability is, that he was, on the other charges, as well as on that of attempting to set fire to his master's house, condemned on presumptive evidence.—There is nothing further of importance in the Record relating either to the Hottentots, Kaffers, or Bosjemans, that I see, which has not already been extracted, and commented upon in the First Part of the Kaffer Paper; so that here close my Extracts from the Record, and Commentaries on that work.—*March 24th.*

PART II.

THE BOSJEMANS.*

The first notice I see in "The Record" of this people, then called Vischman, is, (1652, November 13th,) HARRY, the interpretor, told VAN RIEBEECK, the commander, that Table Bay was annually visited by three tribes of people, similar in dress and manners. First, the Strandloopers or Waterman, who lived on muscles which they found on the rocks, and on roots which they dig out of the ground. Second, the Saldanhaman, who come every year with innumerable cattle and sheep. Third, called by the Strandloopers Vischman, who, after the departure of the Saldanhaman, come with cows only, and without

The Bosjemans. 1652, November 13. "The Record"

* The derivation of the term Bosjeman, as applied to this family of man by the first European settlers in South Africa, is of course plain enough. We see, page 57, Hottentot Head, that the dead Ourang-Outang, (Malay compound for man of the woods—Outang, man; Ourang, woods;) which the Dutch found on Table Mountain in April, 1654, and which they ate for very hunger, was called by them Bosmanekin. I am of opinion, as elsewhere stated, that those small aboriginal tribes were driven into the hills and fastnesses by the original conquerors of their country, whether Hottentots or Kaffers; as the Bheels, Gouds, and other aboriginal tribes of India, were by the Hindoo and Mahommedan conquerors from the North. About the promontory of Africa, they called themselves, and were called by others, Obiquas, Souquas; and they had, doubtless, other denominations in parts farther inland; and were in different parts in different degrees of civilization, according to the nature of their climate and food.—M.M. T. ARBOUSSET and T. DAUMAS, "Relation d'un Voyage D'Exploration," p.p. 509, et seq. say, le Seroa ou Bushmen, and give a vocabulary of the Seroa language.

The Bosjemans. 1652, November 13.

sheep; they have no boats, but subsist on fish caught with lines from the rocks, and are from 400 to 500 in number.

The Waterman and Saldanhaman, HARRY said, were always at war, endeavouring to injure one another as much as possible. It was proposed by HARRY to the Dutch to try, by any means, to decoy and allure them for the purpose of bartering cattle for copper, according to their annual custom, to get the Vischman, with wife and children, into their hands, to destroy them and take their cattle to themselves—in which all the Waterman and Saldanhaman would be disposed to assist with all their power. The Dutch would not yet allow their favorable inclination to be seen, replying, that if these people came they would see what they were, "amusing HARRY meanwhile with fair appearances and fine words, (knowing that fine words buttered no parsnips,) "thus to acquire in time knowledge and experience upon those matters."

Those Vischman, HARRY said, always travelled secretly, concealing themselves from the Saldanhaman, and not lighting fires, for if the Saldanhaman, who are of countless numbers, perceived their fires, they always tried to catch them, for which Vischman was much afraid; they resided beyond the mountains Eastward of the Cape, towards the Bay of Sambras, and in that direction.

The Saldanhaman lived to the West and to the North, towards the Bays of Saldanha and St. Helena.

The Waterman have their constant abode in the Table Valley and behind the Table Mountain. HARRY alone, with wife and children staying with the Dutch, and serving the Company as Interpreter; his people, the Waterman, having gone to the other side of the Lion Mountain, seeking food, muscles from the rocks, and roots which they dig out of the ground

with long round pieces of iron, and with much labor. After speculating on the quality of this root and its suitableness or otherwise, for the Chinese, the Tonquinese, and Cochin China markets, VAN RIEBEECK concludes—What has not yet been found out we hope to find out through industry, in which we hope the Almighty will lend his blessing.—Amen! The Bosjemans. 1652; November 13.

The Hottentoo HARRY, the interpreter, again said that when the Saldaniers were gone, another people called Vischman, would come with cattle only, and without sheep, and that if we desired to do him and the Saldaniers a friendship, we must kill them, and take their cattle for ourselves, which was easy to be done, because, according to his statement, they were weak in people; on which VAN RIEBEECK replied, that they received as friends all who would trade with them, without distinction, Vischman, Waterman, and Saldanhaman; that they were come with copper and tobacco to give for cattle, and not to hurt any one or do any harm, but live in friendship with the one as well as with the other—which seemed to please him as far as concerned the Saldaniers, but not as to their not ruining the Vischman, which would be still too soon, as it ought previously to be inquired what profit could be had from them for the Company. December 16.

The Saldaniers told us that a day or two ago they had been fighting with their enemies, the Vischman, had beaten four of them to death, and taken or plundered their cattle; they asked us, as an act of friendship, to aid them against Vischman, as they were robbers, who would try to steal our cattle. We replied that we would always be the steadfast friends of the Saldaniers; when the Vischman came we would see what kind of people they were, which seemed to please them. December 28.

When the Saldaniers had got to some distance, the 1653 January.

The Bosjemans. 1653, January.

Vischman, HARRY said, would come hither, (they are called by the others Soaqua): they have some, but not many, cattle; against their robbing and thieving propensities it will be necessary to guard, for under the appearanec of amity they will do all the harm, living by plunder, and having no other means of subsistenee —although they will bring eattle to sell, these cattle are plundered from the Saldaniers, who, on that aecount, pursue them on every opportunity, and on getting hold of them put them to death without merey, and throw them to the dogs.

1654, March.

The chaplain found that the Hottentoos had very little live stock with them, only 200 cattle and 150 sheep, saying that the Vischman, called by them Soaqua, had robbed them of all their cattle, and exhibiting on many persons several wounds, whieh they had reeeived in the fight. "The Soaquas," says Mr. MOODIE, in a Note, "are soon after mentioned as a distinct raee of 'Banditti' or Bosjemans. Besides the subjugated Hottentoos, there were other Afrieans of the same or of kindred tribes, who were early designated under the term of Bushmen, from their disdaining to beeome bondsmen, and ehoosing rather to obtain a precarious subsistenee in the fields or forests. From their fastnesses they were apt to earry on a predatory warfare against the oppressors of their raee, and in return were hunted down like wild beasts."—Report of Seleet Committee on Aborigines. "These papers frequently advert to the aptitude of this race to plunder the Hottentoos."

The Brazilian Captain, J. WINTERVOGEL, and his party of seven volunteers, returned. He reported that about 50 mylen, mostly Northward, they found a certain tribe, very low in stature, and very lean, entirely savage, without any huts, eattle, or any thing in the world, clad in little skins, like the Hottentoos,

and speaking nearly like them. (Were these Souquas or Vischman?) Our party also met some Souquas, called Vischman, the enemies of Waterman and Saldanhaman, who had no cattle; they advanced upon our men fully armed, but attempted nothing, and upon giving them some tobacco and beads, they parted without injuring each other. When asked about Harry, the Souquas laughed at our men, as do his allies hereabouts, saying he was far off in the interior, although we daily see his wife and children among them. The Bosjemans. 1655, April.

On this Mr. Moodie observes, in a Note—This account of the Souquas appears, upon re-examination, to agree with the first mention made of the Vischmans, in 1652. See, on the same subject, Resolution of November 11th, 1690, Memoirs of Van Riebeeck, 1662, Wagenaar, 1666, and Van der Stell, 1699, and Statement of the Hottentot Chiefs, June 16th, 1701; for a different account of some of the Bosjemans see the Journal of Landdrost Sterrenberg, November 4, 1705, quoted by Valentyn, p. 99, and in Researches in South Africa, Vol. I., 23, and Vol. II., 3.

The particulars referred to by Mr. Moodie, will be entered according to date, if to be found in "The Record;"—if not to be found, they are, I fear, beyond my reach. Commentary.

A party of Harry's allies fled past the fort, saying that some of their cattle and sheep had been taken by Souqua, who, according to Harry, is also the enemy of the Saldanhas. May.

The Cacpmans wished to live near the fort, as they had seen some other inhabitants, enemies, called Souqua. July.

After dark a great number of Hottentoos came from behind the Lion Hill, along the beach, past the Fort; 1656, July.

The Bosjemans. 1656, July.

they said they were now pursued by the Souqua or Banditti, their enemies, and the enemies of all the Saldanhas.

1657, October.

Souqua are banditti, subject to none exeept the power of the arrow and assagai, upon whieh they chiefly depend, and plunder many people treacherously of their eattle and women; which robbery or abduction of women is mueh praetised in war by all these tribes, and appears to be the prineipal booty, all boasting alike, this that he has taken so many, and the other so many women from his enemy. It seems that the object of this praetice is to increase the tribes by propagation. The frequently mentioned wife of the Chainouquas was no native of the eountry of Choboners, but had been taken from these tribes by CHOBONA, and as she was a great lady, brought up in his house as a child, and given to this ehief as a wife, whieh seems to be esteemed extraordinary, as it is a mark of great favor when any one gets a wife out of CHOBONA's house; it is thus he attaehes these tribes to his interests.

Commentary.

Whatever may have been the objeet of the native tribes in seizing and appropriating one another's women, the Duteh were not slow to follow the example, extending the praetiee to male as well as female children. It will have been seen, under Part the First of this Head, that in the expedition of 1773 and 1774, against these Souqua or Bushmen, the Duteh, after killing 503 of the fathers and husbands, with the loss of only one man on their own part, took and appropriated amongst themselves 241 of their wives and children, many of them sueklings.

1658, May.

"Commandant NICOLAS TJAART VAN DER WALT, a warm friend," Mr. MOODIE says, "of the Bosjemans, and familiar, from his youth upwards, with the language and habits of that singular raee, being asked

whether he had discovered any traces, or heard any tradition of the ancestors of the present race of Bosjemans having maintained themselves by rearing or preserving any kind of domestic live stock, replied: 'The Bosjemans never had any live stock but a dog and a louse.' The Bosjemans. 1658, May.

The fat Caepman, Captain Gogosoa, replied that the burger's cattle had not been taken by his people, but by the Souquas, who, if the cattle were not well watched, were very dexterous in taking them; that the Souquas had driven them beyond the Leopard's Berg, but that he would try and recover them with his people.

Our party travelled from the Cape, as they considered, fully 90 mylen on the North side of Africa, but by the reckoning kept it did not exceed 30 mylen; beyond this great river, which ebbed and flowed from its proximity to the sea, they heard of the Souquas or Banditti, a very wild people, without houses or cattle, but well armed with assagais, bows, and arrows. 1659, March.

The Souquas, a people without cattle, who reside beyond the mountains of Africa *(in 't o'ergeberchte)* and are chiefly banditti, promise that they will bring us thence young horses; they brought us two or three of the heads stuffed; they were very beautifully striped, with long ears like asses, but otherwise much resembling the head and mouth of the horse; the Souquas eat them, and say that the flesh is better than beef. In order to get hold of a young horse they have been promised for each that they bring alive and unhurt as much as the price of four cattle, and our people have been promised 150 guilders. 1660, November 7.

Van Riebeek's description of the horse's head answers very well that of a fine young quagga stallion, which Mr. Potgieter shot, out of a herd of forty or fifty, when galloping with me across the Tarka plains, Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1660, November. Commentary.

in August last; he had four colt's teeth in his head, appeared to be almost fourteen hands high, and of as much girth as most horses. A good horse on which I was mounted easily headed the whole drove, but my endeavour to get a foal, to separate from its dam, and follow my horse, was unsuccessful. Mr. P. told me that the Dutch and Kaffers never eat quagga flesh, but that it is preferred to any other by Hottentoos and Bosjemans.

December.

The travellers, about 48 mylen off, shot three large elands, to help out their provisions, and caught many fine fish. They fell in with a certain small poor people, who assisted them in their passage over the first mountains, and showed them much kindness, giving them dried fish and honey. These are the same small people who were formerly found by our people nearer at hand; they were in very lean condition, living in poor low huts, made of boughs, which our people found here and there standing unoccupied; it would seem as if they pass the night in these cassiens. They are supplied with arrows, with which they well know how to kill game for their food; they also subsist upon honey; they are clothed with much worse skins, those of wild animals, than the Hottentoos, and they are not so greasy—for greasiness is a mark of opulence and condition;—they also have curled Kaffer hair, and are of the same colour; their pronunciation is somewhat different, although they have the same clucking, like turkey-cocks—the more the further inland. There is also among the Hottentot race, a language in which the great people communicate with one another, and which the common people do not understand, but none have been found who know anything of reading and writing. The Hottentoo Claas Das told us that he had heard from some of the Cochoquas, that three more of our travellers were

laid up, a long way off, with sore legs and feet; that they were with the Souquas, the hill people, who chiefly subsist by the game they kill, and that the Souquas were taking care of our men, feeding them on the flesh of the hart and rhinoeeros, and that after a few days' rest they would bring them hither. We must take eare of our fine herd of cattle, for the Souquas, or hill people, who subsist entirely by stealing domestic cattle and catching game, will not fail, according to their ability, constantly to steal the Company's cattle. The Bosjemans. 1660, December.

On the 23rd day from the Cape, the travellers proceeding in a North West direetion, found about 20 Souquas, who, after many words, came to us and showed us a road over the hills; we bartered honey from them, and ANTHONY bought a skin from them with the beads from his ears; about noon we began to aseend the mountain going North, and then passing through a kloof we met three other Souquas, who abandoned all they had and fled. ANTHONY got from them a skin, some broiled rabbits, honey, &c. having called to them first, but we never saw them again. We slept at a large river, containing the finest fish, and saw on a hill, West of us, 200 or 300 elephants together. On the 23rd day repassed the Oliphants River, and some Souquas came to us, from whom we bought honey for tobacco, but they did not know how to smoke it; they told us that the Namaquas were resolved to come to the Cape to destroy every thing, and that they wear shields of ox-hides to defend them against arrows. Some more Souquas came to us, but left instantly; from others we bought honey for tobaeco. 1661, January.

Our party returned from the interior, having found the Namaquas. Before coming hither they will endeavour, it seems, to destroy some of the Souquas or March.

The Bosjemans. 1661, March.

Mountain Hottentoos, who have plundered them of many cattle. The party which went to the Namaquas saw, on the sixth day, three huts of Souquas, or robbers, who take the cattle of the Hottentoos; but they could give no intelligence about the Namaquas. On the ninth day eight Souquas came to us, and tried to persuade us that the Namaquas would kill us; they were asked to accompany us to show the Namaquas, and presents were offered, but they would not, and left us. The next day one of them joined us, offering to show us a cattle-road to the Namaquas, but wanting beforehand a piece of tobacco, the length of a gun, a brass rod and chain, and a few beads; but they were not given, for he wanted to cheat us; we showed him all our goods, which he much admired. On the thirteenth day, near four or five fine springs, were many Souquas' houses, which they occupy occasionally; and a little further on many houses occasionally tenanted by Souquas; in the path leading to the rivers we found some more Souquas' houses, standing empty; we lodged in them, and they were very convenient to us, for it began to rain hard. As we found no Souquas here, and as the one who had joined had gone to the hills to shoot rock-rabbits, so that his return was doubtful—we resolved to leave some men and our cattle on this side of the mountain, whilst five others should go on to the Oliphants River to try and find the Souquas; three were seen who at first ran from us, but stopped on seeing the surgeon, whom they recognized; they accompanied him to the Oliphants River, where all sat down, and they had a pipe to smoke—whilst two of the men caught, in the course of an hour, as many carpers as they could carry. The Souquas said that the best way to the Namaquas was to follow the course of the river—telling us that if we took another direction we should find no more

water. At this place we were joined by the man who had before left us to shoot rock-rabbits; he had apprized the others of our arrival; the other men and oxen joined, and we went along the river, which runs to the North; the day after halted to rest our cattle, and the men caught a large quantity of fish; in the afternoon three Souquas came, and we inquired for the Souqua who had come with us; they said he had gone to the Namaquas, and that he would return to-morrow; each got some bread and tobacco; they told us that the Namaquas had said that they would give us sheep on our arrival and then see to lay hold of us and put us all to death; they were told that we did not fear. After eating a little the surgeon and another man went a little way down the river and saw a living monster in the water, with three heads, like cats' heads, and three long tails. Mynheer MEERHOFF says I do not know what kind of an animal it was. The Bosjemans. 1661, March.

And Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, the marginal calls it a *monstreuse vis*—and adds from himself:—There is a Bushman superstition that many of their race are devoured by an amphibious animal with three legs—(with two legs?) The poor Bosjemans might certainly have, with much justice, muttered Lord CHATHAM's curse upon the Dutch—"May God damn them, and man undamn them." Commentary.

Went along the River to the North and saw many empty Souquas' houses; twelve of the Souquas came to us, bringing five or six rock-rabbits and some honey, which our people bought for tobacco; (are these rock-rabbits the same things as we now see in the hills called Springhaas, and which some even fancy to be a species of kangaroo?) After resting for an hour our Souqua joined us; he said that he had seen the Namaquas and wished us to fulfil our promise, March.

The Bosjemans. 1661, March.

but he meant to deceive us. I told him that when we saw the Namaquas he should be paid. He tried to impose many lies upon us, which I could not believe; he said that the Namaquas had seen him, (I saw the devil and the devil saw me), and had chased him with assagais, but that he had escaped. Whatever we promised neither he nor any of the others would accompany us any further—the Namaquas would kill them was their uniform answer. From all we can make out it seems that they do not wish us to reach the Namaquas. We packed up and went on, while they turned back; went along the river to the North, and reached a height, from which, on a former occasion, we had seen the fires of the Namaquas, according to the Souquas; kept the elephants' path, for otherwise it would be impossible to get on with the cattle.

April.

Van Riebeeck's Journal proceeds :—The Souquas having been defeated by the Namaquas, were included in the peace negotiated between that people and Oedasoa, apparently to their great joy, and they promised to bring us elephants' teeth, honey, and wax.

Meerhoff's Journal of a second mission to the Namaquas.—On the sixth day we sent some of Gonomoa's people, who told us that the Souquas had won a battle from the Namaquas, and taken all their cattle. Went North along the Oliphants River, and fell in with a fire which had been lit by the Souquas; we sent to call them to come to us, and one of them came swimming through the river, who said that the Namaquas were at war with another tribe further inland; that they themselves had gone thither and had been desired by the Namaquas to inform the Dutch when they come that they must first have a battle with another nation—but would come to the Cape after the rains. They advised us strongly to return to the Cape.

It will not fail to be observed what good intelligence the Dutch received from the Souquas and other tribes of the proceedings of the Namaquas, and generally from each tribe of the plans and position of other tribes.

April. Following the traces of the Namaquas and their cattle at Oliphants River, we heard, on the eleventh day, four cannon, seemingly at a good distance, sixteen or eighteen mylen to the North—I presume close to the shore, or from some fortress. Two Souquas came to us and said that the Namaquas had gone too far to be found this year. We wanted to ask them whether no other tribe was to be found, but our Hottentoos could not interpret the question. We saw from the manner of both parties that we were not very far from the Namaquas, and offered the Souquas a present if they would give us the best information; this they would have done but for the Hottentoos. I therefore gave the Souquas drink and tobacco, and spoke to them myself while they were smoking; they said they would go home and fetch their weapons, and they returned at 10 at night with four other Souquas, two of whom I had seen on my last journey to the Namaquas; they staid with us all night, and promised to go, but our Hottentoos held a consultation with them all night about the journey; Oedasoa and the other Cape Hottentoos, when asked what they were debating about, they answered, about nothing—and we could form no other opinion but that our Hottentoos told the Souquas many falsehoods. After marching a myl, we again crossed the river, and parted with the Souquas. Some Souquas came to us with some *dassen*, which they sold to us for tobacco;—these Souquas had hitherto always been at war with Oedasoa, but we arranged so far with his ambassadors and the Souquas that they agreed to

The Bosjemans. 1661, April.

make peace, and to cease, at our request, making war. They promised to come to the Cape after the rains, with honey, of which there is abundance here among the Souquas. They have also elephants' teeth, which they formerly sold to the Chobonas, and they to the Portuguese, as they signify by signs; they are now well inclined to trade with the Dutch, because they see that we have every thing, and that we have now made peace. We lay here, on the Oliphants River, the remainder of the day to rest our cattle, strong wind and rain, with thunder and lightning until midnight; at 10 an animal came to us, which we suppose to have been a sea-cow; our cattle were frightened, and I took my gun to drive it away—the gun burst in twenty-five pieces about my ears. God be thanked I escaped with a broken thumb. Going along the river on the 12th of April, and while we were resting, about 40 Souquas came to us with some *dassen* and honey, which our people bought for tobacco. The journey terminated by the arrival of the mission at the Cape on the 23rd, which they left on the 21st of March—and there is no further mention of the natives.

1662, April.

The Souquas, or Mountaineers, who, as well as the Chariguriquas, are allied with the Namaquas, plainly assert that Oedasoa had advised the Namaquas not to come to the spot last year agreed upon, persuading them that we intended to attack them with a concealed force; so that, according to their statement, the Namaquas had retired out of fear.

May.

Van Riebeeck's Memorandum for the information and guidance of his successor, Mr. Wagenaar.

Commentary.

In this document not a word is said of the Souquas, probably because they had no live stock worthy of his honor's attention, and were, therefore, themselves considered unworthy of his notice; they were proba-

bly unknown to him, as they almost necessarily were to a woman in the condition of Eva. What we have already seen of this diminutive race, shows plainly enough, however, that they were not the least intelligent or enterprising of the aborigines of South Africa. Were any other proof of this necessary, than the fact of their being wild hunters and mountain robbers? The Bosjemans. 1662, May. Commentary.

It was not deemed advisable to have any quarrel with these people, so Cruythoff, the commander of the third expedition, in search of the Namaquas, turned back. With the aid of three Souquas he managed to find a passage behind the Namaqua kraals. The Souquas are subject to the Namaquas, and are always on guard a long way from their kraals; he took the three Souquas with him; they also tried to mislead him, and ran away the next day. On the night of the 27th December, 1662, whilst they were all standing round a fire, a party, as they believed, of Souquas, stealthily approached, and wounded four of his men with assagays. On the 29th the party came upon some Souquas' huts, in which were some women and children, and Cruythoff would have revenged the wrong done to his party by massacring them, and destroying their huts, but his men would not agree to the proposal on any account, stating that they were not willing to take revenge upon such poor creatures. 1663, February.

From what is now known of the character of the various native tribes, it is pretty certain that the night attack, so stealthily made on the nine Dutchmen, was the work of the Namaquas, and not of the little Souquas; yet the commander of the Dutch expedition would atrociously have murdered their women and children had not the better feeling of his men interposed to save them; and this crime would have been added to the subsequent mighty iniquities practised by Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1663, December.

the Dutch government and people against the diminutive Bosjemans.

An ensign who went, accompanied by Eva, and with a four ox-wagon to the camp of the Saldanhas, returned, and reported that there was a disease amongst all the Hottentoos, which carried off many people; that they were in consequence much afraid of the Souquas, who had threatened to make war on them, that they meant to come a little nearer to us, and, if necessary, to request our assistance. Eva heard from one of the Hottentoos that our people, who had been sent into the interior, had been attacked by the said Souquas, who had captured their provisions, and burned their wagon. What truth there is in this story we shall soon hear.

1664, January.

Sergeant De la Guerre returned from the interior with his 16 men, all in good health; they were absent three months and ten days, but effected nothing, the great drought at this season of the year preventing them from proceeding to the river Vigiti Magna, except at the risk of perishing. The wagon was taken to pieces, and with some provisions, which the oxen could not carry, was buried at the Oliphants River. But as they had to send back a Hottentoo who had been bitten by a snake, it was supposed that he had found the spot and shown it to the Souquas or other Hottentoos—for on their return the party found the nest empty and the wagon burnt, in consequence of which loss they subsequently suffered great privation. They procured from some kraals of Cochoquas, at Oliphants River, 13 cattle and 73 sheep, which they brought home—increasing the Company's sheep at the fort to more than 500, and at Robben Island to 300.

1665—1672, July.

Heard a rumour among the neighbouring Hottentoos that Cruythoff and two of his party had been

murdered by the Sunquaes, a people from whom the Company obtained in booty a large herd of cattle in the year 1669. The Bosjemans. 1672, July.

After we had travelled some distanee along the Berg River some Souqua Hottentoos eame and warned us to ride out of the way, as they knew that Gonomoa and his people intended to pursue us that night, to plunder our wagon and oxen, and to put ourselves to death; we set out aceordingly, and thus eseaped. November.

Resolution of Counеil.—His Excelleney, Governor Bax, stated to the meeting that a report had been reeeived from Hottentoos Holland, that murder had been committed, near Breede River, upon three free men, by a kraal of Souquas, ealled in the Hottentoo language Obiquas, but dependants on Gonnema, and regarded as bush rangers, (*bosloopers)*, just as some time baek, eight or ten free men were unexpectedly attaeked, and miserably murdered by the Gonnema tribe. The murder of the burgers was eommitted by a tribe ealled Obiquas, who are principally banditti, *(bos en landstroopers,)* but dependant on Gonnema. 1676, March.

Whether the Souquas, or Obiquas, as they were ealled by the Hottentots, were suffieiently dependent on Gonnema, and that tribe, to hold him and them responsible for their aets, may fairly be questioned. But there can be no doubt from these proceedings (see Hottentot Paper of this date) that it was the intention of the Cape government to place that tribe under this responsibility—just as, on a former oeeasion, it was the intention of their eommando leader, to massacre Bosjeman women and children, for an attack made on them by the Namaquas. There is, of course, little doubt that the Souquas, or Obiquas, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, belong to the family of Bosjemans. Commentary.

Soeswa summoned all his Souquas, being resolved 1677, July.

The Bosjemans. 1677, July.

to make war with Caepman until he had taken all his cattle; that CLAAS was not inclined to go to war, but that he had been compelled by his people to assist against Caepman, who was, they said, always the first to create disturbance; all the Souquas of the kraals of CLAAS, CLEYNE CAPITEIN, and SOESWA, had assembled against Caepman.

Commentary.

The Souquas or Bosjemans are here far more prominently brought forward as partisans of the several tribes than at any former period of "The Record," and it may readily be supposed that these mountaineers were nothing loath to buckle on their quivers and take their bows and arrows, to descend into the plains, and enter into a contest which promised both plunder and employment—strife—for plunder and strife were things in which they, in common with all mountaineers, always delighted—whilst they were themselves safe from harm in their hearth and families, in their mountain fastnesses, and had besides no domestic cattle, which the other tribes were likely to covet.

July.

Journal continued.—The GONNEMA Hottentoos thereabouts and their Souquas are strongly suspected by us of taking our cattle out of the kraal at Riet Valley, during the night, and this causes us to entertain by no means the best surmises concerning these savage Africans.

Lt. CRUSE, after great trouble and annoyance, recovered the two guns—one from a Hottentoo of CUYPER'S kraal, the other from a Souqua belonging to the same kraal.

1678, April.

Resolution of Council.—Lieut. CRUSE having gone out to trace and apprehend Hottentoos, brought in six, called Souquas, charged with being concerned in the thefts and other impertinent hostilities, committed against these inhabitants; and as there were still some

more of their chief accomplices who had been enabled by their activity to take shelter in steep, rocky, and inaccessible mountains, (Irish) whom it was impossible for our countrymen to overtake, in spite of their daily endeavours, and as such attempts have been totally fruitless, and gentle measures being deemed highly serviceable—the governor thought proper to call the Hottentoo captains, CUYPER, SCHACHER, and THOMAS, and they were informed that they must give up, or order to be given up to us such evil doers—that they must meanwhile remain in arrest, and should not be released until TROMPETER and HARTEBEEST, two of the worst of the robbers, were surrendered. They gave orders before the council for the apprehension of the two Hottentoos; and after receiving each a glass or two of arrack, willingly remained in arrest as hostages. The captains complain that the Hottentoos have much difficulty in procuring food, and that they are very hungry; to prevent depredations, and the more to dispose the people to give up cattle-stealers and robbers, it was resolved to employ such persons upon digging the ditch of the Company's fortification, paying them in rice and biscuit, and further to intimidate and deter their accomplices and other suspected rogues—to banish them to Robben Island for a term, to work there under our superintendence. The Bosjemans. 1678, April.

So commences the expeditions against the Bosjemans. It was, of course, impossible for the heavy Dutchman to catch the nimble-footed Bosjeman, even had he not had his steep, rocky, and to them inaccessible mountains to flee to for refuge. It was a curious proceeding, however, to hold the Goringhaiqua captains responsible for producing the Bosjeman robbers, for the Hottentots appear always to have suffered from Bosjeman depredations almost as much Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1678, April. Commentary.

as the Dutchman ; and we have already frequently seen that when Bosjemans were attached to the kraals of other tribes, it was only as their outlying pickets, and as spies,—that they had their own kraals quite distinct from the kraals of other tribes, and in situations where it was almost as difficult for members of the other tribes as for the Dutchman to reach them,—even if the Bosjemans had not been armed with bows and poisoned arrows. They had besides nothing tangible in the shape of cattle, sheep, or other property, for their enemies to operate on,—and were sure to leave their families in places least accessible to their enemies, whether Dutch or native. How Lieut. CRUSE caught or secured the six Souquas, whom he brought prisoners to the fort on the 26th of April, unfortunately does not appear.

For the manner in which four of the Hottentoos broke out of jail, and made their escape, see Hottentot Paper, (May) ; these were apparently four of Lieut. CRUSE's Bosjemans.

July.

It is rumoured that GONNEMA has caught two of the robbers who broke out of jail, and to show that he does not harbour such rogues, he had one of them, as being his own Souqua, instantly massacred and put to death—the other, being a Souqua of Captain CUYPER, had been sent to him that he might be dealt with in the same way, or be given up to the Company. If this be true it is somewhat remarkable in these savage Africans.

Commentary.

It may well be questioned whether GONNEMA could or would have treated a member of his own tribe in the same manner as he treated the poor Bosjemans, of whose conduct the Dutch had just cause of complaint. Governor BAX may well consider that it was remarkable to find a Hottentot chief, in the seventeenth century, delivering over to the chief of another

tribe, one of that chief's subjects, charged with an offence, that the offender might be dealt with as his own chief thought proper. Out of this simple incident we may, however, perceive how we should act under similar circumstances in the nineteenth century. The Bosjemans. 1678, July. Commentary.

Complaints increase daily of the thefts and robberies committed in the country by the rebellious Hottentoos who broke out of jail, and their accomplices. A gang of four of these yesterday assaulted, near Riet Valley, the son of one of our burgerraden, who was out shooting, bound him hand and foot, put a halter round his neck, beat him black and blue with their sticks, threatening to let him lie there until it was dark and then to kill him—which they would have done, for they left him there till near dark—but that he was unbound by a certain other Hottentoo, not one of their accomplices, who was passing that way, and who thus saved his life. August.

Here are curious and interesting circumstances. We trace clearly, through the proceedings of the Dutch government, that they were Bosjemans whom Lieut. Cruse apprehended—that it was those who broke out of jail—and that it was the jail-breakers and their accomplices who tied hand and foot the son of the burgerraad who was out shooting. The Bosjemans, having no tame live stock were necessarily more interested than the other tribes, in the preservation of the game which pastured on their lands, for on that they subsisted; and it is no wonder that they should have bound hand and foot an individual whom they found destroying their game; the wonder, indeed, is that they did not instantly put him to death—and, that they did not do so, after the Dutch had themselves proclaimed game laws so stringent, as to render it a penal offence on the part of the aborigines to kill game on their own lands, may be received in proof Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1678, August.

that the poor Bosjeman of the seventeenth century, was hardly a less merciful being than the European of the same period. We may now be pretty certain that the free hunters, who had gone into the country to shoot game, were killed, and had their wagons and oxen confiscated by the Bosjemans, and not by the Hottentots, although the latter were held responsible, by the Dutch, for that outrage.

Beyond all expectation five of the rebel plundering Hottentoos before mentioned, were brought to the fort late in the evening by Captains Cuyper and Thomas; they had discovered them somewhere in the interior, and caught them all, except one of the greatest villains, whom they had massacred; they begged that we would be pleased to take better care of them this time, and let them be punished, or otherwise given over to them to be put to death, according to the custom of the country. This is assuredly a mark of the fidelity of these savages, which ought not to pass without a reward. The said robbers were instantly thrown into prison, their hands and feet being secured in irons and handcuffs, so that we need not fear that they will escape. The captains solicited on the following day a good reward for catching the thieves, and that they may be still more stimulated to catch the five remaining vagabonds, and thus to clear the country of such mischievous scum—it was resolved in Council to give them a present to the value of *f*50, in rice, tobacco, beads, arrack, &c. The chiefs were also exhorted to get hold of the remaining vagabonds, alive or dead, in which latter event we would be satisfied with a mark *(teken)* of them—and as the outrages committed by the said Hottentoos and their accomplices for some time back, are a pest in the bosom of the colony, and to the ruin of the country, and deserve to be punished and extirpated in

an exemplary manner; it was understood that they should be given over to the fiscal, to be proceeded against in due form of law. The captains having received their presents, with which they were highly elated, were dismissed in the evening to their huts. The Bosjemans. 1678, August.

Resolution of Council.—Complaints being daily received of the robberies committed on the burgers in the country by the rebellious Hottentoos who broke out of prison some months ago, and their accomplices, without our having as yet been able to hit upon an expedient to check this mischief, for which purpose we have frequently summoned the captains of the nearest Hottentoos to concert with them the best mode of getting these robbers into our hands—a matter not easily practicable by us without their help; but as they have as often upon one or other specious pretext, put off complying with our desire, clearly out of fear that they will be disarmed as on the former occasion—It was therefore resolved, previously to adopting any measure tending to produce an actual rupture, once more to invite these savage Africans, in a friendly manner, to come hither; and to effect this with the greater formality, to depute two members of the council, who, in the event of the captains refusing to come, are also empowered to apprize them of our intentions, and to deliberate with them on the best and surest mode of getting these thieves into our hands.

The Court of Justice assembled on the 14th for the trial of the Hottentoos—when the culprits were, according to the sentence of the court, for their repeated crimes of violence and cattle-stealing, committed upon the persons and property of the Company and good inhabitants, condemned to be hanged upon a gallows until death ensues. It were much to be desired, and would be most praiseworthy, could all such September.

The Bosjemans. 1678, September.

villains be deterred from the commission of crime by this example. But the commission of crime is—God mend it—so implanted among many Christians, and so habitual to them, that the punishments, of which they have examples every day, are not sufficient to divert them from their evil courses, and to lead them to improvement, and this holds good independently of that class of criminals to be found in every country and in every quarter of the world that has yet been discovered, who are entirely incorrigible—and, with respect to their disposition, education, and conversation, appear to be more brute beasts than men.

Wrote to the overseer of Hottentoos Holland, that we had heard nothing certain of Captain Claas, and that, unless he was already on his way hither, an express must be sent to remind him that the Company is much in want of sheep, and that he must think of bringing us a good many, in restitution of those formerly given into his charge. Schacher having been summoned, by a mounted express, appeared at the castle, when the sentence pronounced against the Hottentoos, as being his dependants, *(subalternen)* was communicated to him, and his advice heard thereupon. He was perfectly satisfied therewith, and the sentence of death was this day, the 16th, at 10 o'clock, communicated to the delinquents, in the presence of their chiefs. To all outward appearance they cared very little about the matter, answering nothing further than "*dat's goed.*" It was discovered in the evening that the prisoners had again attempted to break out of prison, and had in a great measure accomplished their object; they had not only broken and got rid of their irons, but had already made a large hole in the wall, and wanted nothing but to remove a single stone, the outer one. This is a clear proof that although these savage men have not the slightest knowledge or con-

ception of the immortality of the soul, the considera- The Bosjemans. 1678, September.
tion which renders death very terrible to some, still they are taught to adopt every practicable means of preserving life. The sentence pronounced against the Hottentoos was carried into execution on the 17th, at the usual time and place, and was effected with due solemnity.

There cannot, I think, be the least doubt but that Commentary.
the men thus executed on the 17th, in conformity with the sentence passed upon them on the 14th, and explained to them on the 16th, in their prison-house, in presence of the chief whose dependants they were, belonged to the tribe of Bosjemans. Who will not admire the patient labour and dexterity with which, on a former occasion, they broke through a five-foot stone wall, and the courage and address with which they rushed through the castle gate, and effected their escape. They were a second time apprehended by the Hottentot chiefs Cuyper and Thomas, and a second time almost broke through their prison wall, every stone, except the outer one, having been removed. All this is surely worthy of mountain-robbers, in pursuit of that liberty which is so dear to them! And who will fail to appreciate the deliberation with which the Dutch authorities, even after the death of Governor Bax, entered on the trial of the Bosjemans? The apparent justice of the sentence will also be recognized. Also, the consultation held with the Hottentot chief Schacher, on the subject of the guilt of the criminals and of the sentence, before the Bosjemans were executed. The Hottentot chiefs and people in the neighbourhood of the Cape, are now fairly involved in supporting the Dutch in their operations against these mountain robbers.—Could these unhappy clans have foreseen that the extirpation of one tribe at the hands of the foreigner,

The Bosjémans. 1678, September. Commentary.

was only a sure forerunner of the extirpation of all—they would naturally have combined with their compatriots rather than with the foreign usurper. But such foresight and combination were hardly to be expected amongst chiefs and people in their degree of civilization. When I brought on record, in the First Part of this Head, the operations of the Dutch commando against the Bosjeman tribes on the Sneeuwberg, in 1774, I did not then know, (for I was only dealing with their operations against the Kaffers) that they had declared a war of extermination against that race in the neighbourhood of the Cape in 1678—and that they were assisted in their operations by the Hottentot chiefs and people. There is, of course, little hope for the poor Bosjeman mountain robber—for his hand, like that of the Arab, was almost necessarily against every man, and every man's hand necessarily against him.

1679, September.

Some licenced farmers who had been in the interior to shoot sea cows, returned to the fort, and reported that they had been robbed of their 24 wagon oxen, by some Souquas of the Obiqua tribe, who had further threatened that, if they did not return to the Cape, they would come and massacre them. That they were thus compelled to abandon their wagon and the flesh of the animals they had shot, and to make a precipitate retreat, as fully appears by the declarations passed by them; but it is much to be doubted whether the Hottentoos had not received some provocation before they resorted to such insolent and predatory conduct, and this must be further inquired into. (Nothing further, probably, Mr. Journalist, than that of shooting on their lands.) The party of five depose that they set out, with permission, on the 6th, having three wagons with them, and accompanied by two Hottentoos, intending to shoot hippopotami; on

reaching the Zonder-End River they were joined by four of Coopman's men, who left them at Breede River, without notice; they shot two hippopotami, about half a day's journey down that river, and were skinning them; the oxen, which were grazing 150 paces off, were driven away—the party followed them, but returned to their wagon during the night. Next morning eight or ten Hottentoos, belonging to a kraal of Souquas, which lay on the further bank of the river, showed themselves, and shouted to the attestors that if they did not go away forthwith they would kill them, adding, that the cattle had been driven up the mountain to the upper kraal, where there was also a party of Souquas. The party accordingly returned to the Cape, leaving their wagons and the flesh of the animals they had shot. The Bosjemans. 1679, September. October.

In order to inquire into the violent proceeding of the Obiqua Hottentoos, and to ascertain whether any provocation had been given to them, Captains Claas and Coopman, of the Soeswa tribe, were summoned to come to the Cape without delay. He came in twelve days with some of his officers of state, bringing with him 10 fine cattle, stating at length why Coopman could not make up his mind to come likewise; but that he himself would give satisfactory explanation touching the behaviour of the Obiquas. His people are said to have been in no small degree concerned; but Claas protested that he knew nothing of the matter—but that he had, notwithstanding, sent the 10 cattle as a present, to show his innocence. This gives us by no means so good an opinion of the African as he would endeavour to impress upon us, especially as we know the extent of his liberality. He was treated with a piece of tobacco and a *sopie*, and returned to his kraal. December.

We live on very good terms with all the aborigines

The Bosjemans. 1679, December.

who were pacified about three years ago. But another tribe, called Oeybiquas, or rather the Sunquas, who, as they possess no domestic stock, subsist chiefly by hunting and theft, have again, about four months ago, plundered some of these burgers who had gone far inland to shoot game, of 20 draught oxen, with hostile threats of attacking them unless they forthwith quitted the country, which they were compelled to do, leaving behind their wagons and other property. We have endeavoured to discover who was chiefly concerned in this daring act, and some of our Hottentoo allies have been suspected of being concerned in it, in the name of others, or at least with their previous concurrenee. As yet, however, we have been unable to get at the real truth. The Company has, indeed, little injury to expeet from them, as they lie at a considerable distance; but at the same time, this eireumstanee will render those tracts of country somewhat unsafe, and render our people hereabouts more circumspeet, teaching us at the same time, that these outcasts of savages *(schuym van brutale menschen)* are not to be trusted, even when they make a show of friendship.

1682, April.

But the fidelity of the natives is not much to be depended upon—not the principal chiefs and those subjeet to them—Gonomoa, for example, who too well remembers the war carried on with the Company; but the Souquas, a sort of Hottentoos, who subsist by plunder, and who have nothing to lose by war.

October.

"In the instructions issued on the 22nd October, it is further stated," Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, "that among the 30 Hottentoos who aeeompany the expedition to the Namaquas, is one universally ealled Captain Cees, and in their language, Couca, a eaptain of the Souquas; or, as commonly ealled by us, banditti, who we have indueed to aecompany you

as a guide; with him you will keep good friends, giving him now and then a bit of tobacco and a dram, for his greater encouragement, as you are not ignorant that this mode of treatment is the most efficient with these savage natives." In similar instructions for the expedition in the ensuing year, 1683, it is stated that as Captain COUCA and others had not interpreted faithfully, Captain CLAAS had been induced to send one of his Soeswas. The Bosjemans. 1682, October.

It appears, then, that the Captain CEES or COUCA, to whose keeping GONOMOA entrusted his herd of cattle in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay, was a Bosjeman, and not a Hottentot. In discussing the propriety, or otherwise, of the Dutch authorities, in taking the drove of cattle from a dependant of GONOMOA's, in revenge for the offences committed by him or his people against the colonists, I was not, of course, aware of this fact. In the Commentary on that proceeding, under the Hottentot Head, I drew a parallel between it and an analogous case, where the Gonomoas and the Namaquas came to blows, through a similar occurrence between those tribes, and in which, eventually, the Dutch took a part as umpires. The condition of the Bosjeman, in relation to the other tribes, begins now to be developed. We see in this case, that although they had no cattle of their own, probably, as in the case of the Bheels of India, because they preferred the occupation of hunters and robbers to that of attending to cattle, and that they lived in their mountain fastnesses for greater security —into which they were probably driven by the Kaffer or Hottentot conquerors of their plains—yet that one of their chiefs was entrusted with the charge of the cattle of a Hottentot chief; the probability indeed is, that it was a Bosjeman chief who was tending the cattle of the Hottentots when they were taken from him by the Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1682, October. Commentary.

chief of another tribe, in the instance discussed under the Hottentot Head. But however this may be, the Bosjeman tribes had a just cause of quarrel with the Dutch, when they took from Cees, Gonomoa's cattle; and it will be observed that their system of making reprisals commenced after the Dutch had committed that outrage against them.

1684, January.

Journal of Commander Van der Stell.—The report spread by a Hottentoo of Schacher's kraal, that the Obiquas had plundered the Gonomoa Hottentoos of all their cattle, was found to be not quite true; the Obiquas having only, according to the statement of some of the Gonomoas, carried off about 20 cattle, and killed their people; none of the Obiquas were killed. The Gonomoas stated that they would have now to take their revenge; so that they do not trust each other, but live wide apart.

Commentary.

Van der Stell appears to be surprised that the Gonomoa Hottentots should threaten to take their revenge on the Bosjemans for plundering thirty of their cattle, and killing three of their people; and at finding that these tribes do not live together, but wide apart. A clear proof that even at this late period of their rule over South Africa they knew but little of the condition of the native tribes, or of their relative position in matters which did not immediately concern themselves. It will have been observed through the whole history of the Bosjemans, in as far as Dutch records make it known to us, that parties of them were attached to the several tribes of Hottentots, and that they were principally used as guards around their encampments, and probably as scouts or spies, or as light troops in their feuds with that people; that they were used principally as guides or intelligencers by the Dutch we have already seen; a service for which they were probably better suited than the Hottentots, from

the comparatively restless and predatory lives which these diminutive mountain robbers were accustomed to lead. We, of course, find the Bheels of India serviceable in the same way. But the Bosjemans appear to be more faithful to one another than the Bheels, for they may be depended upon for leading parties of troops to point out the Hattes of their brethren in their hill or jungle fastnesses; whilst we constantly find the Bosjemans misleading the Dutch,—and on one occasion, in 1774-5, we have seen two of these devoted mountaineers submit to every species of torture, and eventually resign themselves to death itself, rather than point out to a commando the kraal in which their chief and his followers, with their wives and children, were secreted. The Bosjemans. 1684, January. Commentary.

Two free men from Stellenboseh, who, a few days ago, had gone out with two others and a farm servant, accompanied by two wagons and 16 oxen, to shoot each one sea cow, came, in their shooting excursion, to a place called the Moort Cuyl, (being the spot where the Gonomoa Hottentoos had, some years ago, murdered several of our people who had gone out for the same purpose,) and while busy skinning a sea cow which they had killed, their wagon being a little way off, in charge of some Gonomoa Hottentoos, some Hottentoos of the Obiqua tribe came and carried off their 16 oxen, destroyed their wagons, and wounded a Dutch servant with an assagai, so that he soon after died. This is a matter which requires revenge, more particularly as such acts have been before committed by that tribe. March.

This occurrence at the Moort Cuyl of the Dutch, where their people had before been killed by "that tribe," when killing sea-cows, shows plainly enough, although in this instance accompanied by Hottentots of Gonomoa, in whose charge they left their wagons Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1684, March. Commentary.

and oxen—that the Dutch were not safe from the sudden attack of the Bosjemans. The probability, of course, is, that these people armed themselves against the operations of the Dutch, in killing their hippopotami; whilst too, they had an eye on the two wagons and 16 oxen. The probability is that their hostility was against the Dutch, since nothing is said of their having attacked or killed any of the Hottentots. The Dutch servant whom they killed was probably at some distance from the four men who were skinning the hippopotamus, with their muskets by their side—and in this consisted their safety. The hippopotamus seems to have been the favorite food of the Bosjemans as well as of the Dutchmen. They had the means of killing it with their poisoned arrows, whilst the jungly situations in which it was likely to be found, would afford the Bosjemans almost as secure a retreat as their mountain fastnesses. In a proceeding of the Court of Justice, 1681, July 21st, the following case is recorded —"The veltwachter *versus* two Company's shepherds, to show how they came into possession of a quantity of salt smoked harts' flesh; plea—the animal was killed by a poisoned arrow, and it was better that they should use it than leave it to the wild beasts; fined 3 Rds. each for the veltwachter." He was, I conclude, the person to whom the privilege of killing game was granted by the Dutch, and had evidently an eye to his own interests in this matter. Had it been open to all to kill game and bring it to market, the supply would have been abundant at the Cape—for the hart was of course killed for the Dutch shepherd by a Bosjeman sparrow—his bow and arrow.

April.

Some Hottentoos came from Captain Claas, who went out some weeks since to barter; they stated that he had bought 197 horned cattle, with which he was on his way hither—but that the Obiquas had posted

themselves in the passage, with the view of taking the eattle;—it was accordingly resolved to send off the ensign and 15 men this evening, to escort that fine lot of eattle, and at the same time to look after *(gade te slaan)* those Obiqua robbers. They set off by night without tuck of drum. A resolution of the following day sets forth—That the commander having assembled the counsil, at which he was assisted by the two commanders of the fleet, which was then at the Cape,—His honor represented that about four months ago a conditional contract was entered into with the Hottentoo Captain, Claas, to purchase for the Hon. Company horned eattle from the more distant tribes, for tobacco, with which he was to be supplied. That in fulfilment of his contract, Claas had already brought 200 fine cattle from the interior; intelligence had now been received that the said chief was again on his way to the Cape with 197 fine eattle; that he had sent people in advance to see to the safety of the passes, and had discovered that the Obiqua tribe were in possession of them, that he had returned to his kraal. Seeing that the Obiquas are a tribe *(natie)* who live by robbery, and that they had lately, at Oliphant's River, attacked some burgers who had gone with permission to kill some sea cows, massacred one of the party, and carried off all their cattle; and since such things have been frequently committed against our people by the Obiquas, and are still unrevenged, as they live in unaccessible mountains; a favorable opportunity now offered of taking our just revenge; the commander proposed that it should be agreed upon, and it was resolved,—That it was absolutely necessary for the prevention of all further murders and public violences, to send the ensign and 20 soldiers to escort Claas and the Company's cattle, to unite themselves to the Soeswa tribe, and to watch for a favorable

The Bosjemans. 1684, April.

The Bosjemans. 1684, April.

opportunity of tempting the Obiquas to try to steal the eattle, then to reeeive them as deelared enemies of the Company, and so to handle them that they will not again forget it, trusting that if any of them are killed, or should fall into our hands, they will refrain from sueh proeeedings in future.

Journal eoptinued.—On the ninth day our ensign and party returned, aecompanied by Captain CLAAS, and bringing the 197 eattle, of whieh, aecording to his eontraet, he kept a portion of the cattle, equal to 20 per eent. He has thus, in two trips, proeured 397 head of eattle for *f*237. Very different this from the former expeditions. They had seen nothing of the Obiqua banditti, who had, apparently, returned to their hiding plaees, on seeing that the advanee of our party would frustrate their designs.

Commentary.

I thought it probable, latterly, that the Captain CLAAS, like Captain KEES, would turn out to be one of the Bosjeman tribe; but the proeeedings of the Duteh government, just brought on reeord, render it neeessary, for the present, to book him as belonging to the Soeswa tribe of Hottentots; *i.e.*, the Chainouquas, alias Saldaniers, alias Huneumquas of VAN RIEBEECK's time; who were ushered into the Cape eolony with sueh solemnity, under their King SOUSA alias CHOUQUE, whieh latter designation was then eonsidered to mean king; that I was led at that time to book the whole tribe as belonging to the veritable Kaffer raee. I was then, too, under the impression that that designation had belonged originally to that people. The utmost certainty now is, that it was given to them by the Duteh, and brought from the North-west Coast of Afriea when they were trading there in Guinea slaves. And I have heard, within the last few days, that in the Dutch language Kaffer means Constable. It is not, therefore, impossible that they

used their emancipated slaves as constables, and thus gave them that designation. But however this may be, we now find CLAAS united with the Soeswa tribe, and with the Dutch ensign and his twenty men at arms, to force the passes and bring his 197 head of cattle in safety to VAN DER STELL. The little Bosjemans, as was pretty certain, feared to face so formidable an array, and retired before it to their hiding places. It is a fair matter for speculation whether the Bosjemans were not the guardians of these mountain passes, and whether they were not entitled to a dug-toose, as it is called in India, or a toll in passing property in safety through these formidable obstructions. This presumption is strengthened when we consider that the herds of cattle which the Dutch at first brought from the interior under the safe conduct of the native tribes, passed securely into their possession —for then the Bosjemans were united with the other tribes in securing the general safety; now the relative position in which the several tribes stood to one another has been entirely destroyed by the rude hand of the foreigner—all is insecurity, and this will, of course, continue until the Bosjeman is himself destroyed or driven out of the country with the wild game.

The Bosjemans. 1684, April. Commentary.

In India the mountain passes were always secure as long as the rights or perquisites of the Bheels, or other guardians of the passes, were paid by merchants or travellers; or as long as the States, in whose territories those passes were situated, attended to the rights and interests of their guardians; but under other or opposite circumstances, all became insecure, and the tide of commerce was often turned into other channels. Even the British government, as the conservators of the peace of India, has, in some instances, thought proper to guarantee to mountain robbers the

The Bosjemans. 1674, April. Commentary.

perquisites of this kind to which they were entitled under former rulers. In other cases it has given the mountain robbers lands along the margin of their hills, and turned them from a predatory into an agricultural people; organizing, at the same time, portions of the robbers themselves into disciplined regiments, under British officers, or into a police; and in no instance, that I am aware of, has either of those courses failed to give entire security. But, unhappily, in the time of the Dutch such consideration for the rights and interests of the aborigines of South Africa was not to be expected; and even under British rule this system is not yet fully in operation.—*Sunday, February 2d.*

April.

Dispatch to the Chamber.—It is from the Souquas that we have to expect the greatest mischief towards the burgers; a people of this sort, called Obiquas, during last month, took the cattle of a party of burgers, who had gone inland to shoot sea-cows, and killed one of the party. This affair abundantly demands revenge, otherwise worse consequences may be looked for. These are a kind of men who live in the mountains, who maintain themselves entirely by robbery, and have nothing to lose by war; they do not hesitate upon a favorable opportunity to steal the cattle of their own nation, under whose dominion they live, and therefore the Captains are always looking out for opportunities for revenge.

1684,

The two men who were sent to Captain Claas, on the 20th ult., returned to the castle on the 3rd, reporting that they could not find the Captain there, and had understood from some of the Hottentoos that he had made war upon the Sonquas, commonly called Bosjemans, (term used for the first time,) and that he had in the fight killed a captain and seven others—so that he had now returned and fallen back on Cape Agulhas, and had encamped there.

Intelligence was received from two of the Soeswa tribe, that several Obiquas, with their captain, had gone to the Soeswas in November last, to buy some tobacco; that they were well feasted upon nine or ten sheep, and then, by order of Captain Claas, killed in revenge, because some of our people had been killed by the Obiquas some time before. The Bosjemans. 1684, December.

Here is proof enough that the Dutch had got hold of a very atrocious character in their friend and partisan, the Soeswa Captain Claas. Of this we might have been pretty sure before, had it been possible to decide to which tribe he belonged—for amongst the aborigines of South Africa, as among the more enlightened inhabitants of other countries, only persons of that character were likely to turn traitors to their own countrymen, and join the foreign tyrant and usurper. Indeed it may be fairly questioned whether amongst the more barbarous classes of mankind, this is not less likely to happen than amongst the more enlightened, for they are, perhaps, bound by more indissoluble ties—and have, certainly, less means of escaping from the punishment which belongs to their treachery.—*February 4th.* Commentary.

Extract from Van der Stell's Diary, and description of a Journey to Amaqualand.—Left Cape Town on the 25th of August. On the 29th we came to very high stony mountains, sometimes covered with snow, but inhabited notwithstanding by a tribe of Hottentoos called Obiquas, who maintain themselves by robbery, and stealing from the other Hottentoos, as they do not possess any cattle, or any thing on which to subsist, and thus seize the cattle of their neighbours. On the 31st to the Berg River, a spot called the Souqua's Ford. 1685,

On the 1st September we passed a good many huts, belonging to the banditti before mentioned, called September,

The Bosjemans. 1685, September.

Souquas, constructed in the same manner as those of the other Hottentoos, with this difference, that they are covered with branches and rushes, while the others are covered with mats. While we were employed in getting our baggage over the Berg River, we saw five savages *(wilden)*, who fled as soon as they perceived us; they were sent to, and stood until we came to them; we inquired, through the Cape Hottentoos, of what tribe they were; they said they were Souquas, and that they had come hither in search of an eland, which they had wounded with a poisoned arrow the day before, the poison usually killing on the day after the wound. They carry bows and arrows and assagais, have no cattle, and live upon honey and the game they shoot. Their skins were very rough and scurvy, owing to the great hunger they sometimes endure, and to the want of fat, with which to smear themselves. They were presented with a sheep, and although they had received no education, still they had the politeness to present his Honor, in return, with the skins of three bush-cats. They instantly cut the sheep's throat, skinned it, and cut off the shoulders. They did not allow any part to be lost except the four kernels which are in the buttock, these they cut out and threw away. Being asked why they did this, they said they never ate that part; they put the flesh under the ashes for half an hour, and then ate it, gnawing it like beasts. After much inquiry they admitted that they were among those who had some time ago taken the cattle of a Captain of the Amaquas, but said that they had been requested to do so by a captain of the said banditti; towards whose kraal they pointed, and where they said the cattle, excepting three cattle, which they had helped to consume, still were. We could not get to this kraal, as it was much out of our way.

They told us also, that we could get better information from the Grigriquas, who had been participators. The Bosjemans. 1685, September.

We left our encampment near Piketberg on the 5th, (so called, because at the time Mr. Goske was at war with the Gongemans, they set up pickets there, and made merry.) We came to a small kraal belonging to the Souquas, in which no one was found except the five still with us, the rest were out hunting. A rhinoceros of an incredible size rushed right into the midst of our train, with great fury, charging towards the commander's carriage, and leaving him scarce time to get out; he leaped out however and took aim at the animal with his blunderbuss; when the animal was within six paces, the gun missed fire, and the furious animal, which had been shot at, and apparently wounded, by one of the men, passed the commander, touching his body, and then rushed past the men with great swiftness; several who were on horseback, not knowing how to escape, flung themselves in great alarm from their horses, hurting themselves in several places. We called the place Rhenoster Rug; there the commander arranged the question as to the robbery of the Amaquas' cattle—the Souquas promising that on our return they would restore all the cattle they had stolen, and henceforth live in peace. On the 7th we passed several rivulets, rising in Piketberg, clayey soil, covered with abundance of grass and wild oats, and everywhere provided with good fire-wood and timber; an eland was shot on a large flat, weighing perhaps 1,000 lbs., and the place we called Eland's Flat. On the morning of the 8th the commander ascended the Kanarieberg, where were seen twelve fine valleys, which we left to the Eastward. On the 9th we passed along the Kleine Oliphants River, and came to a valley, which we called St. Martin's Valley; the hills were all sandy and stony

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ground, wild and desert—the valley with Fatherland reeds, very solitary and dismal. On the 11th we travelled through a steep rocky kloof, approaching the said sand hills; they were an entire wilderness; an elephant approached us, but fled in consequence of the great noise we made; we then passed through a marshy valley and encamped; while here another elephant approached us, on which the commander ordered the trumpet to be blown, and the drum to be beaten, of which he appeared to take some notice, for he passed on one side of our encampment, without doing any harm. We left our resting place on the following day, and called it Oliphants Valley; we next passed through a valley called Oliphants Jagt; it is covered with rhinoceroses-bosch—so called because the rhinoceros usually lies in it. On the 14th we passed the Dassenberg, so called from the great number of rock-rabbits, *(dassen.)* In the evening the commander shot a klipspringèr, resembling a Netherland rheebuck, but much smaller; also a hare, having a muzzle like a jackhal, and a tail like a fox, but of good flavour and white flesh. On Sunday, the 16th, whilst lying on the banks of the Oliphants River, we found that it was increased by a small river running N. N. W., and, as we understood from the Grigriquas, taking its rise out of the Hessequa mountains, to the S. S. E., and along its course, inhabited by the Souquas before mentioned; we found, upon inquiry and other information, that the Souquas are like our poor in Europe, watchmen; every tribe of Hottentoos has some of them, and they are employed to give warning when they discover any strange tribe. They do not plunder any thing whatever from the kraals in whose service they are—but from others, whether in war or in peace, for, as before mentioned, they have nothing but what they procure by theft.

The Oliphants River is so called from the great number of elephants often found on its banks—which are clothed with trees, a kind of what we call willows in Holland, and also thorns of unusual size, bearing fruit like Turkish beans, but altogether wild and ill-tasted. One of our men shot a hare, very like those of Europe, exeept the ears, which were as long as those of an ordinary ass. On the 19th we passed a flat, so thickly overgrown with wild oats, that we could not but fancy we were in a European corn-field; encamped near Baviaansberg, so called from the baboons that inhabit its ravines—clay soil, with plenty of water and fire-wood, plenty of quails, in plumage and size like those of Europe. The Hottentoos with us went to hunt there, placing themselves in a row, each having a *kirie*, or heavy walking-stiek, in his hand; they run along, and as soon as they start a quail they fling at it on the wing, with great eertainty of aim—in the same way they hunt partridges, hares, and all kinds of small game. On the 21st the eommander was informed that a kraal of the Grigriqua tribe lived here; three men were sent to invite them to eome to us, with their huts and eattle, but they had removed the evening before, fearing that we would take their cattle, beeause they had rebelled against their eaptains. They had been appointed by the Company, and had staves with eopper heads given to them, on whieh was engraved the Company's mark. The captains had taken away their cattle beeause they would not barter; that their flight was out of fear that we would take their eattle appeared from this:—Thirty of the Grigriquas came to us the same evening, with some sheep, to discover, as it seemed, whether any evil was designed towards them; and as every mark of friendship was shown, by presenting them with brandy and tobaeeo, they resolved the same evening

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to send some of the people to bring their wives, huts, and eattle. Latitude observed, 30. 56, long. 35. 15.

There does not appear any thing very interesting in Van der Stell's Journal, from the 25th of August to the 1st of September, exeept the renconntre and personal eonfliet of his honor with the rhinoeeros of "incredible size;" also the panic created in his ranks by the furious eharge of this huge foe, which, with his neighbour elephants, appear, all of a sudden, to have risen up against the Dutch—frightening them out of their propriety and saddles—for in descending from them through the, in horsemen, unseemly proeess of throwing themselves off, they appear to have sustained eonsiderable injury through bumps and bruises. The Hottentot mode, too, of killing quail and other game is curious. But, above all, it is interesting to find the little Bosjemans, inhabitants of the willowy banks of the Orange River, rejecting a portion of the sheep which was presented to them, because it was not usual with them to eat that portion, roasting the remainder under ashes—and, seated round their fires, gnawing it like beasts; their pursuit of the eland which they had, on the former day, wounded with a poisoned arrow, is a eurious incident—and it is important to find them the watchmen of the several kraals of Hottentots; they were the faithful guardians of those who employed and paid them; and the enemies of those who did not; being, at the same time, the outrunners for the diseovery of approaching danger—in all of which capaeities they tread elose upon the heels of the Bheel, Ramoose, and other aborigine tribes of India. We eome, however, to more important matter where we find the Grigriquas in rebellion against the eaptains whom the Dutch had put, with their copper-headed and engraven staves, to rule over them, because these eaptains had taken their eattle,

when they would not consent to the Dutch mode of barter. No wonder that the Grigriquas should have feared the approach of his honor the governor, with his formidable array of coach and horses, cars, wagons, and men at arms; and that it required a long palaver, and all the eloquence of the Dutch, to persuade them that no harm was intended, before they would bring their families, huts, and cattle to his honor's encampment.—*February 5th.* The Bosjemans. 1685, September. Commentary.

A portion of the kraal of the Grigriquas came, in the afternoon of the 22nd, and made a kraal, after which they soon brought to us their milk and some cattle for barter. The commander treated them in return with mutton, rice, and some brandy, with which they made merry the whole night. They requested us to halt one day more, promising to bring us cattle about noon, which they did. It was settled with the commander, after much exhortation and earnest advice, as they were a small tribe, as war among themselves was a bad thing, as the Hottentoos might thereby rob them of their cattle, that they should restore the cattle to their captain, and live together in peace. On the afternoon of the same day the commander visited their kraal, and found them, on his arrival, slaughtering a sheep, as a parting meal to one of their captains and masters, who was to accompany us. Another disagreeable account is given of the mode of slaughtering a sheep:—"The reason why they do not cut the throats of the cattle they slaughter, is to preserve the blood, which they collect, boil, and eat; indeed, when hungry, the skin also is boiled and eaten by them, so that of the whole sheep nothing is thrown away except the contents of the bowels. September.

There is room for some reflection on all this. There can be little doubt but that the dissensions among the Commentary.

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Grigriquas, which the commander of the Cape applied himself with so much earnestness to compose, arose out of his own measure of endeavouring to rule that people by their own chiefs, of his nomination, and out of the circumstance of those chiefs taking their cattle from them, because they would not barter them on the conditions prescribed by the Dutch, or by the captains of their nomination. The first measure was, of course, calculated to disorganize any tribe, barbarian, semi-barbarian, or civilized; and the second was only an extension of the practice which the Dutch government had carried out towards the native tribes in the neighbourhood of the Cape, and through which it appropriated to itself the property of its own colonial subjects. But the tribes at the distance of a month's journey from the Cape, were not sufficiently subdued to submit to such tyranny. Where did the Grigriquas get the vessels in which they boiled the blood and skins of their slaughtered cattle? Would wooden vessels answer for this purpose? But, whatever vessels they used, they had advanced sufficiently in the arts of life to boil instead of roasting their animal food. The Grigriquas were not, I conclude, a branch of the Bosjeman family, but in order to maintain unbroken the thread of the commander's narrative, the notice and commentary respecting them may as well be allowed to stand here.—*February 5th.*

September.

On the 27th we passed through a country which looks like a perfect wilderness, for to whatever side one turns, not a tree is to be seen; it is also uninhabited, except by Souquas, who wander through it and maintain themselves on game, and are employed by the Amaquas, to whom they are subject.

October.

While lying at the Doornbosch River, on the 2nd October, lat. 30. 5., long. 37. 39½., a fire was seen, and a sergeant and 10 Hottentoos who attended us,

was sent to see what it might betoken. He returned in about three hours with an Amaqua Souqua; he had seen fully 20 of these Souquas together, and a Hottentoo was sent forward to require them to come to us; they fled in great alarm as soon as they saw the Hottentoo, although called upon to stand; they left all their weapons, consisting of bows, arrows, and assagais. The sergeant instantly pursued, calling to his Hottentoos to secure one of them if possible. They pursued this man accordingly, and brought him with them. The commander received him well, and inquired why they fled, but he was in such alarm that for a long time he could not utter a word; he was therefore detained for the night. On the following day he was sent out with one of our Hottentoos and with tobacco, to offer to the others, as a mark of friendship. Three fires were then seen beyond the river, and our Hottentoos were sent out with bows, arrows, and assagais, to see who might be there. On ascending the mountain the five Souquas who were at the fire fled—but on calling to them that they would not be hurt, they stood still, and resolved to come to us; presently those who had first been sent out returned, bringing with them the remaining Souquas—all were very lean and emaciated in appearance, through the severe hunger and hardships which they endure—for they eat nothing but the bulbs of flowers, called by them uintjes, land tortoises, a large kind of catterpillar, and locusts, of which there are great numbers here. A sheep was killed for them and boiled with rice and bread; they ate this so ravenously that it seemed as if they would never be satisfied; some brandy was then given to them, on which they became merry; dancing, singing, and screaming in a very strange manner. They could be compared to a parcel of young calves just out of the cow-house. It

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was certainly, and according to their own admission, the only happy day they had enjoyed during their whole lives, lat. 29. 49., long. 37. 51. (Mr. Moodie says 17. 51.?) We called the place Keert Weder, because former travellers had turned back about this place, as the mountains before us are impassable; and besides, the road was unknown, and the tribes would not point it out. While marching on the 3rd, some of the Souquas, who had left us in the morning, rejoined us, with their wives and children. They were well entertained, and, therefore, sung and screamed no less than before. We halted on the 4th, because we had been informed by the Souquas that there were hereabouts some kraals of the Amaquas; four of our Hottentoos were sent to search for the kraals, with tobacco and pipes, to present to their chiefs—with an invitation to visit us. Towards evening some of the Amaquas came to us, among them a son of Captain Nouce, whose kraal they said was close by, and that there were five other kraals of different captains assembled further inland, who had announced an intention of attacking us, and taking our cattle as soon as we entered their country. The commander received them very kindly, and gave them brandy, tobacco, and food, on which they were employed the whole night. On the 5th the Amaquas returned to their kraals, and we lay awaiting the Hottentoos whom we had sent out. In the afternoon Captain Nouce came to us himself, having with him a great number of his attendants and many of their wives and children. He rode upon a pack ox, having with him 11 milch cows and an ox to carry his baggage. He went to the commander's tent and wished to present him with a sheep and a cup of milk. He was asked if he was disposed to barter, and replied that he had no cattle, and was a poor devil. He was told by the commander

that he might keep his sheep and milk; that our nation was of that way of thinking, that they would receive nothing from the poor, but rather give to them; the commander would treat him with sheep of his own. He was completely puzzled, not knowing what to do; he had immediately six sheep brought before the tent, to give them as a present, but they were also refused. He then begged the commander to receive them, saying, that he had cattle to barter in abundance, and that he was not one of those who had been disposed to make war, but adding at the same time that he was master here, and that the commander was master at the Cape—on which a show was instantly made of breaking up our encampment, threatening to march to his kraal, and to see who should be master, he or us. Upon this he was quite abashed, and began to speak with much more civility, saying the other captains had said so, but not he; he sent his son to the kraal to desire it to move and come towards us. The Bosjemans. 1685, October.

Here is matter for reflection! The Bosjemans stayed the advance of the governor, by telling him that there were Amaqua kraals hereabouts. Then "four of our Hottentots were sent with tobacco and pipes to present to the chiefs, on finding the kraals, and to invite them to come to us." Nouce, the chief of the Amaquas, sent his son in advance, to see which way the wind set, and whether the coast was clear; finding all right, and no mistake, he returned to his father—and on the afternoon of the following day the chief himself came, riding on an ox, having his eleven milch cows, and an ox to carry his baggage, in his train; he was accompanied by a great many of his attendants, having with them their wives and children. He went immediately to the commander's tent, carrying with him a sheep and a can of milk as a present. Commentary.

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Who in this does not see the Asiatic chief, or some other petty authority, carrying with him these things to propitiate the stronger chief? They are suspiciously and uncourteously received, more sheep and more milk are offered—but all the sheep and all the milk in Amaqualand would not have satisfied the Dutch governor—barter of cattle is demanded, and cattle-barter is proposed; and the declaration follows that "he, NOUCE, was a poor man, (a poor devil, his honor calls him); that he was not one of those who had been disposed to make war, although he was as much master in Amaqualand as the governor was in Capeland." A threat of attacking poor NOUCE is then made, and a demonstration of actual attack. Poor NOUCE is quite abashed, and began to speak to his honor with more civility, saying that the other captains, but not he, had said the word which was calculated to raise the ire of the Dutch. He sent his son, however, forthwith to his kraal, "to desire it to remove, and come to encamp by us,"—the meaning of which his honor doubtless very well understood. NOUCE and his people were, however, well entertained for the night, with which they were well contented, and displayed great good will towards us"—and here the first interview of the first governor of the Cape with the first Amaqua chief closes on the 5th of October. But the scene does not obviously belong to the Bosjeman paper, although, to give connection to VAN DER STELL's narrative, I shall put it all under one Head.—*February 5th.*

October.

The son of Captain NOUCE returned to us, alleging that the kraal to which he had gone, in order to fetch it, could not come, on account of the great swamps in the way, which was altogether at variance with his story the day before, when he said it was a very good road for us to travel with our cars and wagons; from

which we could perceive that he was projecting some mischief towards us, more particularly as he had received the former travellers with various indications of hostility. This man was commonly called JONKER; in all his proceedings he showed not the slightest respect for his father, who was obliged to be silent whenever he began to speak. The commander perceiving this, ordered him to hold his tongue, and let his father speak; on which he replied, that he and not his father was captain. The Bosjemans. 1685, October.

In consequence of this and other knaveries, which were perceived in him, the commander had him and another of the same kraal, whom they called RABE, also one of the principal ringleaders, (*belhamers,*) placed under arrest; and it was at once resolved, that next day the sergeant and 20 men should go to the kraal to ascertain whether they would come to us voluntarily, and in the event of refusal to compel them to come by force.

It was quite apparent at the close of the last Commentary that NOUCE's son was sent by his father, or went of his own accord, for a very different purpose to that of bringing the Amaqua kraal nearer to the Dutch governor's encampment; and, accordingly, we are not surprised to find that he now found swamps, or other intervening obstacles, although the road was described on the previous day to be clear enough for all the Dutch cars and wagons to advance by. The probability, however, is, that if they had then advanced they would have found the road barricaded, and the sturdy Amaquas in array with their assagais to guard the passes into their country. We do not yet know whether they had bows and arrows; and it is probable that like the Kaffers they used only javelins, and that they considered the bow and arrow suitable arms for only Commentary.

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the diminutive Bosjemans. The declaration of the son that he, and not his father, was the ruler, probably only meant that his father had abdicated in favor of the son; a custom which we know to have prevailed amongst the Kaffers at a much later period, if it does not still prevail. The principal ringleader, RABE, was probably only the minister of the minor chief, and this is the more probable since the old father did not speak in presence of the son, let the Dutch governor raise his voice to whatever pitch of violence he could or would. It would be curious to discover whether in Hottentot or Amaqua language "Jonker" meant "Regent," or "Rabe," minister—and this discovery would, probably, be made, could I lay my hands on the vocabulary of the Hottentot language, prepared in the Greek character by the German student, printed in Amsterdam in 16—, and sent by the directors to the governor of the Cape colony. But, however this may be, it was surely a most unwarrantable proceeding on the part of VAN DER STELL, to place JONKER and RABE under arrest, since they had come on his invitation, and on a friendly mission. The fate of the sergeant and twenty men at arms, who had gone to bring the whole of NOUCE's kraal to him by force, if they would not voluntarily come, yet remains to be seen. His honor's two field-pieces and formidable array of fire-arms will, probably, get him well out of the scrape, although at present he appears to be in a fix. The triumph of the Dutch over all the unarmed tribes of South Africa, is already known, but it is interesting to follow them through the details of their atrocities.—*February 6th.*

October.

The sergeant set out at day-break on Sunday the 7th, to seek the kraal, and returned with them in the afternoon; they were well provided with milch cows, but only tolerably with oxen and sheep. The ser-

geant reported that when he approached the kraal many took to flight; on which he told them, through our Hottentots, that no harm would befall them if they went with him willingly; taking possession of all their weapons in the mean time. They, seeing themselves overpowered, broke up their kraal and accompanied him; they asserted it to be quite true that the roads were entirely unfit for wagons and cars; and that they were obliged to unload several pack-oxen, upon which their baggage *(kraalgoed)* had been stowed. The commander had JONKER brought before him in his tent, and asked his reasons for directing the wrong road; he denied ever having done so; but his people, on the contrary, admitted it, and at once accused him of never having come to the kraals, in order to bring them, but said that he had given orders to make ready to go away; also, that he had sent people to the other kraals to dissuade them from coming to us, as he pretended that he knew well that we had no good designs towards them. Hence it clearly appears that he intended to mislead and detain us, so he was still kept fast with severe threats of punishment, and it was proposed to the people, that they should again acknowledge the father, and him alone, as their captain; they could not well comprehend us at first, but were at last compelled to do so by threats. The Bosjemans. 1685, October.

I did not, certainly, in closing the last Commentary, expect that the Dutch sergeant and his 20 men could have induced the members of the Amaqua kraal to accompany him to the Dutch governor. It is no wonder that they took flight as he approached, since the governor had so treacherously placed JONKER and RABE in arrest; no one will suppose, after their giving up their arms to this contemptible party of musketteers, that the Amaquas are descended from the Be- Commentary.

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douin Arabs, as Barrow supposes the Kaffers to be. They did so, and accompanied the sergeant only, in all probability, because the son of their chief and his minister were prisoners in the Dutch camp. It is pretty evident that there was a combination among the Amaquas to destroy the Dutch party, since the son of the chief warned his own and other kraals, to make ready to go away, (as his followers said,) but more probably to be prepared to advance and oppose the intruders, whom he knew to have no good designs towards his countrymen; and, since he wished to mislead, and most likely to overpower the Dutch in their advance into Amaqualand. All this may, in the opinion of the Dutch governor, have been sufficient reason for detaining the son of Nouce, with severe threats of punishment; many may think otherwise, and some may be led to wish that the Amaquas should triumph over the Dutch, in the approaching struggle for freedom against aggression.—*February 6th.*

October.

We were obliged to halt on Monday the 8th, as the Hottentoos whom we had sent out had not returned, and as we had appointed this place for them to rejoin us,—meanwhile Captain Nouce came with cattle, sheep, and milk to barter; he also sent out of his kraal to learn where the other captains staid so long, and at the same time to tell them that no harm was intended, and that they might therefore come to us without fear. On the 9th Captain Nouce came again with cattle and milk, to barter, and seemed to be in high good humour. Towards evening the Hottentoos whom we had sent out returned, bringing with them five captains, named Oedasoa, Haramoe, Otwa, Haby, and Nel, who welcomed the commander in their manner, expressing great joy at his arrival, particularly Captain Oedasoa, who frequently stroked the commander's person, patting him on

the shoulders, and pointing to his own breast, meaning thereby to show the good heart which he had towards us. As the captains were now assembled, the knaveries of JONKER and RABE were made known to them, and they were asked what punishment they deemed them to have deserved; upon which they consulted together for a long time, requesting at last that JONKER might for this time be pardoned, and saying that they would, in the presence of the commander, lay down for him a rule for his future conduct. This was acceded to at their request. They then told him that he should no longer bear the name of Captain, but should be contented to be a common soldier; also, that he should not again undertake any thing against the Company, and that he must acknowledge his father as captain, and pay him due respect; and should he transgress in any of those particulars, that they, the captains, would join together and punish him with death, without mercy; with all which he promised to comply, and he was then discharged. The Bosjemans. 1685, October.

Here is a scene for all those concerned in the welfare of aborigines in South Africa and in other parts of the world to study, and be governed by in their decisions as to the fitness or otherwise of man, in a state of semi-barbarism, for self-government, if only left to himself. The poor chief NOUCE brought sheep and milk a third time, to propitiate the governor—and seeing that his honor hungered after cattle, they also were this time brought. He sent messengers to tell the chiefs of the other kraals that no harm was intended to them, and that they might come without fear. He then went home himself, and the next morning returned with more cattle and more milk, in the hope of so far propitiating the governor as to obtain the release of his son. Then towards evening the Commentary.

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Hottentot messengers of the Dutch returned with the chiefs of other five kraals, who welcomed the governor on his arrival in the country, after their fashion, expressing great joy at his arrival, but whose principal object was doubtless to assist NOUCE in securing the release of his son JONKER. It is interesting to find their leader, OEDASOA, constantly stroking the commander's person, instead of his beard, for his honor probably had no beard, patting him on the shoulder, and pointing to his own breast at the same time, thereby meaning to show "the good heart which he had towards us." He turned a deaf ear to the knaveries of JONKER and RABE; let the Dutch governor debate on those knaveries with all the eloquence which belonged to his own language, or in the language of the Hottentots or Amaquas, (for it does not yet, that I see, appear whether these tribes spoke the same language, any further than that the Hottentots were the interpreters in the conference) when the assembled chiefs were asked by his honor what punishment they deemed JONKER and RABE to deserve, they do not appear to have taken any notice of the latter personage, but they requested that the son of their chief might, for this time, be pardoned; they proceeded in the presence of the commander to lay down rules for his future guidance, having first obtained the commander's sanction to their doing so. The rules are, that he should no longer have the name of captain; that he should be contented to be a common soldier, which was probably one of the most honorable occupations amongst the Amaquas; that he must never again undertake anything against the Company, but acknowledge his father as captain, and pay him due respect; should he transgress in any of these particulars, they were to combine to punish him with death, and without mercy. With all these conditions JON-

KER promised to comply, and he was then discharged. This was surely a good scene to get up before the governor! When the chiefs left the tent—rejoicing in the release of the young chief—OEDASOA most certainly patted him on the shoulder, pointed to his heart, and implored him to be for the future, as he had been heretofore, a brave defender of their mutual country. It does not appear whether the young Hotspur's sire was present at the conference of the other chiefs with his honor the Dutch governor.—*February 6th.* The Bosjemans. 1685, October. Commentary.

We still halted on the 10th, in order to interrogate the captains concerning their country, and their customs, and at once to fix the place where they should come to us with their kraals, in order to barter cattle, and also to make a further contract of peace with them; they appointed a spot for the purpose and promised to accompany us thither. The second prisoner, RABE, they had also brought before them, and after having examined him a long time, they condemned him to be flogged on the buttocks, and should he resume such evil designs, they would punish him as they had stated in the case of JONKER. By many entreaties of others he was, however, excused from the punishment to which he was condemned, under a promise of better conduct. He then presented those who had interceded for him with a fine milch cow, as a mark of gratitude. The commander had the captains and their wives well entertained with food, strong drink and tobacco, in order to attach them to us more and more, after which treatment it could be plainly perceived that they began to be more unreserved in their answers to any thing asked of them, particularly when they saw that no harm was intended towards them. October.

The fact of RABE's having been sentenced to flagellation, by the assembled Amaqua chiefs, on the Commentary.

The Bosjèmans. 1685, October. Commentary.

charges which the governor exhibited against him, is pretty good proof that he was a person of no great rank or importance among them, for there was no symptom of harshness, or of degrading punishment during the trial of JONKER, on the previous day. The probability is, that RABE was some upstart instrument in the hands of the young chief. It does not appear at whose intercession RABE was spared the infliction of this degrading punishment, or to whom he presented the fine milch cow as a token of his gratitude; neither does it appear whether NOUCE and his son were present at the trial of RABE, for the Dutch of that period were little likely to notice, in their intercourse with the native tribes, anything that did not immediately concern their own interests, or to enlighten us on the subject of the manners and institutions of the aboriginal tribes; things in the present day, of far deeper interest than these negotiations or proceedings of the Europeans, although those negotiations and proceedings produced, so rapidly, the breaking up, and the final extirpation of the clans.—*February 7th.*

October.

The Amaquas told us that the last rainy season ("monsoon") is the only time that this country has been moistened for the last four years; we had but a moderate supply of grass and water; our fuel was thorn trees, found along a small stream lat. 29. 32. long. 37. 49. We encamped two days after this, on the 13th, upon an open flat, with plenty of water, grass, and fuel; in the evening three kraals came and encamped on the other side of the river, to barter to us some cattle and milk. We lay here Monday, the 14th, to treat with the Amaquas—our negotiations terminated well, in stipulations to the purport following:—That we should ever live together in good and profitable peace; that the Amaquas should no longer

make war upon each other, and if they once transgressed against the stipulation, the Company, whom they deemed to have the right, should be held bound to assist; also, that the commander should warn the Cape Hottentoos, (the Goringhaiquas?) Hassequas, Grigriquas, and others who lived under the dominion of the Company, that this peace had been concluded, and prohibit them from any hostile attempts upon them—in order that they might come free and unmolested to trade with the Company. The Bosjemans. 1685, October.

It appears from all this that three kraals of the Amaquas followed the Duteh from the 10th to the 13th October, after the settlement of the questions relating to JONKER and RABE—and that they then encamped on the opposite side of a river to barter cattle and milk with the Duteh. The negotiations of the Duteh, with the Amaquas, of the following day, are considered by his honor the governor to have terminated well—that is, that the parties should live with the Duteh in a good and profitable peace—the meaning of which, of course, is—that the Amaquas should furnish the Duteh with plenty of long-horned cattle—for that is the only commodity which the greedy European had yet discovered to excite his cupidity in their country. The next stipulation is that they should no longer make war upon each other—and this after the European had appointed—first, chiefs of the tribe to rule over them, and, secondly, after he had disturbed the internal arrangement which he found subsisting among them, in the abdication of NOUCE, in favor of his son JONKER, with RABE, as the minister, or guardian of the minor chief. Then follows the assumption that the Duteh, who ruled over a small tract of territory on the very southernmost point of Africa, had the right to prevent the Amagakabi, the Hassequas, and the Grigriquas, who are all as- Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1685, October. Commentary.

sumed to live under the dominion of the Company, from making war on the Amaquas, who lived in the latitude of 29° 32—and all this in order that the last named tribe might come, free and unmolested, to the Cape, to trade with the Company, passing through the territories of the intervening tribes, neither with their leave, nor by their leave. But it has always been thus, and is thus still. The European has the presumption to suppose that he only understands how to rule. He would smash to pieces all the institutions and usages of the aborigines, and give them those of his own country, from Cape Town to the Nile, without considering that if those institutions or usages were applicable to, or could be adopted by men in a state of semi-barbarism, he has not now, and never can have, the instruments through which to force them on the aborigines, or by which to govern them in any thing like the degree of prosperity and happiness in which they were governed under their own institutions and usages.—*February 7th.*

October.

As to the copper mountain, no contract was made with them, because we did not yet know how it was situated with respect to our search for a bay. This point was therefore postponed until further examination. The Captain Oedasoa is the chief to whom the copper mine belongs of right, and he was to conduct us to it, and to point out every thing minutely. The Amaquas have a gum which exudes from the trees, and also a glittering sand which we consider metallic. They declared unanimously, the captains as well as the common people, that they brought it from a river, called by them Tiger. This river, according to them, Tiger, is very deep towards the sea, and runs rapidly; one might travel to it in ten days from the copper mountain, and it lies, according to our calculation, in the same latitude as the river Vigeti

Magna, or Angra dos Voltas. It is inhabited to the sea by the Amaquas; they stated it to be impossible for us to reach it with our wagons;—into this we shall inquire further after having made a proof of our mineral. Three volleys were fired on the 14th, after the discharge of a cannon, in compliment to the commander, as it was his birth day. The Amaquas hearing this came to compliment him with music. Their instruments were long hollow reeds, upon which each could blow a different note, producing a loud and deep harmony like the sound of an organ. They stood in a circle, full 20 in number, having one in the centre with a long thin stick in his hand; he sung the first part and beat time, according to which they all played with accuracy; they kept all in a circle holding one hand to the ear, while they held their reed to the mouth with the other. Around the players were men and women, who danced to the music, swelling it by clapping their hands; and, considering that they were savages, all passed off with much propriety. The dance continued the whole day—meanwhile the commander had an ox slaughtered, to entertain the captains, musicians, and dancers. They enjoyed themselves still more, and then departed to their kraal. They bartered to us this day cattle of various kinds, and towards evening another kraal came to encamp near us, who, as those who were already with us, brought their milk to exchange to us for tobacco.

The Bosjemans. 1685, October.

Van der Stell in search of the copper mountain, of silver or gold, or other things, is certainly more in his own proper province than when he was dealing in politics. Whether Oedasoa, in whose territory the mountain was, or is, will be simple enough to show it to the Dutch, yet remains to be seen. To the search after the mountain, and the circumstance of the 14th of October, being the commander's birth-

Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1685, October. Commentary.

day, we are, however, indebted for the account of the Amaqua chiefs having come with their band of music to compliment his honor. Who would not rather have seen the twenty Amaquas, standing up in a circle with their long hollow reeds, each blowing a different note, producing a loud and deep harmony, like the sound of an organ, the leader of the band, with his long thin stick, standing in the centre, singing and beating time, according to which all played with accuracy, than have witnessed all the prior and posterior discord produced by the Dutchmen in South Africa? To complete the scene, the men and women dancing around the musicians, swelling the music by clapping of hands. This would be almost too much to believe, Mynheer Van der Stell, did we not know that the natives of Africa were famed for their musical talents, —until the European tyranny and oppression almost drove all harmony out of the land. The merry scene appears to have led the poor Amaquas to barter plenty cattle that day; and another kraal of Amaquas to close up and encamp near them to see whether it was merriment or war that was meant.—*February 7th.*

October.

On the 15th we halted to see whether the kraal which had come last would barter any thing more; meanwhile another kraal came up and sold us some cattle; and towards evening the Amaqua captains came again, followed by their musicians, to take leave of the commander. The two captains, Oedasoa and Haby, resolved to accompany us and show us every thing, and the commander gave them three sheep and some bottles of arrack; on which they, the musicians, and the whole kraal feasted the whole night.

On the 16th our stuurman ascended a high mountain, and saw the sea 12 mylen distant; the river had very good water, and we halted because the Amaqua captain told us that if we went further we should

neither find grass nor water, and that the road was full of loose stones—lat. 39. 19., long. 37. 56. The mountains were covered in some parts with two kinds of aloes—some had thick and pretty high stems, and a coronet of many branches at the top; others were clothed with leaves from the ground upwards, and 7 or 8 feet high without a branch; there were also cypress trees. On Sunday, the 21st, came to a very large and high mountain, being a rough rock, and having, as the Amaquas said, a good spring of water at the top; left this to our right, went on E. and E. N. E. until before a kloof, which we entered, and arrived at the place of our destination, the copper mountains. The Bosjemans. 1685, October.

We were from the 22nd to the 4th November digging for ore, in different places, and seeking for wood to make charcoal. On the 6th we arrived at our rest place of the 18th October, and found the Sand River, called Touse by the Amaquas, entirely dried up. On the 8th we were travelling towards the sea. The Amaqua captains who were still with us began to be unwilling to go further, or show us the way, particularly Oedasoa and one Nouce (an Amaqua who had fled to the Cape Hottentoos because he had made war against the Amaquas, and who hearing we were going thither, had offered to show the way to the Amaqua country) until now he had been faithful and behaved well, but now he was entirely swayed by Oedasoa, and also showed much reluctance, and endeavoured to direct us from our purpose by falsehoods; the commander seeing this resolved to secure them, asking why they availed themselves of so many lies and evasions, and why they would not guide us further. They answered that this was not the way to the sea, and that it made their heads ache to say any thing more—so that whatever was asked they would November.

The Bosjemans. 1685, November.

not answer a word, and remained for the evening entirely mute. On the 9th Captain Haby, who was indisposed, was permitted to return to his kraal, but the other two, who were merely sulky, were retained. Copper beads, tobaeeo, pipes, and other things which were eonsidered rarities by Captain Haby, were given to him in parting, with similar presents for the absent chiefs of the tribe; meanwhile the two persons began to show their knavery, and told us that they would show us the right way to the sea; and that the sergeant's road was not fit for our purpose. The eommander believed this, as they added many plausible arguments; and we shaped our eourse aeeording to their direetions. This led us to a high mountain where some Hottentoos eame to us, which led us to believe that some kraals must lie hereabouts. We found on the 10th the kraals which we had left on the 14th of the previous month still at the same place; towards evening all the captains joined us, and the commander detailed to them the miseonduct of Oedasoa and Nouce, whieh mueh surprized them. They immediately called Oedasoa before them, asking him what reason he had for attempting such roguery, and that against him who had reeeived them so well at the Cape, and who had at their departure presented them with various curiosities; they asked whether he was not one of those who would give cause of war with the Dutch, adding that it was better to put him, Oedasoa, to death, than that they should, through him, be redueed to sueh ineonvenienee; they offered him at once to the eommander, with a request that he might be punished as he deserved—and that if the commander would not do so then they would kill him. Upon this the eommander requested that they would forgive him this time, which they did, after having severely admonished

him. The other, namely NOUCE, they called before them, and Capt. ATIVA, without hearing him speak, made him pull off his kaross, and gave him a severe beating with a stiek on his bare body, asking if the eommander was satisfied? we answered in the affirmative. The ehiefs were then presented with brandy, and departed altogether to their kraal. The Bosjemans. 1685, November.

This is indeed a rich seene. The Dutehman sets out to follow the road which his sergeant had found out the day before, and whieh was to lead him to the sea-shore. The Chief HABY must have had some reason for supposing that all would not end well, for here he "parted with us;" meanwhile the two chiefs, whom the Dutehman had made prisoners a few days before, on aeeount, I think, of some road question, "began to show their knavery," saying that they would show the Dutch the way to the sea,—for that the sergeant's way was a good-for-nothing way. They used "sueh plausible arguments" to prove that their way was better than the sergeant's way, that the Dutchman was induced to take their way. The Amaqua way led him to a high mountain where some Hottentots eame to him, whieh led him to suppose that some kraals must lie hereabouts; proeeeding S. S. E. he was obliged to halt on a small stream, as he perceived that he was within a quarter of an hour's walk of where he eneamped on the 10th of the previous month; and that the kraals which he left there were there still. Towards evening all the chiefs joined the Dutchman, and he began to vociferate touching the heinous conduet of two of their brethren; they held a mock trial: reproached the one for behaving with such ingratitude towards a being of so superior a kind, who had made them drunk with brandy and stupid with tobacco in his castle at the Cape of Good Hope; they then asked whether the eriminal at their bar was Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1685, November. Commentary.

one of those who would involve them in all the sweets and sours of a war with the Dutchmen?—adding that it was better that he, the prisoner at their bar, should at once be put to death, and protesting that they would at once give him up to be killed and eaten; adding, if the commander would not serve him in this manner, that they would do so themselves. The Dutchman had no relish for this proceeding. The Netherlander was melted into tenderness by such filial proceedings on the part of his adopted children of Amaqualand, begged that this—the most beloved among them—might not be killed and eaten this time. So instead of killing and eating their brother Oedasoa, they lectured him well in the very presence of their new lord and master, who had condescended to leave his castle of the Cape of Good Hope, and from the latitude of 34°, to pay his new country of the Amaquas a visitation in latitude 30°—so ended this scene. Then they called brother Nouce before them; and, recollecting that the Dutchman had a bit of a quarrel with poor Nouce before, very near the same spot, because he, Nouce, would abdicate in favor of his dearly-beloved and well-trusted son Jonker; they made poor Nouce at once drop his sheepskin, and captain Ativa, without even hearing what Nouce had to say in his defence, pitched into his bare back with a big stick, asking the Dutchman at the same time if that pleased him. He sweetly smiled assent, and primed the assembled chiefs with his brandy and tobacco—great omens to kraals—and the curtain drops in the Dutchman's face, but without removing the film from his eyes.—*February 8th.*

November.

Lay here on the 11th, that we might have further conversation with the captains; meanwhile some came with milk to barter. Set out at 6 on the following morning, proceeding directly towards our encamping

ground of the 14th of October. While on our way the before-mentioned captains came to meet us, each presenting the commander with a cow; meanwhile we perceived that all the kraal-people were in motion, and making demonstrations as if they meant to fight with us; upon which the commander instantly formed a *wagenburg*, and levelled our two field-pieces, before which they sat down, in whole troops, thus showing their ignorance of the power of artillery. The captains were however much alarmed at our levelling our guns, not knowing what it might mean. After all the matter was examined into, it appeared that a Hottentoo came running into the kraal, saying that we would take from them all their cattle, which expressions had thus alarmed them. Perceiving at last that we entertained no evil designs against them, they came immediately to us and requested that we would stay there that day, as they intended to barter to us some cattle and milk; we stayed accordingly. In the evening the commander gave to each captain a bottle of arrack, upon which the kraals made merry the whole night through, and had at once a good opinion of us. The Bosjemans. 1685, November.

Although Mynheer Van der Stell appears almost purposely, throughout his long and tedious diary, to take almost especial care to afford us as little information as possible regarding the native tribes, their institutions, and customs, except in such matters as related to his own pottering affairs, his search after copper, and after long-horned cattle,—still even out of this search arise so many interesting incidents that my commentaries are, I fear, getting as thick as blackberries. The Hottentot who came running into their kraal, saying that we would take all their cattle, was, of course, an enemy of the Dutch, and probably a friend of the Amaquas, whose cattle, with the cattle Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1685, November. Commentary.

of his kraal, had been taken in one of the wholesale robberies of the Dutch themselves—or they may have been more insidiously taken for the benefit of the Dutch through tobacco or bead-barter, by one of those chiefs or partisans of the Dutchman, whom he had latterly, for his own interested and avaricious purposes appointed to rule over, and to disorganize the kraals. No wonder then that on hearing what others could say from their own experience, and on seeing the approach of the Dutch governor, his field-pieces and men at arms, Nouce's kraal should have flown to arms, especially as Nouce himself, at the intercession and through the decision of the other chiefs, had only just been released from the protracted confinement in which his honor so unjustifiably held him. The Amaquas, he says, sat down in whole troops in front of his two field-pieces, which he had drawn up behind his *wagenburg*, or barricade of wagons, and other things. The chiefs, however, became alarmed, as the crisis approached, at our levelling the guns; and to this fortunate or unfortunate incident the governor and his whole party doubtless owed their safety—else each would have been, before he could have said Jack Robinson, transfixed with an assagai, as each deserved to be, or as the governor, at all events, deserved to be—for this unprincipled aggression into the country of the Namaquas. It was fortunate for the Dutch that no leader like Makanna, among the Kaffers, presented himself to lead the Amaquas to the charge of the artillery—else they too would have, doubtless, broken off the wooden part of the assagai and charged up to the muzzle of the field-pieces—for the Dutch governor's array was not one thousandth part so formidable in Amaqualand, as Sir Thomas Willshire's array at Graham's Town, in 1820, or as General Van de Leur's array, near Algoa

Bay, in 1797. But we do not know sufficient of the Amaquas of that day to determine whether they were as fine a race of men as those whom it has pleased Europeans to call Kaffers, were in those days, and as we know them still to be. Such a check as I have been contemplating, would have, for a time at all events, stayed the atrocious proceedings of the Dutch in South Africa—would have saved their national honor from much of the odium which must be considered by other European nations to attach to it, in connection with that country and its unhappy natives. We have just seen, at Graham's Town, the Proclamation which MOSHESH has issued, warning the Dutch Emigrant farmers to quit his country—and that when they collected 400 musketeers, for the defence of their farms and property, MOSHESH was able to turn out an equal number of men with the same arms. The Dutch then appear to have taken alarm, to have retired into ADAM KOK'S country, and the Griquas have commenced furbishing up their old muskets, to sharpen their flints, and to keep their powder dry. If this system be followed up by the native tribes there can be no doubt but that the intruders will very soon be forced to repass the colonial border—or that they will be sacrificed—and it matters little what befals the men, if women and children are only as safe amongst the tribes to the North and East, as they would be amongst our friends and allies, the Kaffers. We shall, probably, very soon hear of a combination amongst the native tribes—the Zoolas, Mashalikats, and Moshesh, with the Griquas—to expel the Dutch farmers who have gone into their country to occupy their lands against their will, and to create anarchy where everything was peace and order before they went there; or, if there were wars and troubles, the British government was not responsible for what might hap-

The Bosjemans. 1685, November.

The Bosjemans. 1685, November. Commentary.

pen, and those wars and troubles would very soon have ceased, as they must have ceased through all time, by internal negotiation and arrangement. But if, contrary to what at present promises so well, the native tribes should fail, either individually, or through combination, to expel the British subjects; then the British government, which has already been appealed to, must either through peaceable means or by force expel its subjects from their country; as France must presently withdraw her people from Tahiti, unless she means, in the teeth of the other European powers, to hurl Queen POMARE from her throne, and to establish her own dominion over the island.

Graham's Town, February 9th.

November.

The following day, the 13th, we reached the place where we had rested on the 4th of October, and the sergeant was sent with the Stuurman to survey a road which the Hottentoos said would lead us to the sea;—they found a good road and the sea within four mylen of us—also a resting place with grass, water, and wood. Four of the bartered cattle had run back in the night, and the Hottentoos were sent to the kraals after them. On arriving there Capt. OEDASOA asked them why the commander had not sent four of the Dutch with them, when he should have broken their necks; Capt. ATIVA and he got into such high words about his using these expressions that they beat each other with sticks; the others instantly sought the cattle, and sent them to us by some Amaquas, to whom the commander gave for each captain, with the exception of OEDASOA, some tobacco as a mark of thankfulness.

It is curious to find the Hottentots, who returned to the Amaqua kraal in search of the four cattle that had run back during the night, well received by that people, although they must have considered the Hotten-

tots the allies or partisans of the Dutch, and seen that through their instrumentality the foreigner was enabled to reach their country. It is probable that four Dutchmen were the number which the governor usually sent on his foraging expeditions, and it is fully certain that had four men accompanied the Hottentots, on that occasion, they would have had their necks broken—since Oedasoa appears disappointed that they were not there to be served in that fashion. It does not appear who the Captain Ativa of the Dutch was, but the probability is that he was either one of their Hottentot allies or a renegade Amaqua—since he espouses the cause of the Dutch so warmly as to come to blows with Oedasoa for speaking disrespectfully of his friends, and since he was the man who only seven days before belabored poor Nouce with a stick for his offence against the Dutchman. Had the Dutch been in India instead of South Africa they would certainly have had poured out against them, by the party which went out in search of their four stray cattle—every opprobrious epithet which the language afforded—and had they been Hindoos or Mahomedans, instead of Amaquas who went to the Dutch camp to deliver over the cattle, this would have extended to their mothers, daughters, and wives—but their swords would have been drawn, and the Dutch governor's head would have been rolled under his carriage and horses. The Dutch governor, however, very well knew that he was dealing with neither Mahommedans nor Hindoos, and bullied and blustered accordingly.—*Sunday, February 9th.*

The Bosjemans. 1685, November. Commentary.

Journal continued to the 22nd.—The river called by the Hottentoos Eyn, and by us Vigiti Magna, where very large trees were found, certainly does not lie far off, because we found among the Amaquas several of the Hottentoos who are called Kamisons,

November.

The Bosjemans. 1685, November.

who reside on that river; we interrogated them on the subject, but they would give us no information whatever.

December.

On Saturday, the 8th December, we came to a small river called by the Souquas Touse; we saw five Souquas, and caught one. The river he said was so named from two buffaloes which they found there, and should therefore be named Buffaloe River. On the 9th we returned to the same place on the river, where a small kraal had lain of the same tribe to whom this Souqua belonged. On the 11th we prepared to set out for the Cape, lat. 28. 25, long. 37. 6. The commander sounded the Souqua, who now said he was no Souqua at all, but one of the tribe called Kamisons. After having conversed with him a long time the commander resolved to take him to the Cape, that he might be of use on some future occasion, as he was acquainted with all the country in this quarter. On Tuesday, the 18th, a sergeant and some Hottentoos were sent to see what was the state of the country at Doornboseh River. About noon two Souquas came to the vicinity of our camp; they admitted that they meant to kill one or two men if they could have surrounded them, and to drive off some cattle. Some people were sent out to make prisoners of them, quietly if possible, but in case of resistance, to treat them as enemies are usually treated. The people in coming to the spot saw eight Souquas, of whom five fled, two of the other three, perceiving that they were surrounded, voluntarily surrendered themselves; the third resisted, and was therefore fired upon, wounded in the leg, and was thus brought to the commander; they confessed, after a long examination, that they and all the Souquas belonging to the Amaquas were sent hither to do us as much mischief as they possibly could, and they as well as the Kamison were kept in

custody. About 9 P.M. the sergeant returned, having found good water in pools in the Doornbosch River, also abundant grass and fire-wood; he brought also two wives of the Souquas who were kept with the other prisoners. The Bosjemans. 1685, December.

What atrocities you report in your proceedings in these few days, Myuheer VAN DER STELL! You find among the Amaquas several of the people whom you call Kamisons, who reside on the river which you call Vigiti Magna, interrogate them regarding the river, but they would, very wisely, give you no information whatever respecting it or their country, a high offence and misdemeanour apparently in your estimation, and you would doubtless have carried with you to the Cape some of these Kamisons, had you not feared that their friends, the Amaquas, would have punished your offence, and avenged the cause of their brethren. Then one of your exploring parties of Dutchmen and Hottentots saw five unoffending Souquas, whom they hunted down like wild beasts, caught one of them, and him you resolve to carry to the Cape, that he might be of use to you on some future occasion. Then two Souquas came to your own camp, apparently with the intention, for this they admitted, of doing you mischief, you send out people with orders to catch them quietly, if they would be quietly caught, but if they would not, to treat them as enemies are ususlly treated. In their search after these two unfortunate men, your people saw eight other Souquas, of whom five were nimble enough, like Bosjemans in general, to evade the search after them—two out of the other three finding themselves surrounded, voluntarily surrendered, the third resisted, was shot in the leg, and brought to you. It is interesting to find these Bosjemans confessing that they and all their brethren belonging to the Amaquas Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1685, December. Commentary.

were sent after you to do you all the injury they possibly could—then on the evening of the same day on which you had wounded one Souqua and made prisoners of two others of that unhappy race of men—happy until you and your countrymen came among them,—your exploring party returns bringing two wives of the Souquas, and they were kept prisoners, with the Kamison and the three Bosjemans. It is a fortunate circumstance that water was so scarce in lat. 30. on the West Coast of Africa, and that there was nothing in the land or in the water to tempt your cupidity, else there is no saying what further mischief you might have done before your return to the Cape. But then the probability is that your atrocious proceedings would have raised up so hostile a spirit amongst the native tribes, that neither yourself, nor any of your party, would have seen the Cape of Good Hope any more.—*February 10th.*

December.

On Tuesday, the 20th, we went along the Doornbosch River, which, like all the other rivers we had passed, was, near the sea, destitute of wood; while, higher up, the rivers were closely set with *doorns*. The sergeant found on the 21st a large sandy bay into which the sea broke with fury, and which would be daily enlarged, as we could observe that the sea daily encroached on the land. On the 26th we reached the track of Ensign Berg, and late in the evening the Modderkuil River, which had a fine supply of water; rested here to let the cattle drink by turns, as there was not enough for the whole number. We followed the sergeant with our train, and reached Meerhoff's kraal about noon; where, in consequence of the great heat of the day, we outspanned to let our cattle drink what little water was to be found in the spring. Taking the other cattle we reached the first modderkuil at sun set; it had a tolerable supply of

water, but stinking, and not the sixth part of what our cattle needed, but the cattle were allowed to drink, each in proportion, as much as possible. The roads, which on our outward journey had been so marshy, were now entirely without water, and dried up as hard—as bricks. The commander ordered the pools to be dug out and cleaned, while the cattle were sent to other pools; and in the evening we sent all the cattle, except one team for each wagon and car, to—not the devil—but Oliphants River. Our sheep were sent with a corporal and two men to Oliphants River, and at noon we again gave some water to our cattle out of a small wooden dish; at Hooge Kraal we found some cattle which had been left behind by the sergeant, and the commander gave them all the water we had in wine bottles, and about one in the morning of Saturday, the 29th, we arrived at the Bakkeley Plaats, on the Oliphants River, where we found ——— the cattle and sheep we had sent before us; here we remained, and the commander sent a cart loaded with some casks of water to the cattle we had left behind us—that they might drink, and if possible be brought to us—which was accomplished. On the 4th we passed a small stream, which was running when we were last here, but now it was quite dry!! On the evening of the 8th we reached the Brak Valley, where we found six elephants, and we scared them away by firing guns and shouting. On the following day a party which was sent out to look for water reported that they had found enough for 40 or 50 cattle, and seen an Island off the coast—on which the commander proceeded with two wagons and the boat—and filling our water casks at the pools which had been discovered, we proceeded to the beach. On the 11th we launched our boat in the Bay, and found, two or three fathoms between the little island and the shore, also the island

The Bosjemans. 1685, December.

January.

The Bosjemans. 1686, January.

surrounded by rocks to the North, between the island main; farther off there were six or seven fathoms, with sand and small stones, further off still, where the river or valley opens, we found ten fathoms, with sand and shells. On Tuesday, the 15th of January, 1686, and at 6 P.M. we reached Oliphants Jagt, and had several meetings with elephants, but all passed off well—and on the 17th we reached Doolhoff's Hoek. On the 18th to Klein Oliphants River, where we encamped, because the kraals of Capt. GONGEMA were close by; towards evening they brought us milk and sheep to barter, and on the evening of the next day the greater part of GONGEMA's people came to his honor; but old GONGEMA was dead—they still were in mourning, which consisted in cutting off their hair; they requested that his son might be appointed in his stead, which being done, they heartily thanked the commander. Proceeding from one nameless place to another, the commander says he reached the Cape of Good Hope at 5 P.M. on Saturday, the 26th of January—and that "thus ends this journey."

Commentary.

If any one should ever honor my little book, when it is printed, with a reading, I am quite sure that he will rejoice in finding the journey of Mynheer VAN DER STELL, which commenced under such happy auspices on the 25th of April, terminate on the 25th of January, 1686, in his Castle of the Cape of Good Hope. He may suspect that I have not done his honor the governor justice in the quotations which I have made from it. But in that case I beg to refer—my friend, I hope I may call him or her, to "The Record," from page 396 to 412—where I am sure he or she will feel, if not venture to express, sympathy with Mr. MOODIE in the task which was assigned to him in the translation of such puerile matter as it has pleased Mr. VAN DER STELL to place on record in the Dutch

language. But at all events every one will grieve that Mr. Moodie's labours, whether assigned as a duty, or voluntarily undertaken, should, to this day, be so badly requited. Professor Robertson has said that we cannot expect man, in the pride and pomp of his assumed superiority over his fellow man, whom he assumes to be a less enlightened or civilized being than himself, to condescend and to furnish us with the minute details of his manners and institutions. But no one would think it possible that a Dutch governor of the Cape could have travelled for five months, and through four degrees of latitude, amongst the tribes of South Africa, and have furnished so few materials for even speculation as to the actual condition of those tribes, or which might enable us to determine what were really their manners and institutions. It is true that the Dutch in Africa had not the same things to tempt their cupidity and avarice as the Spaniard in America, and that neither Pizarros nor Cortez' could arise amongst them—for they met with neither Mexicos nor Perues—but if men of that stamp could have arisen in the burning deserts of South Africa, others of the same stamp would not, certainly, have followed them from Europe into such a region. Van der Stell was in search of only copper mines and cattle-barter—but even in those pursuits he would not fail to lay before his readers particulars regarding the condition of the Aboriginal tribes, which show them to have been living as a united people, under a patriarchal form of government, and in a far more advanced state of civilization than most of his readers could before have thought of, or speculated upon.—*February 10th.*

The Bosjemans. 1686, January.

Resolution of Council.—Claas, the captain of the Chainouqua Hottentoos, appeared before the Court and reported,—that having heard that the Obiqua tribe had last year murdered some of the Dutch, who

The Bosjemans. 1686, March.

were out shooting, he, of his own accord and from the good will he bore the Company, had marched with his people to attack the Obiquas, and revenge the said murder. That on approaching their kraal they sent to him three women, requesting him to renew and confirm the old friendship betwixt them; that he sent back a present of tobacco by three of his own Hottentoos, requesting the captain of the said Obiquas to come to visit him in his kraal, which the said captain did on the following day, accompanied by ten of his people, and was there very kindly received and entertained by him, CLAAS, who killed a sheep for them; that on the next day, while still entertaining the said Obiquas, with every appearance of friendship, and making merry in their way, with dancing and beating the drum, he, on perceiving a favourable opportunity, ordered some of his people (speaking to them in Dutch) to seize the Obiqua captain and his people; which, being effected, he, CLAAS, asked them whether they were disposed to murder any more of the Dutch, and upon their answering yes, he instantly gave orders to kill the said Obiquas, which was instantly done, with exception of three, who saved themselves by flight. This being taken into consideration, it was resolved to reward the said CLAAS for his faithful services, with two bunches of copper beads, a roll of Virginia tobacco of the weight of 70 lbs., an anker of aniseed arrack, 150 lbs. rice, and a pair of coarse stockings.

This done, &c.

S. VAN DER STELL, &c.

Commentary.

It appears, then, that the information furnished to the Dutch governor, on the 16th of December, by the Soeswas, of the massacre of the Obiquas by their friend and partizan CLAAS, was quite correct; for,

before the very first council which the governor holds on his return from Amaqualand, or on the 4th of March, Claas himself appears, and not only freely confesses, but, knowing the character of the Europeans, boasts, that, because the Obiquas had killed some Dutchmen, who had gone on a shooting excursion into their country, he had, of his own accord, marched with his people to attack the Obiquas, all out of the good will he bore the company,—that, on approaching the Obiqua kraal, they sent their women to him, requesting that the old friendship between the tribe to which Claas belonged, and the Obiquas, might be renewed and confirmed. He then sent them by his own men a present of tobacco, with an invitation to the Captain of the Obiquas to visit him in his kraal. The captain came on the following day, accompanied by ten of his people. Claas killed the fatted sheep, received and entertained them kindly, —the kindness and entertainment appear to have continued through that night and the following day; —but, whilst making merry in their way, with dancing and beating the drum, Claas watched his opportunity; and, speaking in the Dutch language, ordered his people to seize the Obiqua captain and his followers, and because they would not consent to say that they would forgo their hostility to the Dutch, the Obiqua captain and some of his men were murdered on the spot,—the surviving three saving themselves by flight. It is scarcely possible that so atrocious a scene as this could have been achieved by any tribe in South Africa, until native manners are corrupted by the brandy and tobacco of the European. What follows is more painful still, if anything more painful be possible to the mind of the European and christian. The readers of Van der Stell's Journal into Amaqualand will not part on

The Bosjemans. 1686. March. Commentary.

very good terms with that personage; yet few will suppose him capable of rewarding such atrocity with copper, beads, arrack, and tobacco, and other things. We have it, however, under VAN DER STELL'S own hand, and in the resolution of his government, that he did so.—*February* 11*th.*

April.

Despatch from VAN DER STELL and Council to the Chambers.—Respecting the general state of this commando and its affairs, we can assure your Honors that all is in the most desirable condition, and this year has been so fruitful in corn, wine, and other produce, that we have abundant ground for thankfulness to Providence, having this year reaped, on the Company's account, about 1,400 muids of wheat, rye, oats, and barley. Mr. MOODIE says, in a Note, that the despatch describes the shooting of sea cows in the rivers in the interior to be no longer profitable, for that none of them had been seen for years, that the few men had to go journeys of eight, ten, or twelve days, all the way to the Oliphants River, before any could be found; and that they were so difficult to kill, that ten or twelve are often frequently mortally wounded, before one could be procured, and that sea cows are killed more for sport than for profit. Upon receiving intimation of the emigration of a few more families of farmers, the government express a hope that, in favorable seasons, little or no rice would be required from India. In replying to the despatch, on the 25th of October, the Directors observe, that they have been long fed with this hope, but that they have long been hungered by the burthen of the importation of an annual cargo of rice to the Cape, they expect better things from the zeal and industry of VAN DER STELL, and are anxious to hear how the Lord of Mydrecht,—Commissioner VAN RHEEDE,—views the measure of depriving the free men of the

privilege of making oil and catching fish, for to the directors those sources of profit appear rather to belong to the free men than the Company. The Bosjemans. 1686, April.

One is surprised to find the government of the Cape, in the short period of forty days after the scene before commented upon was enacted, thanking Providence for the desirable condition of affairs, and for the fruitful returns of the year. The ascending angel, &c., for if such was the condition of the Dutch and their little affairs, what was the condition of the unhappy aborigines?—*February* 11*th*. Commentary.

A certain Souqua captain came to the commander, to offer to seek for deserted slaves, and five days after this four Hottentoos, residing near Saldanha Bay, brought in two fugitive slaves, who were almost dead of hunger and fatigue. They had deserted with four or five others, about four months since, intending to return to Madagascar, their Fatherland,—they soon fell in with some Hottentoos, who desired them to return, but they refused and came to blows, when the captain of the Hottentoos was killed by a gun shot, and on the side of the fugitives one slave was killed by an assagaai. Availing themselves of the night, they escaped the vengeance of the Hottentoos, and after long wandering, could no longer endure their hardships. The Hottentoos, who had kept watch at night, according to their custom, went to sleep, and then let the slaves escape; they, at length, fell into the hands of other Hottentoos, who now brought them back. October.

It may readily be supposed that the numerous slaves, whom the Dutch government had imported from such different quarters and countries would, sooner or later, render themselves obnoxious to the aborigines. We find in this a Bosjeman chief volunteering to bring back runaway slaves, receiving, of Commentary.

The Bosjemans. 1686, October. Commentary.

course, for the service so performed, the usual reward; and we find ten of this unfortunate race of men escaping, in the hope of reaching Madagascar, some of them with fire-arms, for they shot a Hottentot, near Saldanha Bay, who, with others, was either persuading or forcing them to return to their taskmasters, one of the slaves was killed with an assagay, and of the remaining nine, four were brought back by other Hottentots, into whose hands they fell. There is sufficient proof in all this that the European had enlisted the native, in about the thirtieth year of his rule over the colony, to his will in the measure of his oppression of the slave population.—*February 11th.*

Mr. Moodie says, in a Note, that the practice of slaves carrying their master's guns, and other weapons was, on the 17th of August of this year, deemed to have a tendency to produce a disregard of fire-arms, and so dangerous, that it was provided that for any slave armed, with his master's knowledge, with sword or gun, even when herding the cattle, except in the presence of the master, the master should pay a fine of Rds. 100, and if unable to pay, that the slave and half the cattle should be confiscated, while the slave should be severely flogged. The punishment for the second offence was, that the master and the slave should be both flogged.

November. There is a Resolution of the 2nd to the following effect, which I have already noticed under the 1st Part of this Head,—That certain burgers having petitioned that they should receive 20 oxen and cows which they had taken from the Obiquas in April, and delivered to the Company, claiming that the cattle might be given to them, as their booty and well earned prey; and since the Obiquas have, for a long series of years, subsisted solely by robbery and murder, as well

of their own countrymen as of the Company's inhabitants, particularly in 1673, 79, and 84—and more recently, when the inhabitants went, with permission, to shoot sea cows, they ventured to attack them—when the burgers, for the preservation of their lives, and to repel force by force, shot the captain and several of the murderers, dispersed the rest, and captured 30 cattle—thus revenging the innocently shed blood of their friends and neighbours.—Resolved unanimously, to grant the burgers two-thirds of the cattle, and to take the other one-third for the Company. The Bosjemans. 1686, November.

Journal continued.—The captain of the Sousequasc, named Dorka, and by us Claas, brought only 16 of the 20 heifers which he has to deliver for the contract by which the trade of tobacco among his tribe is granted to him. He said the other four were killed by lions, at a small distance from this place. He was clothed from head to foot in a handsome suit of Dutch clothes, to confirm his attachment, and to stimulate the other chiefs to imitate his zeal and fidelity. He set out with some tobacco to buy cattle and sheep from his people for us. An African captain brought in five deserted slaves, and was rewarded with tobacco, arrack, and rice, and was so much gratified that he promised to do his best to find the rest of the deserters. A corporal and two who had been sent after deserted slaves returned in nine days, not having found even a trace of the fugitives. Four deserted slaves were brought by the Souqua captain and lodged in the gaol. A man, born of a Dutch father, who had been employed as a slave, but who deserted, was brought in by the Hottentoo captain, (Bosjeman captain?) called by us Cees, he received his punishment for desertion, but was made free, according to the statutes and the rights derived from his parentage, as his former master had no kind of objection. December.

The Bosjemans. 1771, May.

The landdrost of Stellenbosch reports to the governor that the field-eorporal beyond Sout River, behind the Coup, had reported to him that the Hottentoos residing thereabouts had beeome so bold as to surround the dwellings on several farms by night, and to try to break into them, but without success; that they had murdered three of a farmer's people, shot the outside of his house full of arrows, and stolen 900 of his sheep. That as the inhabitants, to preserve their lives and their stoek, had been foreed to fly thence,—the field-corporal VAN JARSVELD had, with a eommando of 30 men, traeed up the Hottentoos, and given them battle, when 92 of that tribe were killed.

Commentary.

This appears to be the same tribe of whom eight were killed, as reported by the landdrost of Stellenboseh in 1770. (See Hottentot Paper.) There can be now no doubt that they were Bosjemans, sinee they stuck the outside of the farmer's house full of arrows. The field-eorporal does not say what number of the tribe was opposed to him. He had a commando of 30 men, and killed 92 Bosjemans, without, apparently, sustaining any loss in killed, or having any men wounded, on his own side;—so that an affair of this kind ean be eonsidered only in the light of a massaere. All that appears to me important in "The Reeord," regarding the Bosjemans, and the great eommando against them, from 1769 to the end of the Work, has already been extracted and eommented upon under the 1st Head of the Kaffer Paper—so that I shall here elose "The Reeord" extracts.—*March 24th.*

Since the first portion of Col. COLLINS' travels was through a country inhabited by Bosjemans, or which had belonged entirely to that people before they were dispossessed by the European and the Kaffer, I have

thought it right, although reluctant to break the thread of his admirable reports, to transfer from the Kaffer paper to this, those portions of his memoirs which relate to the Bosjemans.—*See Kaffir Head, p.* 356, *Vol. I.*

The Bosjemans. 1771, May. Commentary.

On the 10th they perceived smoke at the distance of not more than a mile, and concluded that there must be Bosjemans there—some of the party thought that the smoke was a signal to other kraals that strangers were near—they were extremely anxious to speak to these people, but it was evident that the Bosjemans did not wish to speak with them; because, as was imagined, the Bosjemans had horses in their possession, the traces of which were continually observed, and no colonist had before been in that part of the country. The occurrence of a thunder-storm, the fatigue of their horses, and the state of their commissariat, put an end to all hope of communicating with the Bosjemans. On the 11th small parties were sent out to search after these people, but in vain. They conceived, no doubt, that we had come as enemies, and we had no mode of convincing them to the contrary. The Bosjemans who had accompanied Col. Collins from the Great River (the Orange River), said they were all their enemies, and could not be prevailed on to go in search of the others. It was supposed, however, that their refusal might proceed from indolence; a kraal had decamped from the spot where Col. Collins joined his wagons, but before his arrival there, and had retreated with so much precipitation as to abandon a horse alive.

Col. Collins.

On the 13th the party turned towards the boundary, and the Bosjemans separated from them to feast on the flesh of the elands they had shot, which was in such quantity that the Bosjemans sent for their families to assist in the consumption. A party of farmers had been waiting for them under the Bamboos Berg; they

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

came from the Aghter Sneeuwberg and the Tarka; and, on joining on the 14th, one of them claimed the horse which the Bosjemans had abandoned—and saying he had seen the horse, with several others, stolen in the preceding December.

On the 17th, at Schaap Kraal, about 70 Bosjemans, belonging to three kraals, were introduced to Colonel Collins. Two of the kraals had been some months in that neighbourhood, but the third had come there only a few days before. A few trifles were given to the Bosjemans, and as their numbers were considered to be too great for one place, an endeavour was made to induce them to serve the inhabitants further in the Colony—although averse to divide into small parties, or to reside at places with which they were unacquainted, yet some of the Bosjemans promised to do as they were requested. A few were also prevailed on to proceed in search of a kraal in the neighbouring mountains, the people of which had done considerable injury to the inhabitants, and with whom it was desirable to effect a reconciliation.

The party, on their journey from Schaap Kraal towards Zwagers Hoek and Agter Bruintjes Hoogte, found two Bosjeman chiefs, named Sepon and Trolic, at a farm on the road. They had established themselves there a short time before, and had about 200 of their people at this and a neighbouring farm, Sepon had been one of the most noted depredators, and he and his people now relate with exultation to the farmers their former exploits against them. We gave them a few trifles, and prevailed on Sepon and a few more to live with a farmer more inwards.

We hoped, on our return to Schaap Kraal, (after apparently an absence of a fortnight,) to find an increase made to our Bosjeman friends there, but were disappointed. The messengers who were despatched

to the mountains, had returned without finding the kraal they had gone in search of; but the farmers promised that their exertions should be unremitting to prevail on these people to reside among them. The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

In travelling through Tarka the party was equally surprised by the good description of inhabitants that had lately ventured on a residence on this twice deserted district; although only a few months there, they were already comfortably settled, and provided with good gardens. The soil here is well adapted for fattening sheep and cattle. The former increase very rapidly, though subject to a fatal disorder. The proximity of the country to Kafferland, which has subjected this and the neighbouring districts to so many misfortunes, prevents the building of good houses; but some of the inhabitants, particularly those situated on the Little Fish River, are provided with gardens, well stocked with fruit and vegetables. After remaining with the field-cornet of Zwagers Hoek for two days, the party made a tour round Boschberg to Baviaan's River. These mountains abound with excellent timber, which supplies most of the materials used in building by the inhabitants of the vicinity and of the northern parts of Graaff-Reinet. The rich and beautiful places of Agter Burgers Hoogte, planted with numerous trees in their golden bloom, did not fail to arrest our attention. The want of inhabitants between Doorn Hoek and Schaap Kraal, is occasioned by the deficiency of water at most seasons. In other respects it is a desirable spot for settlements, and the neighbouring farmers often take their cattle to browse upon the rich pasturage it affords. It abounds with almost every species of game.

Colonel Collins, whose Journal is dated from Stellenbosch, July 1809, says in the Supplement to it, (p. 6) that his sketches were drawn merely for the

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

use of government, and that he did not touch on any subject that had been satisfactorily treated either in publications or reports which had come to his knowledge, and which were equally open to all.

Had Mr. Moodie's Work, "The Record," or the Proceedings of the Dutch Government, in connexion with the Aborigines, been published when Col. Collins wrote,—it is quite obvious, I think, that that distinguished man would not have been the instrument of even his own government, in prevailing upon the three Bosjeman kraals to serve the Dutch inhabitants further in the colony, or in any part of the colony; or that he would have considered their numbers too great for one place—that place being their own—by all the most sacred rights which can give man possession of the soil. It is no wonder that the poor Bosjemans should have been reluctant to divide into small parties, or to reside in places with which they were unacquainted—and the promise which was made to do as requested, they of course never meant to keep—for the Aborigines could not, at that time, have had sufficient experience of either the disposition or the power of the British Government to protect them from such atrocities as were practised against them by the Dutch in 1774—75 on this very field, to give them confidence in living in their neighbourhood, if indeed people with the habits of the wild Bosjemans ever could live in the neighbourhood of other tribes of men, except on the footing on which we have seen them living with the Hottentots in the neighbourhood of the Cape, and in the country of the Namaquas, when the Dutch first invaded those countries, and destroyed the whole frame of aboriginal society and manners. Although Col. Collins succeeded in prevailing on a few of the Bosjemans to proceed from Schaap Kraal in search of the kraal in

the neighbouring mountains, the people of which had done considerable injury to the inhabitants, and with whom it was desirable to effect a reconciliation—it must be quite obvious to any one who has studied the character of Aborigines, that the report of those who agreed to enter on the pursuit would be *non est* inventors; accordingly we are not surprised to find Colonel Collins saying that on his return, in a fortnight, to Schaap Kraal, the messengers had returned without finding the kraal they had gone in search of.

Colonel Collins' progress was mostly through a portion of country inhabited by Bosjemans, and his Journal treats mostly of that people, I have therefore thought it right to transfer that portion of his Narrative which relates to the Bosjemans to the Bosjeman Paper, although sorry to divide in this manner papers of such interest.

It is painful to find the Bosjeman Robin Hood, whom the Dutch had named Lynx, prevailed upon by Colonel Collins to go with a few others to live with a farmer residing more inwards—an eagle in a vulture's nest! But, although Lynx may have agreed, at Colonel Collins' bidding, to serve a Dutch colonist, there was little chance that either he or his party would continue long in a condition of servitude; and it is not improbable that either he or his descendants, having backed out of the service, and away from the presence of the Europeans, may now be found with their little bows and arrows, or even with fire-arms in their hands, assisting the Griquas under Adam Kok, to repel the farmer-invaders of their country. The Cape papers say, that two Bosjeman children who were tending the cattle of the Griquas, which the Dutch coveted, have just been shot by the farmers! Can these children have opposed themselves, with their bows and arrows, to the

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

fire-arms of the Dutch; and, if so, did men ever use their arms against children? and have the Dutch, under British rule and law, ventured to practise those atrocities which were practised in the Cape colony, with impunity, under the Belgium Republic, and in the days of terror? Under any circumstances it is not surprising to find the aborigines on the banks of the Orange River, combining to expel the European, or to resist his further encroachments; and with the superior tribe, the Bosjemans are likely to coalesce, for we have seen the Strandloopers, as the Dutch called them, in collusion, more than one hundred years ago, with the Hottentot tribes in the neighbourhood of the Cape, for the professed purpose of assailing Van Riebeeck in his castle; and we have seen the Namaquas and the Griquas advance to the neighbourhood of Cape Town, with the declared intention of rooting the Europeans out of the colony!!! There was, too, an apprehension on the part of the Dutch authorities, that the Kaffers would have united with the Bushmen, after the great commando of 1773—4, on the very field visited by Colonel Collins in 1809, for the purpose of expelling the invader;—and who is there who will not wish that they had done so, and that their united efforts might have been successful?

"The Record." Nov. 1780.

If Colonel Collins were now to go over the same ground, he would find Schaap Kraal, or Sheep Farm, where La Boscasni then lived, the property of Mr. Wright, of Graham's Town, but rented by Mr. De Beer, of Cradock. He would now find the Tarka Plain, as uninhabited, as desolate, and as useless, except in affording pasturage to game, quagga, spring buck, and food to ostriches, bustard, and floreken, with other beasts and birds, as they were in 1809. He would find the family of the Potgieters there, but most of the others, having sold their farms for

wagons, powder, shot, and other things suited to their purposes, have emigrated to Natal and other places, in the hope of bettering themselves, and living away from the restraint of British law, free to commit all those atrocities, of which, in the last few years, and up to the present time, we hear so much. The Bosch Bergen are as beautiful as ever, and the plains around are covered in some places with flocks of fine woolled sheep, which in many instances have replaced the large-tailed sheep of the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjemans,—although the Dutch formally stick to the large tails. The Baviaan River district of those days has now assumed the name of Glen Linden, and through the industry and enterprize of Mr. Pringle and the Scotch emigrants of 1820, has put on as much the appearance of prosperity as any country in South Africa can be expected to do. But that is little enough, God knows! for it is a country, take it all in all, in which Europeans, although they may make a respectable and comfortable livelihood, through industry and frugality, can never expect to amass fortunes by agriculture; or, if they do set out with such expectations, they are almost sure to be disappointed.

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

The Tarka plains and the country in that neighbourhood have doubtless, as in the days of Colonel Collins, suffered in the last few years from the cattle and horse lifting propensities of the Kaffers. But that evil is already almost corrected, and a few years more of the same or of an improved process, will render the Kaffer Chiefs and people our faithful allies. Mr. De Beer told me that he had, a short time before my visit to him, lost six horses, which were not stabled at night. He suspected that they had been stolen by Amakose Kaffers, and carried by them into their own country, through the tract lying

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

between the Kat River Settlement and Fort Peddie. A neighbouring Tambookie Chief with whom Mr. De Beer lived on friendly terms, and with whom he occasionally exchanged visits, promised to recover the horses, and I afterwards ascertained that they were recovered. How many of the colonists live on the same terms with the Kaffers, chiefs and people, as Mr. De Beer does with his Tambookie friend? and if they did live on the same terms with the Kaffers generally, what would be the consequences to themselves and the colony?—*May the 5th.*

Colonel Collins' Supplement to the relations of a journey into the country of the Bosjemans and Kaffer people, is also dated Stellenbosch, July, 1809.

He thinks that the manners and customs of the Bosjemans and Kaffers had been so much dwelt upon by other writers, that he could have said little on these points which was not already known, and these things did not appear to him to be of equal consequence with others which seem to have been disregarded or superficially treated. It appeared to Colonel Collins, that travellers had been, very properly, mere solicitors to ascertain the origin of the people, than to relate events of a more recent date. He made no pretensions to literary attainments, and was totally unambitious to appear before the public as an author. His promise he considered, was to fulfil the desire of his superiors, in considering the particular subjects referred to his investigations.

He thought that a great portion of the miseries which had befallen both the aborigines and the colonists since they had relations with one another, arose from the ignorance of government respecting the events which had occurred in the remote districts, and the then state of those districts. Government was under the necessity of applying to those who

might think themselves qualified to give an opinion, because born at the Cape, although they may never have been within many hundred miles of the spot where local knowledge could only be attained, or to those who held situations which afforded them opportunities of making personal observations, but who might give erroneous accounts from that bias, which self-interest, connections or countries will so frequently produce, or from circumstances connected with the measures they had adopted when in office, and the development of which might place their own conduct in no very favorable point of view. The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

Colonel Collins considered that the person who had no personal interest in the matters which he described, and no fear that the success of another would tarnish his reputation, was best calculated to give a candid and impartial view of such subjects; and on these grounds he thought that, without arrogance, he might offer the statement which he submitted to government. There was not the slightest cause to suppose that he should ever entertain any feelings with regard to the Cape of Good Hope, except such as he ought to cherish for every possession of His Majesty, and as far as he was connected with its concerns, the road which he had to follow was easy, for he had only to obey the orders which he had received, and they were not of a nature difficult to execute. It might be supposed that there were other requisites necessary to perform this difficult task, such as the talents requisite to draw just inferences from the knowledge acquired, and not only to trace the cause of misfortune, but to point out the means of success. If such reason be admitted, Col. Collins says I write to no purpose. He could not, however, help thinking, if he were fortunate enough to convey truth to those whom it was most necessary to know

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

it, that he could have done enough—and that his endeavours will have done much good, without the possibility of causing any mischief. His opinions, as given, will not be warped by personal considerations. If he errs it will be from incapacity, and there can be no danger of misleading those whose abilities and judgment qualify them for the highest offices of the state. When a subordinate Officer submits a plan, the only thing of consequence is the accuracy of the ground, the General can correct every error in the disposition of the troops, and in the choice of the defences.

Colonel Collins says, that in the report which he made from the Frontier he mentioned all that he had learned of the communications which had taken place between the Bosjemans in that quarter and the Farmers who had first advanced towards them.

"The imprudence of an individual, more than any dislike arising from original impressions, seems to have occasioned the animosity that unfortunately arose between them.

"For the actual commencement of hostility between the Aborigines and the Colonists of the North-eastern Frontier, there does not appear to have been any distinct cause. It is certain that the Bosjesmans were in possession of that part of the country some time after the war had commenced between their brethren, near Zak River, and the neighbouring Farmers. The knowledge of these transactions must naturally have created opinions amongst them unfavorable to the strangers; and perhaps this mistrust which they are said to have maintained towards them from the moment of their approach.

"It is to be feared that the persons who were first obliged to seek a refuge in such a country as the Camdeboo, were destitute of the qualifications neces-

sary to remove those unfavorable impressions. Had Government been enabled at that period to acquire the information necessary to decide upon the best measures to be adopted, the horrors which have since disgraced the name of Christian in those parts might have been prevented. But persons of the probable description of the then inhabitants could not be expected to give any other accounts of their new acquaintances than such as might be dictated by their prejudices or supposed interests. An attempt to draw them into their service having proved unsuccessful, and some losses having been occasioned by their disposition to theft, a people not inferior in natural endowments to any upon the face of the globe, were represented to the Colonial Government as unfit to live. A journey from the Cape was supposed at that time to be too great an undertaking for the purpose of ascertaining any point which concerned only so distant a quarter. The reports received were implicitly believed, and orders were given for unlimited commandos.

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

"The original population of the North-eastern Frontier must have been very considerable, if any credit can be attached to the accounts given by the old inhabitants of the exploits of their younger days. I have heard one man who is represented as an estimable character in other respects, declare, that, within a period of six years, the parties under his orders had either killed or taken 3200 of those unfortunate creatures;—another has stated to me, that the actions in which he had been engaged had caused the destruction of 2,700. They had acted thus in compliance with the instructions of a Government, which not only violated all the principles of justice and humanity in this indiscriminate massacre, but even acted in direct opposition to the plainest rules of policy and of

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

common sense, by depriving the Colony of the benefit which might have been derived from so useful a people.

"The total extinction of the Bosjeman race is actually stated to have been at one time confidently hoped for; but, fortunately, even such zealous instruments were not able to effect this bloody purpose.

"It is but justice to observe, that the first attempt to conciliate this injured people was made under the benign influence of Great Britain. The journey undertaken by Mr. Barrow, at the desire of Lord Macartney, seems to have opened the eyes of this district (Graaff-Reinet) to the criminality of their conduct. They had never before harboured a thought that any Government would condemn their proceedings, but, on the contrary, they conceived that their exertions in this unjust cause were the most certain means of recommending them to favor.

"Since the year 1797 several inhabitants of the North-eastern districts appear to have exerted themselves with as much zeal to acquire the friendship of the Bosjemans, as they had before done to blot them from the creation. They have experienced the most happy results from this line of conduct. Whilst unceasing and indiscriminate warfare existed, no farmer durst venture unarmed from his door; robberies were committed at his very threshold; and children and servants were murdered in his presence. But since the adoption of different measures, they have experienced a degree of tranquillity which they could never before hope for in the neighbourhood of that people."

Colonel Collins *to* Lord Caledon.

Dated Cape Town, 6th August, 1809.

In adverting to our northern neighbours, I feel the sincerest pleasure in being enabled to recommend a

more liberal line of policy than that which I think necessary to be observed, for a considerable time at least, towards those of the east. Different from the Kaffers and the Tambookies, the Bosjemans are mostly scattered over an immense tract of country, in small parties unconnected with each other. They may therefore be more safely introduced into the Colony, collected and instructed in institutions, and dispersed among the inhabitants. The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

It was very satisfactory to me to observe the anxiety of the farmers in the north-eastern districts to preserve peace with that people, rather by conciliation than terror. If the object of terminating their depredations has not yet been fully attained, the number and extent of their thefts has at least been considerably lessened in that quarter; and murder, which used to be the constant attendant of robbery, with the Bosjeman, is now seldom heard of in this part of the country. These beneficial effects have probably been produced, not more by the friendly intercourse that the farmers have endeavoured to establish, than by the restrictions that have been attached to commandos.

Those parties were formerly sent out, perhaps months after the robberies were complained of, and were often directed against the body of that people, instead of the individuals who were guilty; but the manner in which they are now used seems to me to be just and necessary, and I think must appear so even to the Bosjemans. When a theft is committed a few individuals are hastily collected by the Field Cornet, who pursues the thieves by their traces. If they try to escape they seldom fall by the arms of their pursuers; but if they are obstinate in defending their booty, the farmers use force to recover their property.

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

The moderation of the latter has, however, been strongly shown on many sueh oeeasions, notwithstanding the irritation naturally produeed by the theft, aggravated perhaps by many of their eattle being mortally wounded in their sight; to prevent their being reeovered, at least alive, the farmers have often used these opportunities to bring about a peaee, and to induee these people to reside among them.

It must, however, be eonfessed, that the prohibition to their carrying off women and ehildren has greatly served to damp the ardour for eommandos, and has aetuated the farmers as mueh as humanity in their tenderness to the Bosjeman, a feeling that their great want of servants has also tended to promote.

The report whieh I formerly had the honor to make, founded on the information that I had reeeived upon the state of those people living beyond the northern boundary, will, I believe, apply equally to those residing near the north-eastern limits—although differing in some degree in language and appearanee, their habits and manners are, in few points, dissimilar. They subsist on the same food, use the same arms, and are equally attaehed to a wandering life; they are alike bound by no authority, and so uneonneeted by all ties, exeept those of relationship, and such as tend to seeure their individual safety.

My sentiments have already been so fully deelared on the subjeet of Missionary Institutions, that eonvineed as much as ever of their utility, under proper regulations, it remains for me only to point out the situations that seem most eligible for their establishment.

After enumerating various plaees where Missionary Establishments are neeessary among the Bosjemans, Col. Collins says, the middle of the northern boundary is not less worthy of notice than its extremities—

the inhabitants of the Nieuwveld and the Coup are on friendly terms with a few kraals in their neighbourhood, one of which, consisting of near 20 families, under the command of a chief named SESSING, I visited with only my companion, Mr. COWDERY, and two more persons. This good understanding protects the farmers from the depredations of these people, and from those of others more distant; but it does not secure the inhabitants of Zwarteberg and the neighbouring districts from their attacks. There are several spots adapted for missions in this quarter; the most eligible, perhaps, would be an abandoned place called Slange Fontein, one of the sources of the Zak River, and formerly the residence of a farmer named CORNELIUS JANSEN. The Bosjemans. Col. COLLINS.

Should it be deemed expedient to multiply these useful establishments, the Groot Fontein, situated on that part of the boundary nearest the Orange River, and the vicinity of the Groot Tafel Berg, west of the Sea Cow River, are favorable points, both from the excellent pasturage and water they afford, and from the neighbourhood of several kraals of Bosjemans. This part of the country, although the most distant from the capital, is in a more improving state than any that I visited. The parts stated in Mr. BARROW's chart to have been deserted on account of the attacks of the Bosjeman Hottentots, are now entirely filled up, and the country is inhabited as far as the limits.

Until the establishment of missions, the most effectual mode of preventing the depredations of the Bosjesmans seems to be the encouragement of the good will now generally prevailing towards them among the inhabitants of the borders.

After noting the want of gunpowder by the farmers, Col. COLLINS says—the kraals within and close to the Colony, which are those only on whose peaceable

The Bosjemans. Col. COLLINS.

conduct any reliance can be placed, are subsisted principally by game, killed for them by the farmers; and when their ammunition is expended, by sheep. They are also continually obliged to provide them with tobacco and dacha, and occasionally with knives and tinder-boxes.

The Bosjemans often suffer extreme misery, seldom robbing to satisfy their wants, and afford the fairest hope of becoming in time useful to themselves and the Colony. Humanity and policy therefore combine to prompt the adoption of every measure that can lead to alleviate their unhappy lot, and attach them to the settlers.* The measures of Lord MACARTNEY for supplying the Bosjemans with sheep, which I formerly noticed, seemed to have nothing in view but to keep them quiet. The expense of these gifts fell entirely on the inhabitants of the borders, and the manner of distributing them must have created an opinion that they proceeded rather from fear than beneficence.

I think, however, that if the Missionary Institutions be not established, and in those parts of the Frontier where it may not be considered convenient to place them, some measure should be had recourse to for supplying the wants of the Bosjemans, without

* No. 1.—Colonel COLLINS could then better have known the relative condition in which Bosjemans could only be attached to Dutch settlers. We have more information on this subject now—for since the publication of "The Record," we can trace them from their dealings with the Souquas in the neighbourhood of Cape Town and in Namaqua Land, through a current of blood and massacre to the borders of the Orange River. They could only "be attached to the settlers" in the relation of master and slave. "Their unhappy lot" doubtless required alleviation in the days in which Col. COLLINS travelled among them—and if it has been alleviated in the present day, little thanks to the Dutch colonists, whose track is lately traced in characters of blood on the banks of the Great River—all honor, however, to Great Britain, both through her Missionaries! and her Government!

letting the burthen fall, as it now does, on a few individuals only. The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

It seems to me to be extremely unjust, that the inhabitants of the Cape and its neighbouring districts should not only be freed from the dangers and inconveniences to which those residing near the border are subjected, but that they also should be exempted from sharing in their expenses.

I think that the people of Cape Town, the Cape and Stellenbosch districts, and such parts of the district of Tulbagh, as are not exposed to the incursions of Bosjemans, and do not contribute to the defence of the Colony against any of its enemies, should pay the expense incurred in endeavouring to conciliate and civilize that unoffending race, and that a tax should be laid upon them for the supply of tinder-boxes, knives, beads, tobacco, &c., the distribution of which should be entrusted to such persons on the borders as enjoy the confidence of the Landdrost.

These marks of kindness should be given to the Bosjemans less with the appearance of proceeding from apprehension for the evils which they might themselves occasion, than as a reward for services rendered, either by discovering the intentions of the ill-disposed, or by occasionally assisting in the labors of the farmers.*

I feel it to be my duty strongly to point out the necessity of some such step being immediately taken on

* No. 2.—There seems to be little doubt that the Dutch inhabitants of the Cape, and generally throughout the colony, assisted both with money and advice, in forwarding the atrocious proceedings of their brethren against the aborigines of Natal and those on the Orange River—but it may fairly be a question, whether they could have responded to the call of Col. Collins, and have submitted to taxation, to alleviate the sufferings of the Bosjeman on the North-eastern Frontier, although some of them may now occupy the lands from which the Souquas or Bosjemans were driven by their progenitors!

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this subject, as, if the missions are not soon established, or some other means found of subsisting those Bosjemans who have kraals within or near the boundary, and do not work for the inhabitants, the latter may at length become tired of their importunities, and by refusing to satisfy their demands may be exposed to the unexpected effects of their resentment. The least evil that can be looked for, is their returning to the mountains, and recommencing their former predatory mode of life, which, indeed, I understand has lately happened with some of them.

Notwithstanding the benefits that may be expected from the adoption of the proposed measures, I feel that it will be a considerable time before the plan of engaging the Bosjemans to serve the inhabitants during registered periods can be conveniently adopted; until long accustomed to the way of living of the Colonists, they leave them for some months every year to enjoy a ramble, and to eat locusts, wild roots, and the larva of ants.

It would be impolitic, and indeed impossible, to compel them at once to relinquish their habits; and it can only be hoped that the exertions of the farmers on the borders, and the benevolence and justice of a watchful Government, may at length vanquish these early propensities, and guide to useful purposes the exercise of those talents with which they have been so liberally gifted by nature.*

* No. 3.—Col. Collins might have added to the locust food of the Bosjemans, wild honey. His benevolent scheme of removing the Dutch from the Bosjeman country, and settling them as small proprietors in parts of the Colony more suited for the habitation of the European, would have conferred almost as great a benefit on the farmers themselves as on the Bosjeman communities—for their proceedings at Natal, and all the way from that to Philippolis, show that they are now a more savage race than the Bosjemans ever were. It is hardly to be desired, and certainly not to be hoped, even at the present day, that the few Bosjemans should

Colonel Collins goes on to say, that having concluded his observations upon those points to which His Excellency had particularly directed his attention, he would next endeavour to give his opinions as required upon whatever might tend to the advantage of the Colony. He was convinced that the slow progress made in the interior towards an improved state of society was principally occasioned by the impossibility of establishing a proper superintendence and control on the part of government. The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

Whilst the remotest part of the colony is in a flourishing state, and the limits are (not?) too confined to afford places for the rapid increase of population, a vast tract of country has been suffered to lie waste, exposed to the incursion of savages from every quarter, and facilitating their inroads upon the cultivated districts. It may be worth while making an inquiry into the cause of this extraordinary neglect, and to discover whether there are any means of removing so great an evil.*

become the menial servants of the farmers—although eventually they may be turned into useful agriculturists. The Bheels of India never have entered into private service, although some members of their communities have always been the watchmen (bukwalies) of villages in the vicinity of their fastnesses. They are a wilder and far more savage people than the Bosjemans of Africa—and the endeavours of the British Government to reclaim the Bheels, by giving them lands near their mountain fastnesses, cattle, and implements of husbandry—to turn them from a predatory to an agricultural people—have in many places been attended with only partial success. It has been found a more easy task to enroll them as soldiers, and discipline them under British officers, according to the European fashion. Colonel Collins' benevolent views have been responded to not only by the people of England, but those of Europe generally. All honor to those devoted Missionaries who have been so long and so benevolently employed amongst the Bosjemans in the wilds of Africa!! It would be curious and interesting to ascertain to what extent Holland has contributed—for it was her sons who worked all this mighty evil!—*May 17th.*

* Had Col. Collins lived in the present day he would not have had

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Col. Collins compares the great Karoo to the desert of Zara—and says that the people best qualified to give the best description of the country, erroneously conceive themselves interested in leaving it unknown;—those are the farmers of the neighbouring districts, persons from more remote parts, and those employed to bring cattle from the interior,—who all contrive to find excellent pasture for their cattle in many parts of these uninhabited plains. It appears that about twenty years ago, the Coup was tolerably inhabited, but as Col. Collins stated on a former occasion, a troop of several hundred Bosjemans having fixed their kraals in the midst of the farmers, they removed from the neighbourhood of those troublesome visitors; inconvenience arose from the interruption of the usual supply of cattle at the Cape, which were intercepted by those people, and the Roggeveld and Sneeuwberg farmers were directed to expel them, which they effected after a considerable slaughter.

Col. Collins goes on to describe the capabilities of the country, and, amongst other things, observes, that an obstacle to settlement arises from the great sickness which, in the summer season, prevails among

any difficulty in discovering why the frontier of the colony bore a more cultivated appearance than the interior. He would have found that it has always been the habit of the Dutch farmers to push from the centre to the extremities, as well in the hope of getting land on cheaper terms, at the cost of the native tribes, than the land which they held from the British government, although to that government they pay but a trifle. He would, too, very soon have discovered a remedy for the evil he saw—in the organization of the native tribes after a manner which should enable them to resist the encroachment of the farmers—or to expel those whose presence was not acceptable to them, or, when they might fail to accomplish these desirable objects themselves, to give them the assistance of British troops—and then the principle of holding their own would be simple enough.

horses, which is more felt in the Karoo than in most other parts, a circumstance that used to be taken advantage of by the Bosjemans, who were, in consequence of it, enabled to carry off their spoil without danger. The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

The people of the Zwartberg are of the worst description of any in the whole colony, and consequently require more watching. They are not, however, under any control, except such as arises from written orders, which, at the distance from which they emanate, produce little effect. I am far from wishing to produce neglect to a man, under whose firm, though mild administration, the principal part of the district of Graaff-Reinet, so long the scene of anarchy, has been restored to order. No person regrets more than Mr. Stockenstrom the irregular state of this part of the country; and its not having altered under his government is the best proof of the necessity of adopting measures for its improvement, unconnected with his present situation.

Col. Collins says that he had already stated that the inhabitants of the Graaff-Reinet district lived on friendly terms with the neighbouring Bosjemans. It was insinuated by the people of Zwartberg, whom the Bosjemans did not spare, that the tranquillity was secured by the others not noticing the passage of those plunderers to the districts in their rear.—Col. Collins was, however, disposed to attribute their safety to their vicinity to the Bosjemans, and the facility it had afforded them, on a long acquaintance, of taking the necessary measures to conciliate them. It cannot from this be expected, that the rest of the colony should be free from the attacks of people who, unconnected and disunited among themselves, cannot be brought to think that, because they are at peace with one district, they should not rob

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another. The inhabitants of these kraals are as far removed from the Drostdy as those of the Zwartberg, and would probably see the introduction of new settlers, and the establishment of vigorous authority with equal jealousy.

Col. Collins says that the opinions he had formed of the people of that part of the country, were fully corroborated by Mr. Stockenstrom, who answered his inquiries on the subject of placing some of them in authority, in order to secure the tranquillity of the district, in the following terms—which might also explain the cause of the disorders that prevailed in that quarter—

Vous m' avez fait trop d'honneur en envoyant á ma lecture en considération les instructions et la lettre projetées. Je ne m' étonne pas que vous pressiez trop risquer en donnant un pouvoir de cette nature à quelque fermier du voisinage où vous vous trouvez. Ils sont là de la plus basse classe, and j'espère que ceux-ci ne vous donnent pas un préjugé contre les paysans en général. Le Zwartberg, aussi bien que la Coup et le Nieuwveld, sont tout-à-fait séparés des autres districts de Graaff-Reinet par les grands déserts appelés les Karoo, le plus grand nombre sont des bâtards; néanmoins je ne crois pas que ces gents abuseront de ces peuvoises, parrequ'ils ne sont pas, trop belligerents au moins au Zwartberg; et ils prendront plutôt leur secours chez leurs voisins et le landdrost que de prendre les armes pour leur propre sûreté.

If judicious steps were taken, and sufficient encouragement were held out, I am persuaded that this country would soon wear a very different appearance. Col. Collins proceeds to describe the nature of the country, the divisions which he proposed as the seats for magistrates and military posts.—"Soon after we had passed the Dole River, we found the former re-

sidence of a Maroon slave, a native of Malabar, who had been brought from it to his master, only a few weeks before, in the hope of a reward, by the Kaffers whom we were in search of. The poor fellow had been six years in this unfrequented tract. A companion, whose grave we perceived at a distance of several miles beyond his habitation—had, for the first few months, cheered his retreat, but he had passed the remainder of his time without the company of a human being. The first hut he had constructed was concealed in the wood. The second showed that he had built it with more confidence, for it was placed outside, and an undisturbed residence of several years having given him reason to suppose that he might end his days in this peaceful abode, he had begun to build on a large scale, but had only completed half his new mansion, when he was deprived of all his possessions. Whether he supposed the land under large wood better than that naturally without any I cannot say, but he had cleared about two acres, which he had converted into an excellent garden, containing vegetables, tobacco, and fruit trees, well watered by a fountain which his labour had appropriated to his particular use. The dung of elephants and buffaloes, which are both exceedingly numerous in this quarter, had served him for manure, and a heap of their bones, and of those of elands, boschbocks, and other antelopes—of whose skins he had manufactured good clothing, cut according to the European fashion, manifested his success in the chase, or rather his ingenuity in contriving pits and snares to catch these animals. His industry had even extended to the making of earthenware; and this new Robinson Crusoe had contrived by his own exertions to unite in his solitude almost all the comforts that are enjoyed in civilized and social life. Indolence had certainly had no share

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in prompting his flight; nor had the fear of punishment been the cause of it; for he had never committed any crime.

Desirous to acquire some information respecting the country which I was about to enter, I sent for this extraordinary man. The fear of his escape, and the weight of his fetters, had made it necessary to bring him in a wagon. Thus chained it was his master's intention to avail himself of his future services; but observing to him that it was possible he might frustrate his vigilance and draw other Maroons to the difficult country he had lately inhabited, I desired that he should be immediately taken to the Cape, and there changed, or otherwise disposed of. We called this spot Damon's* Fontein, from the name of its late unfortunate possessor.

* If others feel an interest equal to that which I feel in such a history as this, they will be grateful to Col. Collin's eloquent pen for rescuing the name of Damon, and the circumstances connected with him, from oblivion. He was probably a native of the Dutch settlement of Cochin, an agriculturist, who had been brought as a slave to the Cape; and in the forests, on the banks of the Kaeman River, surrounded by the elephants and buffaloes of the Outiniqua range of mountains, he found a country not very dissimilar to his own Malabar. The Kaffers could have hardly ever, although bound to do so by engagements, been guilty of a more barbarous act than that of restoring, for reward, poor Damon (may he not have been brought from Duman, which with Dieman, now the only Dutch possessions in India? but this would be an abandonment of Collin's sylvan designation) to his taskmaster and chains. Had he lived to the present day his chains would have been struck off by England. There is now every probability that the emancipated slaves, the Malays, and others, and the Hottentots, will, through their superior industry, frugality, and permanent residence, become, in process of time, the principal proprietors of houses, lands, and other things in the colony—witness their comfortable habitations springing up in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, on the Kat River settlement, and elsewhere! The Parsees are already the proprietors of almost the whole Island of Bombay. Damon must have found his way back to his old habitation, for Mr. Moodie, in our morning ride, showed me, close to George, a house, which either he or his offspring were building. I was

Most of the remainder of Col. COLLIN's letter is devoted to the subjects of forming Algoa Bay into an emporium for commercial purposes—a description of the Zitzekamma and Kromme River districts—of Content Bay, as a station for the exportation of the fine timber growing on the Eerste River. The establishment of a Drostdy on the banks of the Ghamga, in the eastern parts of Swellendam—a description of the Lange Kloof, and of the country about the Keurboom River, the salt, and shipwood, and Krans Rivers. The construction of a wharf at Plettenberg's Bay, and the export of timber from that quarter to England—and the taking of the whole timber concern into the hands of government. The hopes that were entertained of rendering the Knysna navigable, Col. COLLINS believed to have been entirely abandoned in consequence of an inspection by some officers of the navy, and thought that it required no professional knowledge to perceive that its entrance could not be attempted without the most imminent danger.* The tract reserved by government in Outiniqualand, appeared to Col. COLLINS the most appropriate situation for the establishment of a drostdy—the present village of George is now on that land. "Between Potesh Bosch and Caaymans River is Pampoene Kraal, so much celebrated in the travels of Monsieur LA VAILLANT." Capt. ALLAN's farm? This charming spot is separated from Potesh Bosch by a stream called

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then unacquainted with his history. Who can doubt that Col. COLLINS would have struck off his chains, or purchased his freedom in 1809, had he not then been considered a dangerous character, or had purchase been possible? It would give me great pleasure to contribute towards the purchase of Damon Fontein for them.

* It is said that the late Mr. REX regretted the entry of the first vessel into the Knysna, because it was calculated to disturb his repose at Melk Houtkraal.

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Klein Zwarte River, which falls into Caaymans River. "If the road between Plettenberg's Bay and Outiniqualand were in good order, the distance would not be greater than one day's journey on horseback. Mossel Bay, which is known to be the best landing place to the eastward, is only twenty miles from it. St. Sebastian's Bay is said to afford good anchorage, but the landing there is very difficult.

Schoonberg Bay, at Cape Aiguillas, is supposed to have good anchorage, but Collins feared that ships would be much exposed there from the little elevation of the neighbouring country, and from the reef that has given a name to this point. If it should not be judged adviseable to make it a commercial station, it appears to me that it would at least be highly expedient that a lighthouse should be erected there; that measure would probably prevent any more of the unfortunate accidents of which this dangerous point has already been productive, and the protecting hand of Britain would be extended to the utmost extremity of Africa, to all nations employed in the navigation of the Indian Ocean. A list is given of six vessels lately lost, probably by accident during the night.

The *Hooker de Mermin* was stranded from a different cause. The vessel belonged to the Dutch East India Company, and was commanded by a man named Muller. She sailed about 40 years ago from the Cape, for the Island of Madagascar, to exchange copper and merchandize for slaves. Having arrived at her destination, a chief and party of natives were invited on board, and having been lulled into security, were bound and carried off.

The ship having made Cape point, on her return, the captain supposed all danger past, and released his prisoners; they instantly seized the ship and put all their kidnappers to death, except the captain and a

few persons whom they spared for the purpose of navigating the vessel back to Madagascar.

The savages knew that they had come from the point where the sun rises, and could not be much deceived during the day respecting the proper course to be taken; but in the night the ship was steered in a contrary direction. At length they arrived off point Aiguillas, and the vessel was anchored at Schoonberg; the mate, who was the only person who had any influence over the minds of the late captives, having persuaded them that this country was part of their own, and that they should proceed on their voyage as soon as some repairs were performed to the vessel.

Col. Collins describes how letters, descriptive of their situation, were enclosed in bottles by the captain, thrown into the sea, and picked up by some inhabitants who were fishing near the spot. The report having reached the landdrost, he assembled and placed in ambush, at a short distance, a party of men, directing some slaves and Hottentots to light a fire, which was the signal of friendship and aid requested by the captain, who run the ship on shore as soon as he observed it. The savages supposing the people they perceived were unconnected with any people like their base betrayers, swam in a body to the beach, where they testified their joy by dancing and acclamations. Their festivity was not of long duration. Those who did not fall by a discharge of musquetry, or prefer a watery grave to slavery, were again secured.

The author of this awful transaction, fearing that his conduct in liberating the prisoners, which was done against the advice of his officers, might subject him to punishment when known in Holland,* or else

* Col. Collins could not, then, have thought, that this scoundrel

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unable to bear the stings of conscience, put a period soon afterwards to his criminal existence.

Col. Collins goes on to describe the character of the sea coast and country through which he passed between Cape Aiguillas and Cape Town. Proposes the establishment of a regular and expeditious post for the despatch of orders from the Cape to the interior, as tending to establish the authority of government, and to secure tranquillity. He also too refers to an annexed document for a detail of his ideas on that point, and the steps which he had himself taken to facilitate its execution.* He found that the maintenance of order—the improvement of the colony—the multiplying the drostdys—and the facilitating and expediting the communications between the districts and the seat of government, could not be perfectly secured until the Veldcornets were placed on a different footing. These situations were not then otherwise desirable than in affording opportunities of favoring their friends, or oppressing their enemies—an active, firm, and impartial man was, in the more distant quarters, remunerated for his trouble and expense only by the remission of the opgaaf fees, and of the rent of one farm. He can now have no other reward for his exertions, except in the esteem of his neighbours, and in the consciousness of having done his duty; sentiments of little weight in a country almost totally destitute of public spirit.

The cultivation of the colony would be much improved by establishing an agricultural school at one of

Muller, who commanded one of the Dutch E. I. Company's ships, had any thing to fear in Holland, for his treachery towards the chief and party of Madagascar, but only for putting it in their power to escape the consequences of his treachery.

* Between Cape Town and Graham's Town there is only a weekly post to and fro in the present times.

the drostdys, where the most opulent farmers of the remote districts should be obliged to send a proportion* of their children for instruction. Col. Collins thought that the directors of public schools in England might be requested to send out a certain number of persons, duly qualified, from each institution, for the improvement of the inhabitants of the interior. The teachers would be enabled to earn a comfortable subsistence by instructing the children of the farmers, and the rising generation would all be Englishmen.

Col. Collins thinks that he may be permitted to offer some reflections on the subject of the preservation of game amongst the important points which formed the subject of his report. From the want of some regulations on that head, the powerful buffaloe, the majestic elephant, the wonderful hippopotamus, all harmless animals, if unmolested, and the herds of beautiful antelopes, that formerly adorned the districts nearest to the seat of government, had been almost entirely destroyed by a few poachers. He thought it would only be necessary to enjoin the landdrost to issue orders to the field-cornets to prevent the extinction of any species then remaining, and which might tend to the introduction of the others.

A noted traveller had destroyed five out of the ten buffaloes which remained a year before, between the Gouritz and Kaffer Kuil Rivers—and he only waited for the return of the rains, which would enable him to discover the traces of the others. In passing through

* As the farmers thought that the Ordinance L., which placed the Hottentots on an equality with them in the eyes of the law—meant to give their red red roses, or daughters, in marriage to Hottentots ; and as they were in a hurry to pass the border lest they should be forced to embrace the cross, which they believed to be following them—might they not have supposed that this was a scheme for making slaves of their children ?

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

that district he gave orders against the killing any of them, or of a few hartebeest that were also there, under a penalty of fifty rix-dollars, until permission should be obtained from the landdrost. He also gave similar directions for the preservation of the few bonte bucks remaining near Soetendaals lake, where one person had destroyed more than all the other inhabitants.

Although Col. Collins' Memoir had swollen to so great a mass, he was indueed to advert to one more topie, whieh appeared to him to be of infinite importanee.

He thought that until the eolony was completely inhabited as far as the present limits, no extension of boundary should be made exeept for politieal motives. When the Kaffers should find it impossible to make any impression on the population proposed for the eountry near the Konaba and Great Fish Rivers, they may turn their attention to the thinly inhabited distriet of Tarka. It may therefore be adviseable to eover that point by a similar barrier, giving out the small lots lying between the Kaffer and Storm Mountains, ealled by Dr. Van der Kemp, the eountry of the Abbatonna Bosjemans. The measure would also be neeessary for the proteetion of the missionary institutions to be established in that quarter. The habitations should not, however, I eoneeive, be earried beyond the Zwart T'Kye Poort.*

* However admirably the scheme for a frontier defence may have answered by putting down a dense population of Hottentots on the Konap and Kat Rivers—any person has only to travel across the Tarka Plains, and between them and the Storm Mountains, to satisfy himself that there never can be a dense population there; indeed, the few miserable farmers now inbahiting that tract have become thoroughly nomadic, and are ohliged to go elsewhere with their cattle for water and pasturage for the greater part of the year. The sooner Europeans back out of that quarter the better—and this appears to have been the opinion of Col. Collins with respect to many parts of the colony.

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

An extension is anxiously looked for by the inhabitants of the north eastern frontier; and Mr. Stockenstrom thinks that it might with propriety be made as far as Orange River. I feel the sincerest respect for the opinions of that gentleman; but on this point I must beg to differ from him. The inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet can now procure the wood afforded by the willows growing on that river by applying for the necessary permission, and I cannot see what benefit they should derive from its possession, otherwise, except by the occupancy of the land, which they can find by turning to another direction. The country on the left bank of the Sea Cow River, to the distance of 20 or 30 miles, is of a superior quality.*

As soon as the tract within the colony is tolerably occupied, I think that no time should be lost in gaining ground towards the Karee Mountain. I beg to repeat my opinion that the most successful mode of conciliating and civilizing the Bosjemans, is to get near them. The Koenberg should be embraced as soon as possible, and the colony should be extended to a direct line drawn from the junction of the Fish and Zak Rivers, to the hills commencing about the Elands Berg, which continue in a sweep, between the present boundary and Orange River to Zuurberg. This measure would also render the colonial posses-

* Col. Collins' meaning in this passage is, for him, unusually obscure. It is plain enough that the inhabitants then, as now, desired an extension of the colonial boundary to the Orange River. That Mr. Stockenstrom, the then landdrost, seconded them, and that Col. Collins opposed them in this desire. But it is not so plain whether this desire was only that the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet might get more wood. I had the honor of reading to Sir Andries Stockenstrom, the son of the landdrost, my scheme for abandoning the low frontier districts; and I think I am justified in saying that he considered them useless and expensive to England. His only difficulty seemed to be how to get the Dutch Boers out of them.

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

sions more compact, and the communications more easy. The next extension of boundary which, however, cannot be necessary until a very remote period, will naturally bring the colony to Orange River.*

I cannot conclude these observations without expressing my apprehension, that in the numerous despatches which I have had the honor to address to your Excellency, and perhaps in this report I may have touched on some points that I ought not to have noticed, and dwelt more upon others than was either necessary or proper. If I should unfortunately have thus transgressed, I hope your excellency will attribute my errors to the true causes, a wish to be instrumental as far as possible in doing good, and a degree of warmth inseparable from every subject in which I take a real interest; a soldier from the age of fifteen, one-half of my existence has not afforded me leisure to learn even the elements of a profession to which I am ardently attached. It would therefore be extreme presumption to suppose myself capable of directing affairs of a nature foreign to my studies and pursuits. I am far from entertaining such a feeling; but, I confess that I am happy in the consciousness of having exerted myself to the utmost to acquire such information as might facilitate the execution of your excellency's plans for the benefit of the colony over which you preside. If it should appear that my humble endeavours have, in any degree, been successful, the

* It will be observed that in all this Col. Collins only advocated an extension of the boundary where the tract within the limits was totally occupied—and for that purpose, most people will allow that a thousand and more years will be necessary—if the people are turned from pastoral to agricultural pursuits. No one will dispute the proposition that the way to conciliate and civilize the Bosjemans is to get near them—provided only missionaries settle there, or such colonists as do not desire to break up Bosjeman communities, to take their pasture lands, and extirpate their game.—*May 17th.*

reflection will ever be one of the most pleasing of my life; convinced that my feeble powers could not have been more usefully directed to the service of my Sovereign and my Country.

I have, &c.

(Signed,) R. COLLINS.

Collins' *Report on the Bosjemans.*

(Omitted in the Parliamentary Papers.)

My Lord,—Col. Collins' reports that he conceived that the Governor's Instructions might be best fulfilled by his communicating personally with some part of the Bosjeman nation, and that on arriving at the Hantam, he engaged a Bastard Hottentot as his interpreter, who spoke one of the dialects of their language, and who had been visited only a few days previously by one of their chiefs named Rouman. He left the most remote house on that side of the Colony on the 27th April, 1808, and the next day arrived at a ford on the Zak River, about 12 miles above its junction with the Fish River, and 30 from Rouman's Kraal. He was prevented from visiting the kraal by the aridness of the country, but sent the interpreter to invite the people to come to him, an invitation which they had frequently accepted from such farmers as used to avail themselves of their assistance in shooting parties. The interpreter returned next day, saying that he had not found any person at the kraal, and supposed that all had gone further into the interior in search of game and water. Two Bosjeman families were said to reside separately at the distance of a day's journey, but it was thought that they also had moved in search of game and water—the other

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

kraals in that part of the country were said to be hostile, and at a considerable distance. As the country was excessively dry, and the horses and cattle were much out of condition, it was thought advisable to return to the Hantam. Col. Collins gave the interpreter, Jan Tites, a few presents for the two Bosjeman kraals, and for his friend Rouman, desiring him to endeavour to persuade Rouman to come to Cape Town, promising that both would be well treated there.

Col. Collins hoped from Roggeveld to find access to some of the Bosjeman nation, but learnt that the only kraal near that district was commanded by an old man named Platje, and that it had removed about a month before, probably until rain should fall, to a place better supplied with water. This put an end to all Col. Collins' expectations. But as he understood that the field-cornet, Mr. Jacobus Nell, kept up a friendly communication with such of the Bosjemans as lived peaceably, a few presents were left with him for delivery to them—and he was desired to encourage any of their chiefs who might wish to proceed to Cape Town to go there—assuring them that they would be well received and presented to the governor—for that H. E. was desirous of giving them marks of favor and protection.*

Having failed to obtain an opportunity of judging of the state and disposition of the Bosjeman people from personal observation, Col. Collins could only convey to H. E. the most satisfactory accounts he had received respecting them, from the most intelligent and respectable men he had met with who had visited

* It will be readily understood in what manner a field-cornet in the Roggeveld would receive a proposal to place the Bosjeman chief in communication with, and under the protection of, the governor of the colony in 1808.

their country. In communicating this information, as well as his own ideas on the other points to which his attention had been directed, he would adhere to the mode adopted by his Excellency, viz:—The extent of the misunderstanding which prevailed between the Farmers and the Bosjemans; the probable cause, or causes, which had occasioned it; and the line of conduct best suited to remedy the evil.*

On comparing the complaints of the injuries sustained by the farmers with the accounts of the numbers, hostility, enterprize, and activity of the Bosjemans, it seems astonishing that they should have suffered so little from their attacks; yet it is said that the depredations committed by them last year, which appear to have been accurately stated in the several reports transmitted to government, considerably exceed those of former years, which is attributed, in some degree, to their knowledge of the great mortality then prevailing among the farmers' horses, in consequence of the extraordinary dryness of the season.

They usually make their incursions in autumn, at which time the horses are sickly, or at least in bad condition, and unable, on that account, as well as from the want of water, to pursue them with vigour. They generally conceal themselves behind rocks and bushes, as near as possible to the cattle; and if the Hottentot guard should fall asleep, they approach them slowly and murder them; or they lay in wait to the close of day for the return of the herds to the farm houses, and having despatched the

* Few, in the present day, will doubt that obstructions would be thrown in the way of Col. Collins by the frontier authorities, to prevent his communicating personally with the Bosjeman chiefs and people, and to obtain the information which he sought.

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

herdsman, drive away their prey, favored by the night. To enable them to do this the more speedily, they are said to carry with them the skins of lions, by the scent of which the cattle imagine those animals to be in pursuit of them. Col. Collins describes how the farmers follow the robbers by the trace, or spoor, which even by moonlight they can distinguish after a lapse of several days. If the Bosjemans perceive themselves to be in danger of being overtaken, they wound with spears or poisoned arrows, as many of the cattle as time will admit of and endeavour to effect their escape. If they succeed in bringing their plunder to their kraal, they feast and riot until it is consumed, which is effected in a very short time, as they waste the greatest part of it; frequently abandoning numbers of sheep and cattle to birds of prey (which constantly attend them on such occasions) after having made them serve as targets for their children. Their dread of horses is so great that a few horsemen will defeat almost any number in a plain; but when posted on heights, they defend themselves with great obstinacy, and have never been known to demand quarter in any situation. They never drive away horses, but frequently kill them on mountains, where they are sent to avoid the sickness that afflicts them periodically on the plains. This is said to have occurred some weeks since, in the district of the Coup, where there is reported to be at this moment a hostile Kraal, three men of which were lately killed by the farmers in the act of plundering. That quarter had been free from the invasions of this people since about 18 years, when two hordes, amounting to more than a thousand persons, entered it, and committed such devastations as would have obliged the settlers to abandon it if the government had not authorized a general commando against them.

which, after killing a great number, drove the remainder into their own country.* The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

The supposition that the enmity of the Bosjemans was originally occasioned by their resentment by being driven by the colonists to quit the territory of their ancestors, seems unfounded, as it appears that they have always resided in the country they now inhabit since the Cape has been possessed by Europeans. Col. Collins met in the course of his journey several persons who remembered the events of more than half a century; they said that the colonists began to enter that part of the country sixty years ago; they found it inhabited by Bosjemans, who readily entered their service. The Bosjemans resided at that time beyond the Zak River, with the exception of a few kraals who lived on this side of it, for the commerce of exchanging skins for the tobacco of the Hottentots, who procured that article from the colonists in the Bokkeveld, south of the Karoo. They were then in the habit of plundering the Namaquas, a timid people, possessing cattle and residing about the Kamiesberg; but, with the exception of one kraal, which, however, did but little injury, they were on the most friendly terms with the farmers, who might send their cattle to any distance without danger from that people, by whom any that occasionally straggled among them were brought back to their owners;—that tranquillity, after having continued many years, was unfortunately interrupted by an event similar to that which gave rise to the Trojan war.

Col. Collins says that a servant of Mr. Van Reenen, of Hantam, carried off a Bosjeman's wife, and was murdered by the Bosjeman. The farmers demanded his surrender at the kraal, were refused,

* Col. Collins of course knew that not very long before this general commando the whole was Bosjeman country.

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

attacked the kraal, and put several persons to death. The Hottentots in the service of the farmers joined the Bosjemans, and both parties continued their robberies and murders against the farmers up to the time when Col. Collins visited the country.

The Bosjemans plundered because they thereby obtained such articles of subsistence as their own country did not afford. They had acquired the habit of making incursions, and continued them when game became scarce. Individuals obtained distinction in their exploits, and the applause of their little society, which might ultimately raise them to the head of it—the bravest generally obtaining the command of a kraal on the death of its chief. Little authority was however conferred through this honor, except on their expeditions, which the leader is therefore naturally inclined to multiply. There was little animosity towards the colonists in these incursions; plunder was the object, and murder was seldom committed, except when necessary to promote plunders.—The farmers often abandon parts of the country for months together, carrying with them their families and flocks, in search of water and a milder climate. When the Bosjemans visit their habitations in their absence, they do no further mischief than burning the chairs and tables, to warm themselves, which, in a country almost destitute of fuel, cannot be regarded as a very wanton or malicious act.

The Bosjemans continued to plunder the Namaquas, with little intermission, as long as the cattle lasted, experiencing but a feeble resistance from that people. In their attempts to plunder the Kaffers and Boshuanas, they experienced such determined opposition that they have since given these people but little trouble. They thus appear to attack the several districts indiscriminately, consulting only their own con-

venience, or knowledge of the means of defence, which latter they easily obtain in their friendly visits. Col. Collins observed nothing in the colonists which indicated that hatred which they are so generally supposed to feel towards the Bosjemans. They visit their kraals, and the Bosjemans frequently come to their habitations, receiving presents of sheep and tobacco. Many of them have Bosjemans in their service, whom they treat humanely, and who serve them faithfully. When any of the Bosjemans kill their shepherds and steal their cattle, they naturally follow them to recover their property and revenge the murder of their servants. It would not be surprising if instances of cruelty were found on these occasions, for it is often the attendant of wars in which the individuals engaged are uninfluenced by any personal consideration. It is to be feared that women are sometimes put to death in these expeditions, and it cannot be doubted that the farmers bring away a number of children.

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

Col. Collins thinks that the extension of the boundary from the Riet to the Zak River will not, perhaps, be considered a cause of the hostility of the Bosjemans, if it be true that the majority of that people always resided in the country north of the latter river, which is stated to be much better than that south of it. There are likewise some strong objections to the former boundary. It runs near mountains in which the Bosjemans can act with great advantage, but before they can arrive with their plunder at the new one, they must pass through a plain of considerable extent, in which the chaces are in favor of their being overtaken, and attacked with almost certainty of success. It is also to be feared that by withdrawing from the Zak to the Riet River, the farmers would be deprived of the advantage they

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

derive from the water and pasturage they procure at the former, in seasons where they cannot find them elsewhere, without rendering the Bosjemans any service, except that of facilitating their attacks, or producing any other effect on their minds than a supposition that the act must be the consequence of fear; conscious of their having broken the last treaty when the new boundary was agreed to by them.*

Collins saw, that before any reliance could be placed on the Bosjemans in their then relative position with the colonists, a change must be effected in their habits and manners, which would be the work of time, aided by the zealous and indefatigable exertions of intelligent individuals, supported and encouraged by the bounty and guardian care of a beneficent government.

It would surely be worthy of the greatness of the British empire to rescue this unfortunate race from the deplorable state of barbarism to which they have

* It will be observed that in all this, Col. Collins took things as he found them. We may he fully certain that he would not have advocated the extension of the colonial border from the Riet River to the Zak River. He found that aggression already made, and the only question with him necessarily was how the colonists were best to be preserved in safety within the limits which they had usurped. The circumstance of the colonists being reduced to the nomadic pastoral condition by inhabiting the tract of country of which they had deprived the Bosjeman, will certainly be considered a reason why they should have heen compelled to withdraw from it and leave it to the aborigines—or at all events a reason why England should not have gone to the expense of supporting them in their usurpation. Because it was of little value to the colonists, it does not of course follow that it was not of the greatest value to the ahorigines, especially as it is a mountainous country—and we may he quite certain that by depriving them of this tract of country, and of similar tracts elsewhere, we drove the Bosjemans to commit those excesses on the colonists, on the Namaquas, on the Kaffirs and Bosjemans, which Col. Collins describes. Restore them their land, as I have so often said to Van Riebeek! and they will be faithful allies and a prosperous people! It is unfit for the residence of Europeans.

been so long condemned. Col. Collins could not help thinking that Lord Macartney's plan for the civilization and pacification of the Bosjeman nation, must have been formed on a total misconception of the character of that people. It was not to be expected that such multitudes of savages of the fiercest description, dispersed through such a vast tract of country, in no part of which had they a settled habitation, and from which they plunder their neighbours in every direction, without the idea of any law, divine or human, without any connection among themselves, except such as arise from the laws of parental and conjugal affection, and even without the least knowledge of the manner of cultivating corn, or rearing cattle, should at once become tractable, abandon their roving and predatory mode of life, allow themselves to be confined between the Zak River and the Karoo mountains, acquire a knowledge of the art of agriculture, or the precautions of preserving and increasing herds and flocks, feel all the advantage of permanent establishments and social intercourse, and consider themselves under the protection and authority of the British government.

"Of the numerous missionaries who have exercised their divine calling in South Africa, few have gained the reward which their devotion to so sacred a cause entitled them to expect. For this failure many reasons have been assigned; but it is more to my purpose as well as more pleasing, to direct my inquiries to those whose labours have been crowned with success." It must be unnecessary here to enter into a long dissertation of the history of missionary labours in South Africa. Col. Collins rested his hopes on the amelioration of the condition of the Bosjemans principally, it will be seen, through the extension of Missionary Institutions, both within and beyond the

The Bosjemans. Col. Collins.

colonial border. Those important institutions have already achieved great things, but much yet, of course, remains to be done.

Note.—I endeavoured, in vain, on the Frontier, to procure a copy of Dr. Philip's "Researches in S. Africa, illustrating the civil, moral, and religious condition of the Native Tribes," for that appears to be almost a proscribed book there; and although I have procured and perused the Work since my return to Cape Town, it is too late to enter on any consideration of its important contents—and the Work is in the hands of the public.

J. SUTHERLAND.

May 22*nd*, 1845.

CONCLUSION.

The want of system in arranging the materials used in this compilation will not fail to strike the reader, who may be interested in the discussion on which I have ventured to enter. This want of arrangement must necessarily happen to any person who has not arranged and digested his materials before entering on his task. My excuse must be that I commenced my task during an excursion on the North Eastern Districts, collecting such Works as came within my reach, and commenting upon them—and consequently very often getting hold of a Work of later, before one of prior date had been extracted and commented upon. I trust, however, that a body of evidence has, through this process, been collected in a form and shape, which may be of use to any person who may hereafter become the Historian of the condition of the Aborigines of South Africa, when Europeans first entered their country—and, which is not less interesting or important, the steps by which the Aborigines were expelled from their country, until they lost their original organization, and either perished, fell into a condition of servitude, or became mixed up with the European. If I am fortunate enough to be the pioneer towards such an undertaking, and if the materials fall into the hands of a person qualified to do justice to such a Work, my object will be more than fulfilled.

I have thought it proper to add "these few words" by way of apology for venturing to intrude on the public an imperfect Work of this kind; and, with these few words, wish the reader,—my friend I hope I may say—FAREWELL.

Cape Town, May 27th, 1845.

From Lieut.-Colonel SUTHERLAND,

To the Honorable JOHN MONTAGU,

Colonial Secretary.

SIR,

I do not know whether it occurred to His Excellency the Governor, during his late journey through the Frontier Districts, that it would be an immense advantage to England to relinquish them all; for if I am rightly informed, it has already cost our country about three millions sterling to conquer and defend them. That they can never, or at all events not for a very long period, perhaps 100 or 200 years, be turned to advantage, is quite apparent; the nature of the soil, and of the climate, from the scarcity of rain, reducing the inhabitants to a pastoral, and in many instances to the nomadic pastoral condition; or, when they are agricultural, every family producing little more than is necessary for its own subsistence. The population does not, accordingly, amount to two, if so much, to the square mile; and the emigrants from the mother country to the colony hardly exceed, apparently, a few hundred per annum. In this condition of things there can be no doubt that most of the districts must continue a burthen to England; which, as I understand, at present expends £200,000 a year upon them. The latitude and longitude alone render it, I fear, almost certain that neither wine, sugar, cotton, spices,

nor any of the great staples of commerce can ever be produced in any of the districts of the colony, did even the scanty population render it possible that they could compete with other countries of the world in its great markets.

2. It really appears, therefore, as if we might withdraw, with advantage to our subjects of pure or of mixed blood, and to ourselves, from ten of the districts, reserving only the Cape, Stellenbosch, and Swellendam districts! with any other ports or places valuable, or likely to become valuable to England. The advantage to our subjects would be, that they would be rescued from the danger of falling into the same condition as the aborigines; for that must, undoubtedly, become the condition of all who live, scattered and forlorn, in other places than the small provincial villages; assembled *en mass* in those three districts, they would, in process of time, become a prosperous agricultural or manufacturing, and, consequently, an exporting and importing community; and that is the only condition in which a people can be valuable subjects, or prosperous. The manner in which the Cape of Good Hope drags her heavy and unwieldy length along, when compared with younger crown colonies, shows plainly enough that there is little chance of these things happening in the present state of affairs. The advantages to England, in the proposed scheme, are almost too obvious to require notice in detail.

3. Amongst the greatest of these, however, would be the justice which she could then do to the aborigines, or their descendants, on a large scale. In the country thus vacated, she could form five or six respectable chiefships; selecting her own chiefs, and superintending, through her agents, their affairs until their administrations should become organized, and

permanently fixed. If there can be gratitude amongst masses of men to be found in the world, these chiefs and people would surely be grateful to England, and continue her faithful allies and friends through after ages.

4. To this country it would be a measure of justice, hardly inferior to the great slave emancipation in the crown colonies; and to the other nations of Europe it would set a glorious example of just and generous dealing with aborigines.

5. The expense of the measure would not, probably, exceed four or five millions sterling, for the value of all the lands and houses of the Cape and Stellenbosch districts, and they are, perhaps, of equal value with those of all the other districts, is said to be only three millions. But this could, of course, only be ascertained after an appraisement shall have been made of all real property in the ten districts. It would also be but common justice to the servants of government to remunerate them for their loss of office.

6. That the colony will not be assisted in its onward progress by government is quite obvious, from the neglect of this small provincial village or capital for there is, in the immediate vicinity, a place where an embankment could be constructed across the Sunday River, at the cost of £20,000 or £30,000, which would give a lake fifteen or twenty miles in circumference with an average depth of fifteen or twenty feet, (but this can only be ascertained after the levels shall have been scientifically taken) and that body of water would, according to our India experience, serve to irrigate, through wells, a circumference of land extending fifteen or twenty miles from the water's edge; yet government has no interest in the work beyond that of increasing the prosperity of the country generally; for it has little land of its own, and the great

bulk of the land is assigned away to individuals on fixed quitrents, which could not, of course, be raised to repay government for the outlay. The whole district of Graaff-Reinet only yields government, I understand, £2,000 per annum from all sources of taxation, although it extends over 8,000 square miles of land—five shillings per square mile!

7. I trust His Excellency will pardon this intrusion, in addition to that which I have been lately inflicting upon you on the subject of our foreign relations. On questions of this kind we have also much experience in India; for instance, after the conquest of Mysore, we set up a Hindoo principality, with territory, which yields about £600,000 per annum. After the conquest of the Paishaw's dominions, we set up Maratta chiefships, which yields more than half that sum; and after the late war with Gwalior, which was forced upon us, though not by its infant sovereign, and when the state lay prostrate at our feet, we restored it to His Highness with its revenue of a million sterling.

I have, &c.,

J. S.

Graaff-Reinet, October 31st, 1844.

The Honorable J. Montagu,
Colonial Secretary,
Cape of Good Hope.

NOTE ON COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

As a sequel to these discussions it may not be irrelevant to offer a few observations on the subject of the colonial administration of England, however unfitted the person who ventures on that delicate and important discussion, may be considered to be, to do it justice.

The first thing that occurs to one in the consideration of the question, is the unsuitableness of the home administration to govern the extensive colonial possessions of England in a manner conducive either to the advantage of the mother country or of the colonies.

There is nothing of a permanent character, either in the home administration, or in the administration of the colonies, and without permanency in such matters, either in possession or prospect, it will generally be allowed that nothing can prosper.

The Right Honorable the Secretary for the Colonies changes with every change of the ministry; and the appointment of Governors, and most of the subordinate authorities in the colonies, rests with him. Nothing lasts long, for everything is Tory or Whig, Conservative or Reform, by turn. How then can there be anything permanent in the administration of the crown colonies? or without permanency, how can they prosper?

Would it not be possible, without any very prominent injury to the ministry, to frame for the colonies, on perfectly constitutional principles, a system corresponding, in some degree, with that which has worked such important benefits to England and India; and

which, in the process of time, promises so fair to work increased benefits to both?

We need hardly go further than the Court of Proprietors, the Court of Directors, and the permanent services, civil and military, of India, for an example and a model.

Whether there should be a Colonial Secretary, changeable with every change of ministry? a Court of Proprietors, for each colony, with their Directors? and a Civil and Military Service? or whether the whole of the crown colonies could be managed by one great Chartered Stock Company, with a capital of twenty or a hundred millions sterling, and their subordinate machinery? belongs to the details of this great national question. No one will, in the present day, think of conferring any separate commercial privilege, or privileges of any other kind, on such a company. Its profits would arise, as in India, from improved colonial administration. The patronage might of course belong, as in the case of India, to the Chartered Company; they would appoint their own Directors, and with the sanction of the Secretary for the Colonies, appoint their Governors. The original patronage, or the nomination to all offices, would rest with the Directors; but the after patronage, or the nomination to local offices, from those originally appointed by the Directors, would rest with the Governor of each colony; and all would go merry as a marriage bell.

Some of the crown colonies are valuable from their position, and more in a political or national point of view, than from any commercial importance which belongs to them. Those which at first occur to one, as belonging to this class, are—Gibraltar, Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, and perhaps the Ionian Islands. Those of commercial importance are—Canada, Jamai-

ca, and other West India Islands, Ceylon, the Mauritius, and the Australian colonies. The loss on the former would of course require, if the whole were managed by a Chartered Company, to be counterbalanced by the profits on the latter; and, in addition to making good that loss, the latter must necessarily produce a surplus, from which the interest of the stock would be paid! or the Political Colonies could be ruled, as at present, by the ministers!

An immense influence in the House of Commons would arise from this scheme, either in support of the existing ministry, or of the opposition, according as the measures of the ministry might be in conformity with, or opposed to the views of those interested in colonial administration; that influence would probably be far greater than that which the East India Company can command in Parliament. But, at all events, it would be greater than that which the colonial minister would lose through his colonial patronage, as at present dispensed; and there would probably be the danger, as in the case of Fox's India Bill, of its giving the ministry too much influence, and rendering their possession of power too permanent. But since influence would only support the ministry as long as their colonial administration was good, the colonies would thus prosper.

Cape Town, April 25th, 1845.